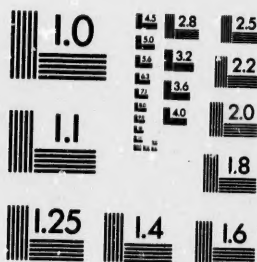


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1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482-0300 - Phone
(716) 288-5989 - Fax

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The first of the English, through the Tunis, and Tripolis in the Sicilian Zante, Candia, Rhodes, of Asia minor, to Syria and Arabia, downe the River of the Persian gulph to Ormus. South parts of the dominions of the River of the Persian gulph to Ormus. deri, to the islands of the kingdome of Persia, Madagabasca, of S. Thomé and of the Zanzibar, of the

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By RICHARD

Imprinted
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T H E
SECOND VOLVME
OF THE PRINCIPAL NA-
VIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAF-
fiques and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, made by
Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east parts of the
World, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres:
Diuided into two seuerall parts :

Whereof the first containeth the personall trauels, &c.
of the *English*, through and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to *Al-
ger*, *Tunis*, and *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, to *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *AEgypt*, to the Isles
of *Sicilia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Chio*, to the Citie of *Constantinople*, to diuers parts
of *Asia minor*, to *Syria* and *Armenia*, to *Ierusalem*, and other places in *Iudaea*; As also to *A-
rabia*, downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, to *Babylon* and *Balsara*, and so through the *Per-
sian gulph* to *Ormuz*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and to many Islands adioyning vpon the
South parts of *Asia*; And likewise from *Goa* to *Cambata*, and to all the
dominions of *Zelabdim* *Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty
Riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Bacola*, and *Chon-
deri*, to *Pegu*, to *Iamahai* in the kingdome of *Si-
am*, and almost to the very fron-
tiers of *China*.

The second comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c.
of the *English Nation*, made without the Streight of *Gibral-*

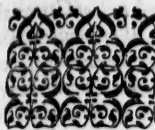
tar, to the Islands of the *Acores*, of *Porto Santo*, *Madera*, and the *Canaries*;
to the kingdomes of *Barbary*, to the Isles of *Capo Verde*, to the Riuer of *Senega*, *Gam-
bra*, *Madragumba*, and *Sierra Leona*, to the coast of *Guinea* and *Benin*, to the Isles
of *S. Thomé* and *Santa Helena*, to the parts about the Cape of *Buena Esper-
anza*, to *Quitangene* neere *Mozambique*, to the Isles of *Comoro* and
Zanzibar, to the citie of *Goa*, beyond *Cape Comori*, to the Isles
of *Nimbar*, *Gomes Polo*, and *Pulo Pinang*, to the
maine land of *Malacca*, and to the king-
dome of *Iumfalaon*.

By **RICHARD HACKLVT** Preacher, and sometime Stu-
dent of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.



Imprinted at London by *George Bishop*,
Ralph Newbery, and *Robert Barker*.

ANNO 1599.



TO THE
Sir Robert
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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to
her Maiestie, master of the Court of Wardes and
Liueries, and one of her Maiesties most ho-
nourable priue Counsell.



Ight honorable hauing newly finished a Tre-
tise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the
Leuant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from
thence ouer-land to the South and Southeast parts of
the world, all circumstances considered, I found none
to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to
your selfe: wherein hauing begun at the highest An-
tiquities of this realme vnder the government of
the Romans; next vnder the Saxons; and third-
ly since the conquest vnder the Normans, I haue
continued the histories vnto these our dayes. The
time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But

after that they were called hence by torren inuasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by
degrees became lords in this land, and shortly after receiued the Christian faith, they did
not onely trauell to Rome, but passed further vnto Ierusalem, and therewith not conten-
ted, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcestshire caried the almes of king Alfred e-
uen to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor)
and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich iewels into England: which iew-
els as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the
aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene euen in his time. And this most memorablen voy-
age into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Floren-
tius Wigorniensis, a graue and woorthy Author which liued before him, and by many o-
thers since, and euen by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Aets and Monuments in the
life of king Alfred. To omit diuers other of the Saxon nation, the trauels of Alured
bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into
Phoenicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croi-
land, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right woorthy of memo-
rie. After the coming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1066, in the reigne of William
Rufus, and so downward for the space of about 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our
nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not on-
ly great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres
of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselves into
this glorious expedition. A sufficient prooffe hereof are the voiaiges of prince Edgar the ne-
phew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great be-
nevolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in person to the succour of Ieru-
salem, the personall going into Palestina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chi-
ualrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king Iohn, and the tra-
uels of Oliuer Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanville Erle of Chester

The Epistle dedicatory.

to the siege of Damietta in Egypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derby, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and galleies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the trauele of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with invincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, lines, and linings, leaning their ease, their countries, mines and children, induced with a Zelous deuotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorabie enterprises in part concealed, in part celebrated, and for the most part vnllooked after, I haue brought together in the best Method and breuitie that I could deuise. Whereunto I haue annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that serued in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solymán the mortall enemy of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiuallry, I haue in the first place exposed and set forth to the view of this age; with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statues or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, prætoræ ciuitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore crescere, neq; prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquauerit. I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were wont to say, when they beheld the images and portraictures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man should think, that an vniuersall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the employment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceived. For there are other most conuenient employments for all the superfluitie of euery profession in this realme. For not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noses the great & ample country of Virginia; the In-land where of is found of late to bee so sweete and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can afford, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yere before for the king of Spaine, (which originally with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer country then Mexico and Nueua Spania is selfe. And on the other side their chiefe writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian Iohn Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees

Northward

Northward to the last latitude, commandment of king Christian people of late sent of her sacred Maiestie, for ought we know obtained, it shal please the fauourable countenance of the spirit of Isabella Queen transporting of one or two knowledge will most willingly with their bodies and great and vnllooked for efforts to the faith of Christian daily in many of their books. No sooner should we set foot in the Fortes in the Continent would yeeld vs new occasions to regard, then to follow consume their time and p. neighbour warres being at hand, vntill they bee occupied and purpose giue me leaue for consideration: that I had caused the foure voyages mine owne charges to bee presented to the Spanish faction. The first booke came to the view of the Lord chiefe Iustice of France, they asked, who had done such a deed, that woorthie worke, that state had thoroughly followed and the variable humours of occasions of good and honest the West Indies. The application vnto the summarie record, to leave your Honour therefore to maintain our ancient trade, Candie, and Sio, which in the yere 1511. and to have shortly after (as it seemeth) after Gaspar Campions a Winter inserted in this. The same Mauncies or gouernment the sayd Island wholie into his hands with fourescore galleies for and trouble some in those Seas, the whole Ile of Cyprus by his hand. I haue here againe presented to the oath of the

Lastly, I haue here put down

The Epistle dedicatorie.

Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commandement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other sent of her sacred Maiesitie vnder the broad scale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the country. Which action, if vpon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre vp her Maiesities heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred vp the spirit of Isabella Queene of Castile, to aduance the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as vpon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods, she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our aduersaries daily in many of their booke full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but every step we tread to regard, then to follow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to haue lesse employment then nowe they haue, vnlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose giue me leaue (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prudent consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seuen, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourgues to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of some too much affected to the Spanish faction, had bene aboute twentie yeeres suppressed, as soone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counsellor Monsieur Harlac the Lord chiefe Iustice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Iudges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concluded that woorthis worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had thoroughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence vnto our selues I here omit, hasteing vnto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to vnderstand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in Gaſpar Campions discreet letters to maister Michael Lock and maister William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Maunefes or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the said Iland wholie into his owne hand in April, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with foure score gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell inuasion of Nicofia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his Lieutenant General Multapha Basha. Which lamentable tragedie I haue here againe reuined, that the posteritie may neuer forget what trust may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduantage and is in his power.

Lastly, I haue here put downe at large the happie reuening and much increasung of our interrupted

The Epistle dedicatorie.

interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Stapper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betwene her Maiestie and the Grand Signior, with the great privileges, immunities, and fauours obtayned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residences of our Ambassadors in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Maiestie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterranean Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, euen to the walles of Constantinople: the voyagerous land and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Bassara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Bissnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuers times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. Iohn Newbery and two other conforits departed from London with her Maies letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yeere 1591, who in the yeere 1592. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleemers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entered into league vpon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Ragusians, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene these many yeeres, and haue vsed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath traunailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugals in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and vse them in their seruice and warres? Why then should that be blamed in vs, which is vsuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide ours for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was most truly verified, That euill counsaile proueth worst to the author and deuiler of the same.

Hauiing thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remaineth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to vnderstand, that herein I haue likewise preferred, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Nauigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coast of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here set downe the very originals and infancy of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambia, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cap Verde, with twelue sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugals in

1. King cap. 5.
2. Chron. cap. 11.

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Ango

The Epistle dedicatorie.

Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching vnto, and doubling of the Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for one point and an halfe towards the East betwene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Varedas the West, proportionally as it did before, the swaruing backe againe thereof to without the Isle of S. Lawrence, the dangers of prinie rockes and quicksands, the running other particularities are plainly and truly here deliuered by one Thomas Steuens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete I haue added the memorable voyage of M. Iames Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things aboue mentioned, but also doth acquaint vs with the state Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinang, with the maine land of Iunçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I haue likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall revealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Caesar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now living here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commodity of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and obseruations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Iapan, & the Northern parts of China, & the frinia como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the riuers be strongly overfrozen) and therefore I haue here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 68, the other, pag. 88: which last discourse I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had bene some incomparable iewel.

But leauing abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer some of the reasons, that moued me to present this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choise of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisdom and vnderstanding were able to censure and approoue them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life. Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Maiesties inward counsailes and publike seruices, added to your well discharging your forren employments upon you, but also forcibly haue moued many, and my selfe among the rest to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before

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The Epistle dedicatorie.

the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to haue these my trauailes censured by your Honours so well approued iudgement. Touching the third and last motiue I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe vnto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to ouersee and peruse the same, but also vpon his good report with your most fauourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your fauour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull iustition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble

to be commanded,

Richard Hakluyt preacher.



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12 A Voyage made by diu
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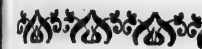
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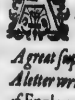


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THE SECOND VOLVME OF THE
principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and
Foueries of the English nation, made to the South and South-
east quarters of the world, within the Straight of Gibraltar,
with the Directions, Letters, Priviledges, Discourses, and
Observations incident to the same.

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with
the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation
of Christ. *M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.*



*Britannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permistos
fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Graciam videtur.
Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro
vetustissimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, quæ Britannis con-
scripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam
ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, po-
pulata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (for-
sitam Gallatiam innuit) confederit.*

Triadum liber,

*Britomarus item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius me-
minit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomẽ euenit, quod
Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis,
qui Brennum natione Praustum fuisse scribit, vt natione Bri-
tonem faciam.*

The same in English.

It is not unlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions
into Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient Wy-
rtis booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were
levied out of Britaine) that a certaine eutlandish Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armies
who having wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke by his abode (perhaps the Author mea-
neth in Gallatia) neere unto the sea of Greece.

Likewise, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make
report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Nei-
ther will I wrest that testimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Praust by
birth) that I may proue him also to haue bene a Briton boyne.

7 The trauaile of Helena.



*Helena Flavia Augusta serenissimi Coelis Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia,
Magni Constantini Caesaris mater, incomparabili decore, fide, religione, boni-
tate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Ensebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem;
Inter omnes ætatis suæ sceminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus
doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copio-
sior. Innatam habebat ingenij clariudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum or-
natiſſimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole
(inquit Virumnius) quæ Regni folio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præ-
ceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudi-
nem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Constantinus Chlorus Caesar illam duxit in vxor-
em, etque ex eâ filium in Britannia genuit Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci de-
functo, cum Annâ illâ Euangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitæ diem, tora
Christianæ*

Christianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per istam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesijs datam: Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitionem Evangelium peruenisse, ut olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucusque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petiit, & cœnia saluatoris loca perlustravit. Romæ tandem octogenaria feliciter in Christo quieuit. 13. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstiti, anno salutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimè nunc curâ Venetijs seruatur.

The same in English.

Helena Flavia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent King of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodness and godly Patientie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall Arts moze learned, or in instruments of musike moze skilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations moze abundant then herselfe. She had a naturall quicknesse of excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behauiour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virunnius reporteth) had no other child to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time gouerne the Realme: to that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. After length deceasing at Pojke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grew so skilfull in diuinitie, that shee wrote and composed diuers bookes, and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) were yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places whither, which Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15. day of August, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octavius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preserved at Venice.

The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorem Constantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnæ suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorumque Regibus pro spectaculo bellicis obiectis, Galliam subitam tenuit: his Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italiam à Maxentij tyrannide feliciter libertatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ prouocuit. Innumera in eo (ut Eutropius habet) claruere tum animi, quàm corporis virtutes, dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinauerat. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in modis superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternam spem vitæ regens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studiis, noctes trahebat insomnes, & quæ sita scribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus commendandum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuinis omnibus, arque ad id ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ, Falforum decorum euerfos, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & vniuersam ditionem Romanam, repositis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christum coli, Evangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum vbique destrui templa. Et ut fidei forma cunctis videretur, Evangelium Iesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias destinari, diademæque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesijs infinita præstitit

Constantine.

præstitit agros, annonam, licet. Eusebium, Laetantius, in his eius vita testibus, appellamus adiutores dei. Ibi abiit, ut Sextus scribere, meditari: compendit Senex, etatis suæ populi sepultus, Octauio in sua Græce scripsit, & Ioannem

Flauius Constantine, surus of the Romans, bozne of the marine & army partake. Having conquered and possessed a spectacle shewen our happy deliuered the Italian cities, all Britains, namely made faithful unto him then Eutropius reporteth, that and not having a pleasure in himselfe, he neuer pitched by the Helena having instructed more learned in the Greeke & then came in the studie of Diuinitie the further part of the Ocean amassing in the assistance of the care of Religion. He passed many nightes to improve his leisure from the use of writing and other games to be continued and strent upon him as it were the person of nobilitie, that god of all the world.

He ouerthrew the false gods the worshipping of Images in the Romane Empire, commanding to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be destroyed.

Whether he went hee him, that thereby it might appeare all nations.

He was the first that appointed he was most beneficiall to a people, like persons, widowes & had bene their naturall father.

He used learned men most faithfully that this was his vsuall pleasure that thou art the onely King of the victorie, and by thee we be

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that famous good Arts, to read, write both in the Greeke and Latine tongue.

He died at Nicomedia, being yeere after the Incarnation of Christ of Britaine: whose life Eusebius afterwards were translated

præluce agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægis, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque ut pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem inde ipsius in eius vita testibus fuit. Vnum te Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro deliciis habuit, ut Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fouere, &c. Pro senbere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latine multos libros & Epistolas. Eius vita Nicomediae nopl sepultus, Octauio in Britannijs regnante, Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Ioannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem,

7 The same in English.

Flauius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Brittaines after his father, and Emperour of the Romanes, bozne in Bytanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his name eternally partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Having conquered and put to flight the Almaines, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle shewen out to willo deaths, he held France it selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred thre of his mothers wifely, all Brittaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eusepius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and eue hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the full commendation of Martiall prowesse, he neuer pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that came in the studie of Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Bytanie, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee took a care of Religion, stirring vp innumerable nations from the West as farre as India is sitte, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine studies: and whensoever his businesse from greater affaires did permit him, his vacante times should be spent in the use of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy woyses: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that goodliue was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Honorary of all the world.

He ouerthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often reuiued, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be destroyed.

Whil实现 he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be stillo caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Bytanie. He was most beneficent to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, like persons, widowes and orphans, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He used learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his vsuall prayer to God, O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and we call vpon thee as our helper: throught thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemy.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to embrace the studie of learning, to fawour good Artes, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 33. yere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Bytanie: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

¶ The life and trauailes of Pelagius borne in Wales.



Pelagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniae parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bonochorensis a Cestria non procul, praepositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Postquam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Republica labores, vir eruditione indigenis, & tum Graecè, tum Latine peritus, vt Terullianus alter, quorundam Creticorum laceffitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliasque orientis Regionem deuenit. Vbi ex earum partium Monacho praeful ordinatus, sui nominis haerem fabulat, asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia saluari posse, contra nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleretur. Cum his & consimilibus impoeticis doctrinis, etiam in patriam suam reuersus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Caestino Pseudopiscopis fauoribus, confurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, vt post Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alij ferunt auctores, composuitque multos libros ad Christianam utilitatem. At postquam est Haereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit haereticis succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, vt in Epistola ad Martinum 5, Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ The same in English.

Pelagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head of gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherin liued a Societie of 2100. Deuines, of Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselves to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Terrellian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriouly dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he took the matter so grieuouly, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, hee went thence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countreies of the East, and being made Bishop by a certaine Epouke of those partes, he there hatched his heresse, which according to his name was called the heresse of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like degrees of false doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Iulian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresse, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a litle to Christian brilitie: but being once fallen into his heresse, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before, honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countrey men banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the first. He flourished in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine,

¶ Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Iustinian the Emperour, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.



Britanniam insulam tres numerosissimas gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur haec gentes Angli, Frisones, & qui eiusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, vt singulis annis inde vagantur numero cum viris & liberis ad Francos emigrant. In eorum in eorum terram, quae maxime deserta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde insulam sibi vendicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quoddam e suis Constantinopolim ad Iustinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambiciosius vendicans, quasi hanc insulam suo subesset imperio.

¶ The

The Isle of Britaine turned by a seuerall kind are called after the names of the Frenchmen right with the names of inhabitants. They were themselves. For no ambassador to Constantinople boasting, as thou

A testimonie of King Albrecht, 1883, recorded

Pelagius & trans Legatus Peritate, exoticos serax est,

King Albrecht being and his father had determined to Thomas of India. Who with great prosperitie enough India, and returning to the, such as that countrey

A second testimony Thomas of India &c de gestis pontificis

Sigheimus trans mare, caules, mira prosperitate, rediens exotici generis gemmæ adhuc in ecclesie monument

Sigheimus being for the per S. Thomas of India passed through the sayde countrey and precious stones, such as the monuments of the Church.

The life

Iohannes Etiger patricio genitorum, ac omnia ithenas vsque subicis infundavit: oraculum Solis, quod Aesculap

The same in English.

The Isle of Bytanie is inhabited by three most populous nations, every of which is governed by a severall king. The sayd nations are named Angli, Frisones, and Bricones, which are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarms of people, that every yere they goe forth in great numbers with their wives and children into France, And the Frenchmen right willingly receive them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayd Island unto themselves. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subjects with allabours to Constantinople unto Iustinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, and busily boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene under his iurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alfbred, vnto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter *de gestis regum Anglorum.*



Ecce mosynis intentus privilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roboravit; & trans mare Roman, & ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sighelmus Shirburnensis Episcopus cum magna pro exoticos splendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit.

The same in English.

King Alfbred being addicted to giving of almes, confirmed the privileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas unto Rome, and vnto St. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) traualled thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious vntons and costly spices, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage vnto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesbury his second booke *de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopo Schireburnensibus Salisburiensibus, & Iltonensibus.*

Sighelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam missus, mira prosperitate, quod quibus in hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetrauit; inde redeiens exoticis generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. Nonnulla illarum adhuc in ecclesie monumentis videntur.

The same in English.

Sighelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and traualling vnto St. Thomas of India, very prosperously (which a man would wonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him diuers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and traualles of Iohn Erigena.

Iohannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Menevia vrbe, seu ad sanum Davidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestant, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas vsque suscepit, annosq; quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudauit: omnia illic inuist Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsam oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat, Inueniens tandem quod longo quaesierat labore

labore, in Italiam & Galliam est reuerſus vbi ob inſignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & poſtea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionyſij Arcopagitz libros de cœleſti Hierarchia, ex Conſtanti-
nopolitunc miſſos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Proſectus poſtea in Britanniam, Alphe-
di Anglorum Regis, & ſuorum liberorum factus eſt præceptor, atque ipſo mox adhortante,
inter ocia literaria à Græco tranſtulit in tres linguas, ſcilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Lau-
nam, Ariſtorelis moralia, de ſecretis ſecretorum, ſeu recto regimine Principum, opus certe
exquiſitum. In Malmsburienſi canobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia ſe contulerat, interle-
gendum a quibuſdam diſcipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Chriſti, 884.

The ſame in English.

Iohn Erigene a Bytane, deſcended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. De-
luid in Wales, ſeeing the Engliſhmen to be oppreſſed with the warres and rapines of the cruel
Danes, and all the land in a hurtle burlie, he in the meane time undertooke a long iourney, euen
as farre as Athens, and there ſpent many yerres in the ſtudie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabi-
an tongues: he there frequented all the places and ſchooles of the Philoſophers, and the oracle
alſo of the Sunne, which Aſculapius had buſt vnto himſelfe. And hauing found at length that
which he had with long trauell ſearched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where by
his ſingular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in
being there, he tranſlated into Latine the bookes of Dionyſius Arcopagita concerning the Que-
uenly Hierarchie, which were ſent from Conſtantinople in the yere 858. After this hee came
backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was ſchoolemaſter vnto Alpheſen King of Eng-
land, and his ſonnes: and vpon his requeſt, at his times of leaſure, he tranſlated Ariſtoteles
moralls, of the ſecretes of ſecrets, of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into
three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very erquiſitelie. At the laſt, being in
the Abbe of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his man-
ner diſputing, and reading to the ſtudents, ſome of them miſliking and hating him, roſe againſt
him, and ſlew him in the yere of Chriſt, 884.

The trauailes of Andrew Whiteman aliàs Leucander, Centur. 2.



Andreas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas
Rameſienſis Canobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus ſtudij quodam incredi-
bili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inderetuli. Ac-
ceſſit præterea & ardens quoddam deſiderium, ea proprijæ & aperis oculis vi-
dendi loca, in quibus Seruator Chriſtus redemptionis noſtræ myſteria omnia
conſummavit, quorum prius ſola nomina ex ſcripturarum lectione nouerat:
vnde & ſacram Hieroſolymorum urbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac paſſionis eius teſtem
inuiſit, atque domum rediens factus eſt Abbas. Clariſſe ſetur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020
ſub Canuto Dano.

The ſame in English.

Andrew Leucander otherwiſe called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profeſſion
a Monk, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramſie: he was exceedingly giuen to the
ſtudie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and proſeſſed greatly thereby. And amongst
all other things, he had an incredible deſire to ſee thoſe places with his eyes, wherein Chriſt our
Saviour performed and wrought all the myſteries of our redemption, the names of which pla-
ces he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney,
and went to Ieruſalem a witneſſe of the miracles, preaching, and paſſion of Chriſt, and being a-
gain returned into his countrey, he was made the aforeſaid Abbat. He flouriſhed in the yere of
Chriſt 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of Swanus one of the ſonnes of Earle Godwin vnto Ieruſalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de geſtis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.



Swanus pueriſſi ingenij & inſidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo de-
ſciuit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Poſtremo po-
conſciencia Brunonis cognati interempti, & (vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ieroſoliman
abijt: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, & ad mortem exuſus eſt.

Swanus being of a p
his father and his b
of his anceſſours with
murder of his kinſema
Ieruſalem: and in his r
death.

A voyage of the
the Confeſſor, a
unopie, and from
recorded by William



Die ſancti
faſtigia
drageſ
terrenis
um pern
tere præ
nem impoſuit. Sed reme
proſequi, quorum vnus
auſu interrogant quid riſe
dieſ & negotij, tacentibus
ideo ſine cauſa riſi. Tum i
vt ſupplicibus dignanter r
ſpondit: ſeptem dormien
cenes laſere: ſed tunc in
quatuor annis ita jaceant
his ſeptuaginta quatuor an
tem contra gentem ſurrect
am & famem, terrores de c
nos bella, item Chriſticol
ſeptem dormientium, & ha
te diſſeruit: ac ſic cum eis q
ſcopus clericum, abbas mo
ſtandinopolitano imperiori
cum habitos epiſcopo Eph
oſtenderent legatis regis
vt vacinicum regis Edward
rent, ſuper dextrum illos la
tem peregrina prophetiz co
fecit, quin Agareni, & Arab
minorem Aſiam omnino, &
Iolyman depopulati, ſuper C

Vpon Eaſter day king Ed
accompanied with diner
when others, after their long a
thereupon verp earnestly, b
ſhip viſions (to the great adm
auguſt: and no man preſumi
was enoe. But after dinner
one of his Nobles, to wit ear
the reſiſſe followed him t
ſeemed verp ſtrange vnto th
whole others kept ſilence, to lau
he laughed I not without occ
ed and enquired the cauſe mo

The same in English.

Wasus being of a perverse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards proving a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestors with his robberies vpon the seas. Last of all, being guilty vnto himselfe of the murder of his kinsman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he traualled vnto Ierusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambassadors, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent vnto Constantinople, and from thence vnto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their iending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

Die sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, & optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cūque alij longam quadragesimam in ediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam specularus, mentes conuiuantiū permouit ampliores perfusus in risum: nullūque causam lætitiæ perquirere persumente, tūc quidē ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsonijs finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum vnus erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec in mentē videri, quare in tanta serenitate diæ & negotij, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum eiecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec vt supplicibus dignantē rem impertiat. Ille multū cunctatus tandem instantibus mira recētes latere: sed tūc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus inuertisse sinistram: futurum vt septuaginta quatuor annis ita jaceant: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in eam contra gentē surrecturam, & regnum aduersus regnum, terramotus per loca, pestilentios bella, item Christianorum in paganos victoria. Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem edisseruit: ac sic cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum excuspendam, Manichei Constantinopolitano imperitiori misere, adiectis regis sui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benigne ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factūque est vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatur, qui se a patribus accepisse iurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ scilicet a Christo gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Asiam omnino, & maioris multas vrbes, inter quas & Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolimam depopulati, super Christianos inuaderent.

The same in English.

Vpon Easter day king Edward the Confessor being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with viuers of his nobles, sat at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselves with dainty meats, and thereupon very earnestly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heavenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence till dinner was ended. But after dinner, as hee was in his bed-chamber putting off his solenne robes, one of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being more familiar with him, the rest followed him in, and boldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for he seemed very strange vnto them all, what should moue him at so solenne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so exressiuelly. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching him that hee would vouchsafe to impart

impart that secret unto them. Whereupon musing a long while unto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things; namely that seven Sleepers had rested in mount Caelius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselves on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie vnto mankind. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Saviour Christ foretold vnto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared vnto them the passion of the seven Sleepers, with the propozition and shap of each of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that so plainly and distinctly, as if he had conuerled a long time in their company. Whereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a cleрке, and the abbot a monke vnto Marches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, sent them ouer vnto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the English Ambassadors might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seven Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards wish was approued by all the Greekes, who protested they were aduertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seven Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested vpon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the caue, those Sleepers confirmed the truth of the outlandish prophesie, vnto their countreyemen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time before for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other vnbeleueing nations inuading the Christians, herried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Ierusalem also.

The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester vnto Ierusalem, an. 1058.

Recorded by Roger Howden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. line 15.

A.D. 1058.



Aluredus Wigornienſis Epiſcopus eccleſiam, quam in ciuitate Glouarna à fundamentis conſtruxerat, in honore principis Apoſtolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: & poſtea regis licentia Woſtanum Wigornienſem Monachum à ſe ordinatum Abbatem conſtituit ibidem. Dein præſulatu diſmiſſo Wiltonienſis eccleſiæ, qui ſibi ad regendum commiſſus fuerat, & Hermannno, cuius ſuprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare tranſijt, & per Hungariam profeſtus eſt Hieroſolymam, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

In the yere of our Lord 1058, Alured biſhop of Worcester, very ſolemnely dedicated a Church (which himſelfe had founded and buile in the cite of Glouceſter) vnto the honour of St. Peter the chiefe Apoſtle: and afterward by the kings permiſſion ordained Woſtan a ſpoke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbat in the ſame place. And then hauing left his Wiſſhopric which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of Wilton, and hauing reſigned the ſame vnto Hermannus afore mentioned, paſſed ouer the ſea, and trauielled through Hungarie vnto Ierusalem, &c.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland vnto Ierusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigornienſis) in the yeeer of our Lord, 1064, and deſcribed by the ſaid Ingulphus himſelfe about the concluſion of his brieſe Hiſtorie.

A.D. 1064.



Go Ingulphus humilis miniſter Sancti Guthlaci Monafterij: ſui Croilandenſis, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiſcendis in teneriori ætate conſtitutus, primum Weſtmonaſterio, poſtmodum Oxoniienſi ſtudio traditus erant. Cumque in Ariſtotele arripiendo ſuprà multos conſtanços meos profeſſum, etiam Rhetoricam Tullij primam & ſecundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adoleſcentior, ſaſtidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquare, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus veſtiri, pompæ ſolacij amicis indies ardentius appetebam. Et ecce, inclutus nunc rex noſter Angliæ, tunc ad

huc comes Normannorum grandi miniſtrante me vbique ad omnia breui agnitus illuſtriſſimus. Factus ibidem ſcgebam; quoſque voluiſus in eam celſo ſtatu ludere, inſtabili animo, ac derarem: nuntiatum per nullis alijs terre principibus deuotione Hieroſolymilites quam clerici, quoniam benignitas, in diſtriginta numero & ampliam, & cum dominis e terrarum ſpatiis, tandem orantes Agioſophiam viciam, in manus Arabicorum multorum, & mercatorem Hieroſolymam viro veneranda canitie hominimmo fulgore ſulcepti Latinorum ſolenni proceſſuſueuimus, quot ſuſpiria in ipſo itaque gloriſſimo inſinitam ſummam ſanctam ſtuerat, oculis lachrymorum, numeroſis lachrymis pauca pecunijs, exire in partem, deſiderantiſſima deſiderabant, longius a ciuitate igitur accedente, ſolus numerum moneta Chriſtiani meritis adorarent, aſcendentes numeroſi tandem Brundifium ſtolorum Petri & Pauli limitationes oſculati ſumus. Indetram repetentes, nos verſus Hieroſolymam, oſculis ab inuicem diſceſſimus, exiimus, viz viginti pauperes

In Ingulphus an humble ſermon in England, and of Engliſh the attaining of good letters, of Oxford. And hauing excellently what vnto the firſt & ſecond terms meane elate, and forſake primers, and was deſirous to be ſame time William our ſouereign follovers and attendance called himſelfe. And whoſe commiſſion of any ſpeedy or weighty ſuoc ſucceſſe, I was knowne with him I ſayled into Normandy (albeit with the ſuile of ſerres whom I thought good. I ſuoc, I began to be wearie of my age, and with an incontinant

huc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias aduentabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me vbiq; ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum prosperè plurima perfecissem, in bami. Factus ibidem scriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam reclus in tam cello statum supra meos natales consistere taderem, quin semper ad altiora conscenderem: nuntiatur per vniuersam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperij cum nonnulla deuotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quam clerici, quorum primus & precipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini nostri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites viam, & cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem millia, pertranscuentes prosperè multa orantes Agiosophiam vidimus, & infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Diuertentes inde per Ly-moribus multorum, & maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem desideratissimam ciuitatem Hierosolymam leto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inorauimus, quot lachrymas ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alie sanctuaria ciuitatis inuisenda circumducti, fluxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quam intra, numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non culati, desideratissima deuotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam igni accedente, stolis nauium lanuensum in porta Ioppeni applicuit. In quibus, cum sua liter adorassent, ascendentes omnes mari nos commisimus. Et iactati fluctibus & procellis in-florum Petri & Pauli limina, & copiosissima sanctorum martyrum monumenta per omnes sta-tram petentes, nos versis Franciam ad sinistram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratijs & osculis ab inuicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuersi sumus.

A.D. 1064,
Accedens to
Florentius Wi-
gornienis.

The same in English.

In gulphus an humble seruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, bozne in England, and of English parentes, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and after ward sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat vnto the first & second Rhetorique of Tullie, And as I grew in age, disdayning my pa-rents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne natue soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare hyane and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our souereigne king now, but then Erie of Normandie, with a great troupe of followers and attendances came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessor his kinsman. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my seruice for the perfor-mance of any speevy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knownen and most entirely beloued by the victorions Erie himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I gouerned the Eries Court (albeit with the enuie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abused, and pre-ferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced so high aboue my pa-triage, and had an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspi-

A.D. 1051.

red at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for deuotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lord the Earle, sundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my selfe) with the licence and good will of our said lord the earle, sped vs on that voyage, and trauiailing thirtie hostes of vs into high Germanie, we ioyned our selues vnto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seven thousand persons sufficiently prouided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Constantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed diuers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theues: and after we had bene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardy escaping with extreme danger of our liues, at length wee topfully entered into the most wished citie of Ierusalem. Where we were received by the most reuerent, aged, and holy patriarche Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the most diuine Church of our Saviour his sepulchre with a solemn procession as well of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we uttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deere sighs we breathed forth, our Lord Iesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souban of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so hauing bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorrowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and hauing bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most devout deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selues in the most sacred river of Iordan, and to kisse all the steps of Christ. Howbeit the therewith Arabians lurking vpon every way, would not suffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the space there arrived at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast tomes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing our selues to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundisium: and so with a prosperous iourney trauielling thow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire trauielling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaues with unspeakable thanks and courtesies. And so at length, of chertye hostemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned thither scarce twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and consumed with leanness to the bare bones.

¶ Diuers of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert Curtoys* sonne of *William the Conqueror*, made a voyage to *Ierusalem* 1096.
Hol pag. 22. vol. 2.

Pope *Vibane* calling a councell at *Clermont* in *Auuergne*, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a iourney into the Holy land, for the recovery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went vnder the leading of *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* & others, as in the *Chronicles* of France, of *Germanie*, and of the Holy land boeth moze plainly appeare. There went also among other diuers noble men forth of this Realme of *England*, specially that worshipful beare the surname of *Beauchampe*.

¶ The voyage of *Gutierre* an English Lady married to *Baldwine* brother of *Godfrey* duke of *Bouillon*, toward *Ierusalem* about 1097. And the 11. yeere of *William Rufus* King of *England*.

The Christian armie of *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* passing the citie of *Iconium*, alias *Iconogina* in the countrey of *Licaonia*, and from thence by the city of *Heracia*, came at length vnto the citie of *Marasia*, where they encamped, and sojourned there thre whole dayes, because of the wife of *Baldwine* brother germane of the said *Godfrey* of *Loraigue*. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grievous malap, was

Edgar.

an eremitic, where at length she died eternall: Who, in her life time, was defended of most noble y, where most honourably entered the Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 1. of the same historie concerning the same having followed the way, he fell in love with a very honest woman, with him in that best happy Godfrey and Eustace, persons who had had fortune in his tour, who had her life with a happy end, which, where she was honour

¶ *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum*
lish Lady, which he called

Ac in regione Maritima
diutina corporis m
lauit, sepulta Catho

¶ In this prouince of *Maresch*
England being visited with d
of duke *Godfrey*, departed
was *Godwera*.

The voyage of *Edgar* sonne
of *Edmund* & *Normand*
accompanied with valiant
our Lord 1102. Record

Subsequenter
Hierosolymam
pud Ramas ob
dias hostium ac
nato gladio de
lentior, alacritate

in com se inclinauer, omnium
m) ductus, cum Christum ab
nus, martyrium consecrauit.
coribus Græcorum, & Alema
plitudine tentassent) omnia p
or patriz, vt nihil eis videatur
a cupidine illusus Angliam r
re remotus & tacitus, canos si

¶ Afterward *Edgar* being sonne

Robert the sonne of *Godwin*
when the Turkes besieged
high siege, was by the helpe of
ing a lane, and slaying the
ger, and escaped through the
more eager and fierce, as her
a. Which as he stooped to tak
en and bound. From whence

he would not renounce *Christ*
ing shot through with arrowes, d
dured with many rewards both
ould right gladly haue ente

in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for
 life eternall; Which, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, boyne in England,
 and defence of most noble parentage named Gutwera; Which, according to her degree, was
 where most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William
 Archibishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same authoꝝ in the 10. booke & first chap-
 ter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Bald-
 wine having followed the warres for a time, gave his minde to marriage, so that being in England
 he fell in loue with a very honoꝝable and noble Lady named Gutwera, whom he married and ca-
 ried with him in that first happy expedition, wherein he accompanied his brethren the Lordes, duke
 Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But
 his too hard fortune in his iourney, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sickness
 misde her life with a happy end neere the cite of Marasia, before the Chyrstian armie came vnto
 Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

¶ *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27.* maketh also mention of this Eng-
 lish Lady, which he calleth *Godwera* in this maner.

Ac in regione Maresch vxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Anglię eduxit,
 diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exha-
 lauit, sepulta Catholicis obsequijs; cuius nomen erat *Godwera*.

The same in English.

In this prouince of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of
 England being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of body, and commended to the cu-
 re of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Chyrstian maner. Her
 name was *Godwera*.

The voyage of *Edgar* the sonne of *Edward* which was the sonne
 of *Edmund* surnamed *Ironside*, brother vnto *K. Edward* the confessor, (being
 accompanied with valiant *Robert* the sonne of *Godwin*) vnto Ierusalem, in the yeece of
 our Lord 1102. Recorded by *William* of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

Vbsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus
 Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem a-
 pud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per me-
 dias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & euagi-
 nato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cadentis. Sed cum successu ipso trucu-
 lentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligen-
 tem se inclinasset, omnium incurfu oppressus, vinctus palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (ve-
 nit) ductus, cum Christum abnegare noller, in medio foro ad signum positus, & sagittis tere-
 toribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippe qui etiam eum retinere pro generis
 aplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio spreuit. Quosdam enim profecto fallit
 or patris, ut nihil eis videatur iucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cælum. Vnde Edgarus
 cupidine illusus Angliam redijt, vbi (ut superius dixi) diuerso fortunæ ludicro rotatus,
 incremosus & tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit.

A.D. 1102.

The same in English.

Afterward *Edgar* being sonne vnto the nephew of *Edward* the confessor, trauesled with
Robert the sonne of *Godwin* a most valiant knight, vnto Ierusalem. And it was at the same
 time when the Turkes besieged king *Baldwin* at Rama: who not being able to endure the
 siege, was by the helpe of *Robert* especially, going before him, and with his drawn sword
 cutting a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that
 siege, and escaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But vpon his happy successe be-
 came more eager and fierce, as he went forward somewhat too hastily, his sword fell out of his
 hand, which as he stooped to take vp, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there
 taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being cartied vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt,
 where he would not renounce Christ, he was then vnto a stake in the midst of the market place, and
 being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. *Edgar* hauing lost his knight returned, and being
 rewarded with many rewards both by the Greekeish and by the Germane Emperour (who both of
 them would right gladly haue entertained him still for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in
 respect

When the an-
chor was wyl-
ling of this
billogg.

respect of his native colle. For in v.ry deepe some are so inuengled with the loue of their coun-
tre, that nothing can seeme pleiant vnto them, vnlesse they breathe in the same aire where they
were byed. Wherefore Edgar being milled with a sonda affection, returned into England;
and afterward being subiect vnto diuers changes of fortune (as we haue aboue signified) he dyed
deeth * now his extreme olde age in an obscure and priuate place of the countrey.

¶ Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was
with his ships in the voyage vnto the *Holy land* in the second yeere of Bal-
wine King of *Ierusalem*, in the third yere of *Henry* the first of *England*.



Chronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verum dehinc septem diebus mo-
lucis rex ab Assur exiens, naum que dicitur Buza ascendit, & cum eo Gode-
ricus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo & elato in aere ad rabi-
os solis vsque, Iaphet cum paucis nauigauit, ut hoc eius signo ciues Christiani
recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hostiū minis paret, sed
turpiter diffugium facerent, aut urbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebant enim eos
multum de vitæ & salute eius desperare. Saraceni autē viso eius signo, & recognito, ea parte que
urbem nauigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Caza-
occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis ex aduerso
mescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili curliu inter procellas labente, ac
volitante, in portu Ioppæ delusis hostibus subito affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in nauicula
perculsis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, prout
spiritus cunctorum gementium & de eius morte hætenus dolentium, eo quod caput & res
Christianorum & princeps Hierusalem adhuc viuus & incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

But seuen dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe
called a Buße, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fasten-
ing his banner on the toppes of a speare, and holding it vp aloft in the aire against the beames of
the Sunne, sailed vnto Iaphet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing
this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not easily terrified
with the threats of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to perle by the
citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Sara-
cens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which environed the Citie by water
made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly call Caza-
seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and
raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waves with an easie
and nimble course arrived suddenly in the haue of Ioppa, the enemies frustrated of their pur-
pose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that
the King entering into the Citie, and not appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirit
all them that mourned for him, and vntill then lamented as though hee had bene dead, returned
because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Ierusalem was yet alive, and came
again vnto them in perfect health.

**¶ Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefeft per-
sonages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Chi-
istians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.**



Chronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obfidiage-
retur 200. naues Christianorum nauigio Ioppen appulsi sunt, ut aduocaret
in Hierusalem. Hærum Bernardus Witrach de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de
Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Westsaxonum
primi & ductores fuisse referuntur, &c. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij mensis
quando hæc Christianorum copia, Deo protegente, huc nauigio angustia
& obfessis ad opem collata sunt. Saracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum
virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino sibi hospitio proximè iungebatur, media nocte orbem
cumbente, amoris tentorijs amplius milliari subtractæ confederunt, cum luce exorta consili-
inirent, vtrum Afcalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris assultibus vexarent.

While the Sarax
ships arrived at
chiefe men and leaues of
land of Galatia, Hardine
of Westphalia, &c. This
succour and reliefe of the
and in the second yeere of
1102, seeing that the Chri-
stians in alouging hard by them,
them more then a mile off,
came to Afcalon, or by off

Chronicon Hierosolym-
itanum p. 11. saile of ships, and
were in thort space vanguis-
hed, dum sic in superbia &
tis armorum terroribus C
Baldwinus in tybis & corn-
tem illorum crudeli bello e
quoque qui nauigio appul-
pitu vociferantes, Babylon-
eos affligentes, donec bello
runt. Alij verò ab infector-
rum fluctuatione absorpti su-
nue hac die tria millia Sarax

Yet notwithstanding, af-
terward, by reason of the
their many forceable and ter-
ring king Baldwin issued o-
fawm, and with a very strong
great hostes and outcries, he
The Christians also who arri-
ues and howlings in horrible
batter the Babylonians, and
sars being wearied with fight
Christians fled towards Afc-
them, lepi into the sea, and w-
with the inhabitants thereof
and Saracens, and but a few

**¶ A Fleet of Eng-
loppa in the Holy
of Hierusalem. W
nicle of Hierusalem**



The same
tholike hi-
nation of
more men
werpe, ac-
Iaphet, or
the kings
which naue the chiefeft and
shill preserve the Kings life,
aduers of Christian professi-

The same in English.

While the Sarazens continued their siege against Ioppa, two hundred sail of Christian ships arrived at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Orho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall prouision, arrived here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Ioppa, the third day of Iuly, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Ierusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power toynded themselves boldly, close by them euen face to face in a longg hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults were the citizens of Iaphet.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this historie of these two hundred sail of ships, and sheweth how by their prouesse chieflie, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and ouerthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso vero die tercia feria dum sic in superbia & elatione suæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni persisterent, & multis armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent, sexta feria appropinquante, Rex tem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus insonantes. Christiani quoque qui nauigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & graui strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, & uisum atque mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, & ultra vim non sustinentes fugam uersus Ascalonem inierunt. Alij uero ab insecutoribus eripi existimantes, & maris credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Cecidit hac die tria millia Saracenorum: Christianorum uero pauci perijisse inuenti sunt.

The same in English.

Yet notwithstanding, after the said third day of Iuly, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the first day of Iuly early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and low sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on euery side making great shouts and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arrived in the naule, rearing great clamours and noises, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, untill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, not able longer to endure and hold out against the nature of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, leapt into the sea, and were swallowed up in the waues thereof. And so the citie of Ioppa and Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arrived at Ioppa in the Holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.



The same time also in the seventh yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholicke king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seue thousand, hauing with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Anwerpe, arrived with ships which they call Busses, at the haue of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, untill they hauing obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which naule the chiefeest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this manner. Wee prelerue the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and deuotous of Christian profession, haue, through the helpe of God, capled hither through mightie

and large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to w^h they at Ierusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to treat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe to Ierusalem, and w^hship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

The king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the knowne wayes vnto Ierusalem and all other places of deuotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Lord their duties in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great ioy, and without all let vnto Ioppa: where finding the king, they vowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answer to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunde the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid, and the other chiefe men of warre, he determined to haue meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

Who, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their diuers opinions & arguments, at length it seemed best vnto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peradventure, through Gods helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be overcome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Saracens which continually rebelled, were commended, and abid. When of the king every one to go home, and to furnish themselves with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Every one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the incursions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countrie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediately after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the bay of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same ambassadours also declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull: and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were coming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engines, and warlike instruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were knowne. Whereupon they all agreed that it should so be done according to the kings commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the haue of Iaphet, & would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

The king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of foure dayes engines, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most conuenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an invincible power of men of warre was arrived at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonished, fearing that by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cesaria, Asfur, Acres, Cyprus, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediators, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yearly pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceasing to besiege and inuade their city, he would spare their liues. Whereupon these businesse was handled from day to day betwene the king and the citizens, and they solicited the king for the ransomning both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment

of the wages which he ought to haue because he feared the king as yet meddle with the same.

In the meane space Hugh of Tabaria, a chiefe man of warre, called Suet, very rich in goods of the Damascenes, who had sufficed him for the defence of his company. This purpose was as farre as the citie of Damascus, together with flocking on all partes together, passed forth as farre as the citie. There beggan a great famine, the other inducured with all preuailing, the pray was refused, suddenly vnderstanded backe vpon the spurre, the king, and succouring their friends being unarmed, and immediately inuading and wounding backe which pierced choynge people. Here upon the croaking deubed through the sea, the word of Hugh, which the mounte I habar, where the champion was honourable Gerard, the same time lay downe his sicknesse of his body merced after, and was buried by

After the lamentable buriall of these princely pall, the money which was offered to make peace with the king had beggan. Whereupon they came downe to Acres with the king and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, and forthwith hoping purple, and diuerse other glorie, and casting their ancre, such as were priuile & acquaintance of the English men and Danes, and what great confidence he reposed in being departed and dead, he permitted the armie assembled, the king was dissolved, and the English their fleet, saluted the king

The trauailes of

A Thelardus Bachoni omnes, diligentiā tēteris seculi philotopelscens, vt virent a

of the wages which he ought unto his souldiers, backened wholy unto this offer of money. Pow-
ble because he feared the Chistians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not
as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

In the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two
hundred hoysmen and foure hundred footmen, invaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle
of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might
have sufficed him for the bessege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king,
and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led
away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Casaria Philippi, the Turkes which
dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrey perceiving this,
locking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and
passed forth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and
there beggan a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray,
the other indououred with all their might to recouer it, untill at length the Turkes and Saracens
prevailing, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of
hoysmen, suddenly understanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently
ret backe upon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the ene-
mies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfortunatly. For Hugh,
being unarmed, and immediately rushing into the midst of all dangers, and after his woound
manner invading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the
backe which pierced through his liver and best, he gaue up the ghost in the handes of his owne
people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recovered pray, and be-
ing divided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought
the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by
the mount T haber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthy a prince, and va-
liant champion was honourably and Catholikey interred. The brother of the said Hugh named
Gerard, the same time lay sicke of agrieuous diseafe. Which hearing of the death of his brother,
his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight
dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

After the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the
death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to recouer
the money which was offered him for his differring off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissem-
bling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he
had begonne. Thereupon sending a message vnto Iaphet, hee abused the English souldiers to
come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besie-
ging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly vpon the kings commaunde-
ment, and forthwith hopping by the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and streamers of
purple, and diuerse other gloriois colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came
thither, and casting their ankers, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling vnto him
such as were priuie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe vnto the chiefe Captaines
of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother,
and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that now there fore
they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time
dissimile the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spread among the people, the ar-
mie was dissolved, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going a-
board their fleete, salued the king, and returned home vnto their native countries.

The trauailes of one *Athelard* an Englishman, recorded
by master *Bale Centur. 2.*

Athelardus Bathoniensis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, & causas
omnes, diligentia tam vndeunque exquisita percuratus est, ut cum aliquibus ve-
teris seculi philologis non indigne conferri possit. Hic olim spectata indolis Ado-
lescens, ut virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fecundaret, atque ad res magnas
pararet

pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verd Egyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inuenisset, quæ eius desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demum reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginæ partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

A Thelard a Monk of the Abbe of Faxe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and uses of naturall things, that he deserueth worthily to be compared with some of the ancient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and traualled into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. Centur. 13.

Hic etiam Gulielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henrico primo.



Guilielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cõmendabilis, Anno Domini 1128. postquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiscopus præficebatur. Est autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquissima, Phœniciæ vniuersæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolumarum frequentia primum semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, & Epistolæ, ad Dominum migravit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, & in Tyrensi Ecclesiâ sepelitur.

The same in English.

William the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Ierusalem, called the Loys Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restor'd againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ierusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest ppointe of Syria, both for fruitful comonities and multitude of inhabitants. This William having in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of Robertus Ketenensis.



Robertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primum per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, ultra mare statim visitare prouincias in animo constituit: Peragratiss ergo Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluiuium Hiberum Astrologiæ artis studio, cum Hermannus quodam Dalmata, magis sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

This Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: but after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuersities of England, determined to traualle to the partes beyond sea: and so traualled through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he was in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue himselfe wholly to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of c king of France



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separat
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Both the princes ppointed on their iourney, with very great power, followed after accompanied by many, Bishops, Engli

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Nno Domini 117
Constibularium C
quenti: qui fuit vic

In the pere of our Loys
table of Chester, & 1200
was in the twentieth pere of

The voy

William Mandeuil e
Holy land in the 24

English men we
in the reigne of
repolata and Camden

Aminde Anglian
mas orbis Christian
Constantinopolitanor
Comneni filius, ve
familiaritati suæ applicabat, a
pore fuerint imperatorum illo
Caropolatæ dicti. Qui vbique
lebant, cum Imperator ex ora
res suas collidentes vt sonitum

From this time forward the
Edicates of Christendome, no
men were sent for to be the guardian
John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus
highly esteeming their fidelitie,
came: so that long time afterwa
called by Nicetas Choniata, In
accompanied the Emperour with
Emperour comming from his
ords together to make a terrible

A voyage of certaine English men vnder the conduct of Lewes king of France vnto the Holy land.



An expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit. Imperator enim Conradus praecebat iungere aliquot milia Italorum, Germanorum, aliarumque gentium amplissimis copiis. Rex vero Lodouicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, quæstri simul & pedestri agmine comitatus. *Gulielmus Neubrigensis, fol. 371.*

117.
Temp. regis
Sancti.

The same in English.

Both the princes provision being made for so great an expedition, they suering their armies, betook on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of Frenchmen, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, Englishmen, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Gascoins,

The voyage of Iohn Lacy to Ierusalem.

Anno Domini 1173 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Constabularium Cestrie & dominum de Halton, qui obiit in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit viceffimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi. 1173.

The same in English.

In the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Constable of Chester, & lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandeuile to Ierusalem.

William Mandeuile earle of Essex, with others English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101. 1177.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. *Malmesburienfis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 26.*



Am inde Anglian non minus belli gloria, quam humanitatis cultui inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes in primis floruit. Adeo vt ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noster Malmesburienfis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio transferbens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniata, Barangi Curopolata dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem prosequerantur ferentes humeris secures, quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglice vitam diuturnam secures suas collidentes vt sonitum ederent, precabantur.

The same in English.

From this time forthward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing Estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humilitie. So far forth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, vsed them very nere about him, recommending them ouer to his charge: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held vp when the Emperour coming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished vnto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by Henry the 2.



The same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian soldiers in the Holy land, That is to wit, tenn thousand forster thousand markes of silver, and five hundred markes of golde. Math. Park and Holsen. pag. 103.

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, vnto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries Nobles men and subiects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Howden, in *Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.*



Odem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito praelio campesstri cum Soltano Iconij & illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliz,

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitus coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliz, charissimo amico suo, salutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputer notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quae sibi obueniunt; ideo & de his quae nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauimus declarare tui voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis nostrae imperium nostrum aduersus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriarum, eleuarique in nomen dei, & Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quocirca & alio quidem tempore indifferenter inuasit eos, & prout deus ei concessit, sic & fecit. Et quae ab ipso frequenter parata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum & perditionem, imperium nostrum credentibus nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, & bellum contra omnem Persidem mouere, quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatus fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum status, poterit eos inuasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas: sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum instrumentorum conferentium ciuitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: ideo nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum aigere poterat. Amplius autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduersus nos militaret in bellis aduersarius, & agitudine difficillima fluxus ventus inuasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperij nostri pertransibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malum inualefcens maxime nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia conceperant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij nostri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto a nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet angustiae loci, quae a Persis nominatur Cibricimam, propinquauimus, tot Persarum turmaz peditum & equitum, quorum plerumque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro superuenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederent numerus. Exercitu itaque imperij nostri propter viam omnino angustiam & difficultatem, vsque ad decem milliaria extenso; & cum neque qui praebant possent postremos defendere, neque versus rursum postremi possent praecedentes iuuare, non mediocriter ab inuicem hos distare accidit. Sed primae cohortes permultum ab acie imperij nostri diuidebantur, postremae oblatae, illa non praestolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis praelijs cognouerant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subuentorem cum inuenissent, postiora statuerunt invadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arcetissimo igitur vbique loco existente, instabant barbari vndique, à dextris & à sinistris, & aliunde dimicantes, & tela super nos quasi imbres descendencia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hac itaque imperium nostrum vbi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportum iudicabat retrò expedire, atque illos qui illic erant adiuvare, expectando vtique contra infinita illa Persarum agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circumdaretur, patrauerit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de tua nobilitas. Inter hac autem existente imperio nostro, & omne belli grauiorem in uictum sustinente, postremae cohortes vniuersae Graecorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatae, quae iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impetitione vinctur, & ita violentè ferebantur, dum ad adiacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum

naculum festinarent: sed perturbante oculos, & quod aderat profundum conuertere, quod alij aliter ex clissimis & intimis importabilem impulsu, an, fauciaturque, adeo uerantiam ipsius, & non lum scandere aduersus illorum timore incitauerat, & de morte eripiente ad exercitus suos accurrere, rursus exercitibus nostris, lauit, ut ipsum rursum in sermonibus, & requisitis, & seruicium suum capitulos aboluere, & ei omni potestate morati suis diis testudinibus & machinis quae eas trahebant: Simul et agitudine laborabat sub vexillis nostris, & postquam regressus, tribulatio maxima tamen Deo gratia autem habuimus, quod quod robore de omnibus quae acciderunt illis qui ceciderunt, propter illos qui ceciderunt, rare tibi, vt dilecto amico nostrorum intimam confa-

In the yeere 1177, Manuel the Soldan of Iconium, and the following.

Manuel Comnenus in Constantinople, crowned by the Romans; vnto Henrie the second King of England, wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries Nobles men and subiects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Howden, in *Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.*

naclum festinarent sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem eleuato puluere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitum conuerunt, quod alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, sed ex elissimis & intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis, faucibusque, adeo vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obstupentes perfectum scandere aduersarios permisit, in quo dimicauit deo, campum obrinuit. Neque locum illorum timore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina cum ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quod post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, non oportuno modo dispensauit, rem huiusmodi dispensationibus, & requisitis pacem illius, promittens omnem imperij nostri adimplere voluntati, & seruitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captiuos absolueret, & esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in dictis testudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quod boues cecidissent a telis in modo pluuiæ iactis, magna agitudine laborabam, suscepit Soltani deprecationem & scædera & iuramenta peracta suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, autem habuimus, quod quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabit de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Ceterum autem, licet contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportuno tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico nostro, & vt permultum coniuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem, Vale. Data mense Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

In the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperor of Constantinople hauing fought a fielde with the Golden of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote vnto Henry the second king of England in manner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the euertlasting God a faithful emperor, descended of the lineage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most souereigne, and gouernour of the Romanes; vnto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to aduertise you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie vnto your royal Maestie certaine exploits at this present achieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnesse hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph ouer Christians, to exalt themselves against the name of God, and to vsurpe ouer Christian kingdomes. For which cause our imperiall highnesse hath in some sort encountered them heretofore, and do as it pleased God to giue vs grace. And we suppose that your Maestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subuersion. For euen now, being vrged therunto, we haue determined to leane a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly invaded them. Wherefore our Maestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our army sundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our journey. Moreover, while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against vs: our people were visited with the small grievous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troupes destroyed and slew great numbers, more then the sword of the enemy would haue done, Which mischiefe so preuailing, did wonderfullly abate our forces. But after we had invaded the Turkish frontiers, we had as the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troupes. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our soldiers. But as we approached vnto that straight passage which is called by the Persians

Persians Cibrilciman, so many bands of Persian foemen and hozemen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountered our army, as were almost superiour unto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to helpe the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to rescue the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very need the foremost troups were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellows behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was doctlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiving the narrownesse of the place to be a great advantage, they determined to set upon our reerward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assaying vs upon the right hand and upon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against vs, slew diuers of our men and hozes. Whereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing our maiestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind, and to succour our bands in the reerward, and to expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person achieved in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your maiestie may perhaps understand moze of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the midst of this conflict, and enduring the fight with so great danger, all our hindermost troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retreating themselves close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safeguard, they byged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and utterly depeyved vs of sight, and our men and hozes pressing so close one upon the necke of another, plunged themselves on the sudden into such a sleepe and dangerous valley, that treading one upon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but diuers most honourable personages, some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restrain the irresistible throng of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being enuironed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (in so much that the miscreants were greatly dismayed at our constancie) we gaue not ouer, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemy to ascend unto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred we on our hozes any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our troups together, and deliuering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperiall person; and so we ouertooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Howe the Soldan perceiving that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our Imperiall highnesse promised to giue him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe vnto vs, and vsing submissile speeches, made suite to haue peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our maiestie Imperiall, to doe vs seruice against all commers, to release all our subjects which were captiues in his realme, and to rest wholly at our commaund. Were therefore we remained two dayes with great audacity; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, having lost all our warlike engines both for defence and for battell, for that the open which dyed them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as hailestones: and also for because all our beasts in a manner were most grievously diseased; our maiestie Imperiall accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our ensignes, and granted our peace with him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieved for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and yeelding vnto God most humble thanks, who of his goodnesse had euen now giuen vs the victory. We are right glad likewise that some of your maiesties princes and nobles accompanied vs in this action, who are able to repose vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieved for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signify vnto you the successe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, some who is verie neerly allied vnto our highnesse Imperiall, by reason of the consanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Given in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

¶ The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recouerie of Ierusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawn out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe.



King Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembering the rebellions that he had vndoutfully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasses, and in part

...the citie of
Iconium situated
vnto haue
bene besieged.

Certaine nobles
men of the
king of England
were with the
Emperour in
his battell
against the Sol-
dan of Iconium.

of conflict
the recouery
Richard im-
men diuers
Christians
Reaine the

Having the
Philip the
wise name
he sent word
polling vpon
certaine
to bee ready
met together

In the peec
in his absence
and came to
the French kin
selues by solen

That either
vnto him
in their
and down
Richard
minions

Concerning
of was this.

1. That w
shotten into the
2. And if he
be buried with h
3. He that
to strike any man
4. Also he el
three times in the
5. Item, w
one another, for
6. Item, a ch
and dopling pitch
he may be knowne

These things
streights of Gibr
as is said to Vize
the bridge ouer th
were drowned: b
trained to differe
sily; and so Philip
remained 8. day
Genoa where the
er not farre from
King Richard
pillars, and ten gr
and wagon, and par
and that his ship
September entre
new, that it was to
and beare and behol

en (most whereof came
e army, as were almost
ghness, by reason of the
; and the first not being
came to passe that they
were much separated
hind, would not they
by their former conflicts
perceiving the narrow
re reward, and did so,
s upon the right hand
as hailstones against
ple still encreasing our
bands in the rearward,
Persians. What re-
dlesse at this time to
hem which were there
office, and enduring the
nes, and other nations,
e of their enemies was
ning to ascend the moun-
other they would of us,
reputed us of light, and
hemselfes on the side
er, they quelled to death
ble personages, some
f to huge a multitude of
f Infidels, and giving
ailed at our constancie)
e permit the enemy to
yet spurred we on our
gether, and delivring
we overtook the foe-
an perceiving that no
gines pould to give
unlike speeches, made
mate the Imperiall, to
captives in his realme,
des with great outcri-
conium, having lost all
which dye to them were
also for because all we
accepted of the Soldan
granted our peace was
for the losse of our bet-
we had even now given
princes and nobles as
which have happened. And
it is we expedient to sig-
one who is very neerly
children. Farewell.

of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voyage with him for
the recovery of Christs patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: whereupon the sayd king
Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey,
into Mues means to take up summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the
Christians to make thereofe and ten thousand pounds, and the Jewes which then dwelt in the
Realme thereofe thousand,

Having thus gotten sufficient money for the exploit, he sent certaine Barons and Barons to
Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his pro-
mise made for the recovery of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom
he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solenne othe, de-
voting upon the Evangelists, that he the yere next following, about the time of Easter, had cer-
tainly promised to advesse himselfe toward that journey, requiring him likewise not to faile, but
to bee ready at the terme above limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should
meete together.

In the yere therfore 1190. King Richard having committed the government of this realme
in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, advanced forward his journey,
and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where
the French king & he toying together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured them-
selves by solenne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whole oth was this,

*That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie
unto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other
in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land
and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Cite of Paris if it were besieged: and that
Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Do-
minions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Cite of Roan if it were besieged, &c.*

The oth of fi-
delitie betwix
King Richard,
and the French
king.

Concerning the lawes and ordinaunces appointed by K. Richard for his Maie, the forme ther-
of was this.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboard, should be tied with him that was slaine, and
thrown into the sea,
2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and
be buried with him in the earth.
3. He that shalbe convicted by lawfull witness to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent
to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand,
4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged
three times in the sea.

The discipline
and othere of
the King.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reviling or cursing
one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.
6. Item, a chiefe or felon that hath stolen being lawfully convicted, shal have his head thorne,
and toppling pitch potized upon his head, and feathers or downe straved upon the same, whereby
he may be knowne, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast by.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Maie by the Spanish seas, and by the
streights of Gibraltar, betwixt Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went
as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where
the hynde over the flood Rhodanus with plesse of people bzaie, and many both men and women
were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were con-
strained to dislitter themselves for time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Si-
cily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where
he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Maie to meete him. From thence crossing over to
Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entered into Ti-
ber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Maie which came not, he there hired 30.
gallies, and ten great barks to ship over his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by hoize
and wagon, and partly by the sea, pailling to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had
heard that his ships were arrived at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of
September entered Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Schalmes, with such a rout and
shout, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that
did heare and beholds the sight.

To the said towne of Messina the French king was come before the 16. of the same month of September, and had taken by the pallasce of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arrivall estoones resorted, and when the two kings had commited together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the haven, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messina. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for delivrance of Ioane his sister (who had bin sometimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messina.

The 2. of October king Richard won another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the streight del Fare, betwene Messina & Calabria, from whence he should have been expelled, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messina seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to invade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking buiers of their heads, could not assuage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messina. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallasce of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parties laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the said month of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messina with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Cardes, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messina issuing out of the towne, some went by upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion of lodging of Hugh Brune an English capitaine. The noise whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselves. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making up to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaine, unto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom five vallant souldiours & twentie of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking upon, and not once willing to refuse them, contrary to his oide, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well have eased the Kings partie, moze then he, if it had so liked him.

Messina won
by the English

This being knowne to the English holte how their fellows were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being all stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set by their flags with the English armies upon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set up, & toynd with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Voluntaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then upon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their old and league before made, concerning their mutual aid and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betwene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily upon foresaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawn, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement

being dated the ninth of this time by for lacke of winde and bynarie, in the peere 1. ther Elinore, and Beresed to marry, who by her flanders, and so procured Messina.

In this meane space men: to the French king rewards, and of his trust about him, of whom it was necessary did in a whole sort entirely rebounded to the same afterwarde proove.

The first day of October and went to Cathneia, ship received, and there fourth day when he should have returned, and precious for a token of his good will length when king Richard needed would give him menes accompanie him.

Then the next morning message, which the French king sent whereof were meant keepe the peace that him secretly by night the son of him and all his army four, no never had bene: broken through him: newe (withe Comparment, in which Tancredus heard, he byrgerth himselfe, affirming more good letters, he was ready to criers, and musing not a little king Richard departed, that abode with him that night.

From that time King Richard gentle countenance of peace, marvelling, and enquiring by Philip earle of Flanders for testimony thereof of the king of Sicily: which when conscience, not knowing began to quarrell with king and to maligne him: and that meanes would avoid the danger that if he would see would be an enemy to him.

To this king Richard sayd his father had carnall copy and there presently to bring. In conclusion, though a last was made, so that king Richard, and king Richard againe, two thousand markes place. And thus peace

being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time untill Februarie the next yeere, these two kings kept still at Messina, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayd September, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundisium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sapled to Messina.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers shippes, vpon others likewise he bestowed riches, and of his treasure and goods he distributed largely to his souldiers and seruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchaseth great loue and fauour, which not quile afterward prooued.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messina, where the French King was, and went to Cathnea, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honored, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needed would giue him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traymour, & would neuer keepe the peace that was betwene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, secretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traymour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleue that the French King being his good lord, and his credus Companioner in that voyage, would utter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he byngeth forth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreover, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and mulling not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messina. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messina againe.

From that time King Richard moued in stomacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was wont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what wordes he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderstood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged (sayd he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by what meanes would auoid to marry with Alike his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreover that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alike his sister according to his oath, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forso much as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for prooue whereof he sheweth presently to bring forth diuers & sundry witness to the kings face, to confute with him. In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French king, agreement was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betwene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of March,

March, the French king lanching out of the haven of Medina, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messina, king Richard with his armie per-
 maining behinde, arrivede Quene Alinor the kings mother, byinging with her Berengaria the
 king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard on
 April following, about the 20 day of the last moneth, departed from the haven of Messina with
 150 great ships, and 53 great galleys well manned and appointed, and took his journey toward
 Achon: who being upon the Seas on Good Friday about the ninth houre, rose a mightie storme
 towinde with a tempest, which disordered and scattered all his Maute, some to one place, and some
 to another. The king with a few ships was driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the haven
 of Rhodes cast anchor. The ships that carried the kings sister, quene of Sicily, and Berengaria the
 king of Nauars daughter, with two ships were driven to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his galleies diligently to seeke the rest of his Flaue dispersed, but especially the Shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the place of Lymfem in the Ile of Cyprus, not withstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haun, were drowened with diuers of the kings seruantes and men of his ship, among whom was **Ed. Roger**, called **Malus Carulus**, the kings Chieftancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Iakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who took
and imprisoned all English men, which by shipwacke were cast vpon his land, also thrust into
to his hands the goods and wyles of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither
would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, beseeched the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signified to king I. lakius, both he with his English men, comming as strangers to the suppocation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather diuyn upon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition he sought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he determined in his handes, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twise, and thise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and
honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, esteemes quite com-
mandement throughout all his hoste to put themselves in armour and follow him, to reuenge the
injuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God,
and not to misboubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and giue them the victorie. The
Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English
men should arrive, with snowes, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting
hoopes, scoles, and chieffes before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most
part all vnexpt and vnskillfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before him, who with their shot made a way for others to followe. The Englishmen thus winning the vpon them, so fiercely pressed byon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, made the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many souldiers he tooke alive, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on, and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much people and great victorie, returninge the next Towne of Lymfzem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of coine . iiii. oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, march the Porte and Towne of Lynzern, with 50. great ships, and 14. gallies: so that all the English floure there meeting together, were 34. tall shippes, and aboute threescore gallies. Then Iohannes the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night picked his way six miles off from the English army, (wearing that the third day after, he would surely give battle) he told to king Richard: but he preventing him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth upon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being unware and a sleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leaving his tents and pavillions to the Englishmen, full of hoyses and munition.

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Berengaria the
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Berengaria the

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treasure, also with the Imperial Standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zandius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Limfizm.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe ouermatched, was willing at length to peeble himselfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoiles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend vpon the king to the lande of Ierusalem, in Gods hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace ere he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Island of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort peeble the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and silver, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulph sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June vpon the first of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to the next day after, which was the first day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flagge with the French armes, were in borne Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrells of unknowne serpents to the defense of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, elsioones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken aliue: which being once knownen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great hope to the Christians for winning the citie.

The next day after which was the seventh of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose coming it was not long, but by him by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof used at sundry times to call ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bills written in Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsailes of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to be done whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great reason vnto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer remember him.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Vpon the twelfth day of July the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Capitaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templars to communicate with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the foyme of which peace was this.

That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with which was therein.

That 500. equiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

That the holy crasse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with 100. hundred hoysen, whosoever they themselves would chole out of all them which were in power of the Saladine.

That they should giue vnto the Kings two hundred thousand Byzantes, so that they themselves should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance herof, that if in foixe yeeres, the aforesaid poyntments were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left governor of Cyprus.

A great ship of Saracens taken by King Richard.

King Richard arrived at Achon.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

These covenants being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundredth of the richest & best of the city, to close them by in towres vnder strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streets, mistrusting vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: whereupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but after ward so loone as they could, reuolued againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterwarde commaunded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wills.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein contained as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture what soeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers to themselves that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to the themselves somewhat discontented, which being knowne of the kings, they sent them answer that their wills should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselves by othe to remaine there still in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of those countreys: but he sayde he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and followers entered into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings palace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Barques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Christian armie with great incontinencie desired him to tarry, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue vponne that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Barques.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he behaue the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beholding of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captiues which in his possession he had with to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard understood, yet would not be present the time before limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the 30. day of August: upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and five hundred, save onely that certaine of the principal of them be reserved for purposes and considerations, specially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way between Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Asdur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came heretofore against the kings reuerward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriors acquired themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captiues, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Alicalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings coming: Alicalon the Saladine threwe downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, though all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracens by any encounter after that with R. Richard. Of all which his excellencies the Pope R. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara ualle in France, well hoping by Gods willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

Among other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and most shone to be seen, had not they falling into dissension disuersed themselves, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe chafed much the countrey of Normandy, exciting also John the brother of king Richard, to take from him the kingdome of England: in his brothers absence: who then made league vpon the

The French kings shamefull returne home.

The captiues of the Saracens slaine by King Richard.

A notable victory against the Saladins.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

with the French king, Richard. Who then betwixt yeeres: and not long after came vnto him by distress there taken by Lymbold the thousand Markes: which here following.

The letter of

Henricus Deigratia Philippo illustri Francis Celsissimo non dubitantes auctoritate nostra in reuerentiam declaramus quod quoniam effectus in transiitum esse erat induceret enim in derelictione passus nauis Quidam itaque fidelis noster terra erat, & considerat ad adueniendum, & perditionis nem Regem in fugam conuenit Archiepiscopus Salisburgensis contrauersus Austriam noster Lymboldus Dux

in domo despecta eam. Camiaq; in nostra nunciu aliter inque praeiudicium existeret animo: non vberius King Richard being thus ridged for 60000. markes. In some stories it is affirmed that he was so overcome with griefe, where he durst not obtaine it: and so Conradus the Barques, French king to the king of Bohemia duke of Austridge. Albeit in another storie Richard shew the brother of Count: and Lymboldus taken to the Emperour. In the 3. moneths. During that time warre in Normandy, but the Barons and the length it was so agreed for a hundredth and four hundred, the rest should be made in England of the publicke contribution of the present pay, for the last yeere of his reign, with Chancellors of latter times what time this affair was. I have an olde historie written by Odo, with 5. hundred, with the burning of the City of London of the year 1191. By turning all the eares

King Richard
returneth from
Palestina,

with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for thre yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne driven by distress of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lypold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HENRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR, & SEMPER AUGUSTUS, DILECTO & SPECIALI AMICO SUO, PHILIPPO ILLUSTRI FRANCORUM REGI SALUTEM, & SINCERAE DILECTIONIS AFFECTUM. QUONIAM IMPERATORIA CESSANDO NON DABITAS REGALEM MAGNIFICENTIAM IN AMPLIOREM EFFICI, DE VNIVERSIS QUIBUS OMNIPOTENTIA CREATORIS NOSTRI NOS IPSOS, & ROMANUM IMPERIUM HONORAVERIT & EXALTAVERIT, NOBILITATI TUAE PRESENTIUM DECLARARE DUXIMUS, QUOD INIMICUS IMPERII NOSTRI, & TURBATOR REGNI TUI REX ANGLIE, QUUM ESSET IN TRANSSEENDO MARE AD PARTES SUAS REVERSUS, ACCIDIT UT VENTUS RUPTA NAVI SUA, IN QUA DE PERMISSIOE PASSUS NAVIFRAGIUM ERAT, PAUCIS EVASIT.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noster Comes, MAYNARDUS DE GRODCE, & POPULI REGIONIS ILLIUS, AUDITO QUOD TERRA ERAT, & CONSIDERATO DILIGENTISSIME, QUALEM NOMINATUS REX IN TERRA PROMISSIONIS PRODITIONE & ADDITIONE, & PERDITIONIS SUAE CUMULUM EXERCERAT, INSECUS SUNT, INTENDENTES EUM CAPTINARE. IPSO REX IN FUGAM CONVERSO, C. PERIIT DE SUIS OCTO MILITES: POSTMODUM PROCESSIT REX AD BURGVMM ARCHIEPISCOPI SALSBERGENSIS, QUI VOCATUR FRISORUM, VBI FRIDERICUS DE BEEFOW, REGE CUM TRI-
bus tantum versus AUSTRIAM PROPERANTE, NOCTEM SEX MILITES DE SUIS CAPIT: DILECTUS AUTEM CONSANGUINARIUS NOSTER LIMPOLDUS DUX AUSTRIE, OBSERVATA STRATA SEPE, DICTUM REGEM INXTA DENAM IN VILLA VI-
vendi in domo despecta captivum.

Cum itaq; in nostra nunc habeatur POTESTATE, & IPSE SEMPER TUA MOLESTANT, & TURBATIONIS OPERAM RESISTIT, & QUAE PRAMISSIMAE NOBILITATI TUAE INFSIMARE CURAVIMUS, SCIENTES EA DILECTIONIS TUAE BENEPLACITO EXISTERE, QUIMO Tuo VERRIMUS IMPORTARE LETITIAM. Datum apud RHEBOMUNN 5. Kalendas Ianua-
King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Au-
ridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some histories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with pro-
picious winds, where he desired of the Pope to be absolved of an othe made against his will and
also not obtaine it: and so seeking out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey
Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsely imputed by the
French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is also sayde) by Lim-
poldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king
Richard slew the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chess in the French Kings
court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and delivred him (as is
sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was detained during the time above mentioned, a
yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the kings enurance, the French king in the meane
while stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made strife and invasion
in England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him,

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be re-
deemed for a hundred and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke
of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered
made in England of chalices, crosses, hymes, candlesticks and other Church plate, also
by publicke contribution of Friars, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part
was presently payd, & for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was
the first yeere of his reigne: and then it was obtained of the Pope, that Priests might cele-
brate with Chalters of latten and stone.

At what time this aforesaid money was payde, and the hostages given for the ransom of the
king, I have an olde history which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after
killed by God, with 5. hundred piagurs.

With the burning of his chiefe Townes,

With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how,
By turning all the eares of his coyne silver into womes.

The last imbu-
ment of God
upon the Duke
of Austria.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.
 5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to haue giue R. Richard 5000 marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declarerh, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.
 But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed & deliuered from the courtes captiuitie of the Emperoz, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Chyistian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Chyistianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King Richard's voyage to Ierusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by *Guilelmus Neobrigensis*, and *Roger Hoveden*.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

Scribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
 aurea, materiae conueniente nota.
 Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
 tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema Iope.
 Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
 merfus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

Epitaphium eiusdem ubi viscera eius requiescunt.

Viscera Karolum, corpus fons seruat Ebraldi,
 & cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The life and traualles of *Baldwinus Denonius*, sometime Archbisshop of Canterbury.



Baldwinus Denonius, tenui loco Excestriz natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, & ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies apertissimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primum erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit præterea Cisterciensis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Ccenobij, magnus suorum assilatione, ac vniuersæ eorum pietati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis præsul, fuit & mortuo pæmum Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneris Baldwinus sollicitè inuigilans, egegrum se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbiq; locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regij insignijs, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria parauit. Secutus est illic regem in Syriam, & Palestinam vsque Baldwinus, vt esset in tam Sancto (vt ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ sex & 6 annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & sepultus est.

The same in English.

Baldwine a Denonshire man boine in Excester of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first all a Schoolemaster; after wards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wisdom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monk and Abbot of Foord Monastrie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, he wrode himselfe worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in euery place as farre forth as the iniquity of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indouour prepared a flect and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Ierusalem, taking with him the standard and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwin esloones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his traualles, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. He was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yerres; but hauing followed the king into Syria, the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

Sir Fred. Tilney

An anno
 taken out
 Fol. 229.

In nec primos Thon
 iuniora nostris (pro
 quibus, tam remotis fin
 modum iter accipiens
 do, in portu Tyrensi in
 obsequium Aconem tra
 ctu, in summa & solati
 gito, alios in e & inc
 diem scilicet in terra
 dens, sumptibus & imp

This Baldwin bet
 which was done to
 egypt, taking upon him
 in the obedience therof,
 his iourney and imbarke
 safely in theauen of Ty
 Coune, and yet (as it wa
 almost all men remainin
 the priores, some of the
 and power, and others s
 his vases in the Holy lan
 aped them at his colles
 ples of life.

A note drawe
 hands of the ri
 Frederike Tilney h
 Richard the first.

Erratum
 militi fac
 erat iste
 apud Tir
 do in salu
 tum sexde
 quorum vnus post alium
 credicas heredi generali de
 nus fuit Philippus Tirney
 de Tilney de Hadleigh in C
 lize 64. Anno Domini 15

This booke pertained in
 Lincolne, who was kni
 Richard the first. This k
 his forefathers at Tiring
 The iust height of thi
 us mans decale, the inber
 and all by the name of Tilney
 of his age, untill such time as th
 was married vnto Iohn duke of
 of Shelleigh in the Countie
 in the Countie afore sayd
 of his age 64. and in the p

Sir Fred. Tilney. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

29

¶ An annotation concerning the traualles of the sayd Baldwine,
taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*, lib. 2. Cap. 14.
Fol. 229.

In primis Thomas Becketi successor hic secundus, audita saluatoris & salutiferæ Crucis
inimica nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in eiusdem obse-
quijs, tam remotis finibus quam propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et post-
modum iter accipiens, nauigioque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profun-
dum, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter &
obsessum Aconem transiit: ubi multos ex nostris inueniens, & serè cunctos principum defe-
ctos, alios (sanctæ & inopia grauiter afflicto), quosdam verò æris inclementia distemperatos,
dens, sumptibus & impensis, verba, & vitæ mercedis confirmauit.

The same in English.

This Baldwine being the second successor vnto Thomas Becker, after he had heard þe wrong
which was done to our Saviour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladin the Sultan of E-
gypt taking vpon him the Lozys Character, he courageously perforemmed his office of preaching
in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreys as at home. And afterwaros taking
his iourney and imbarcking himselfe at Martels, hauing at length passed þe Leuant Sea, he arriued
safely in theauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, besieging the
towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreyemen, and
almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensiuensitie and despair, through the withholding of
the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuouly afflicted with hunger
and pouertie, and others distempered with the feate of the weather, being ready haply to enue-
nison them in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he
appoynted them at his costes and charges, and strenghtened them with his wozzes and good exam-
ples of life.

¶ A note drawn out of a very ancient booke remaining in the
hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir
Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K.
Richard the first, as foloweth.



Ermituit iste liber prius Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolniz
militi facto apud Acon in terra ludæ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir
erat iste magnæ stature & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus suis dormit
apud Tirington iuxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Merishland. Cuius altitu-
do in salua custodia permanet ibidem usque in hunc diem. Et post eius obi-
tum sexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successiue obue-
nit, quorum vnus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris
hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta est, quæ nupta est Iohanni duci Norfolkiz, Eorum miles vl-
timus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciz, pater & genitor Tho-
mæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cuiusmodi attinet iste liber, Anno æta-
tis sue 64. Anno Domini 1556.

¶ The same in English.

This booke pertained in times past vnto Sir Frederike Tilney of Boston in the Countie of
Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yere of the reigne of
Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred
by his forefathers at Tirington, neere vnto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name
Tilney. The iust height of this knight is here kept in safe custody vntill this very day. Also, af-
ter his deathe, the inheritance of his landes fell successiue vnto sixteene sundry knights
all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston
vntill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire general, which
was married vnto Iohn duke of Norfolk. The last knight of that name was Sir Philip Tilney
of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Had-
leigh in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, vnto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the
yere of his age 64. and in the yere of our Lozd, 1556.

¶ The trauailes of one Richard Iurnamed Canonicus.



Richardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis sanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impense amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos nutrebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palestinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuersus, omnia quæ præfens vidit in urbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam earum quam profana descripsit. Neque interim omisit eiusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addiditque præclaro suo operi hoc apertissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

Richard Iurnamed Canonicus an obferuane Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the Studie of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. At last by his continuall endeouour and longer exercise therein, hee grew to be such an Orator and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing, by reason wherof hee grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vnderooke that long voyage with him into Palestina: no Syria against the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes, and tentes of the Souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giuing to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. He flourished in the yere of our Redemption 1200. vnder Iohn king of England.

¶ The trauailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.



Gulielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palestina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babylonie Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idemque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infeliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opusq; iam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addens hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multaque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubio, sed num extent illa eius scripserim, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in preio, Anno à salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The same in English.

William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman born, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and beheld his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee vnderstanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanishe Isles, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the ferocious Saracens. All which things he wrote and exprested them as it were in liuely colours, as they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse, which the fornamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke hee dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turnham a most expert Captaine of warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that to a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yere after the birth of Christ 1200. vnder king Iohn.



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The large contribution to the luccour of the Holy land, made by king John of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. *Math.*
Paris and Holmsh. pag. 164.



The same time also the kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went to scyth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore graunted vnto them the fourth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled to serue it now againe.

The trauailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

Hubertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenioq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palestina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incepto, ad eum cursim diuertebat: Quem & ille statim in Angliam misit, vt illic regis Senatus autoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi seruasse, quod vir prouidus, præstans, foris, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a dolore demum obijisse fertur. Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses 6. dies sex: quum vidisset ex intestinis odij, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pelsum regnante Ioanne.

The same in English.

Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefe of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from Palestina and came to his journey into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leaving his journey homeward, he went presently and in small haste to the place where the king was captiued, whom he brought immediately vpon his commanding sent into England, that by the authority of the counsell, tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert perfozmed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Can:eburie, and after the death of king Ric: and he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother John that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so received of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, hauing bene Archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8. months and six dayes, by reason of the ciuil discords abroad, whereby all things were topsie turuay and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of Robert Curson.

Robertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum circus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonij Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutori- bus, ex summa itera ingenio, anes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, samam sibi inter sua celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde me- ditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petijt, illic Theologus doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus: & sic vtique Mathæus Parisius, ac Westminsterius, de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum: Anno Domini 1208 (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ & Egypti rē, sub Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus, celeberrimi generis nobilis, & Romana Ecclesie Cardinalis, &c. Bostonus Buriensis in suo Catalogo Cursonum

Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per predictos testes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

Robert Curson descended of a noble family of England, used great diligence as well in profane as in divine studies in the famous University of Oxford (as I conjecture.) He had there the best schoolmasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by means whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he lived. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Divinity, at Rome he was made cardinal: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damietta a city of Egypt under Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, &c. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous cleare of noble parentage, and cardinal of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue repository, that he wrote diuers books. He flourished in the yere also sayd by the witnesses also sayd. Henry the third sonne of king Iohn being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with diuers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Math. Paris. Holmsh. pag. 202.

In the yere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had beleaged the city of Damietta in Egypt. In which enterpryse the valiancy of the same earle after his coming thither was to his great praise most apparent. There went with him in that journey Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, besides diuers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, Iohn constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliver fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and diuers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

In this yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their journey which they made to the Holy land. Math. Paris. Holmsh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The traualles of Ranulph Glanville earle of Chester.

Ranulphus Glanville Castrie Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & vtroque im-
eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me meritis ponendus venit. Ita probi
omnes adolescentie suae annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis confectus
uit, ut non prius in hominem peracrem euaserit, quam nomen de cuiusque
insigni eruditione sibi comparauerit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heresi
Ptolemaidem, in quo cum Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege concilio, Da-
miamam Egypti urbem obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humane 1218. Misit ille
Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranul-
phum, ad rem Christianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus, Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium
laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuersus, scripsit. De le-
gibus Angliae librum vnum. Fertur praeterea, & alia quaedam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum,
ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à seruatoris nostri natiuitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Ha-
ricus certius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The same in English.

Ranulph Glanville earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both
lawes, deserves of due to be here placed by me in the catalogue of famous and notable
men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and diuine lawes,
that he came not so loone to the age of a man, as he had partaken in his youth by reason of his
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gular learning, renoume and honour. When the noble men of France went to Proclomais, upon the counsell of Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, they resolved to besiege Damietta a cite of Egypt, in the yere 1218. And then Henry the king upon the motion of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marvellously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote other booke, after the maner of Chyist 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of Ki. Henry the third.

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Ierusalem in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of Henry the third.

ANno gratie 1231, mense vero Iulio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta iam fere per quinquennium magnifice peregrinationis voto, reuerfus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; & Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

In the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter bishop of Winchester hauing spent almost five whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and comming vnto Winchester was receiued with solemne procession into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and prosperous voyage of Richard earle of Cornwall, brother to king Henry the third, accompanied with William Longespee earle of Sarisburie, and many other noble men into Syria.

In the 24 yere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly advanced the part of the Christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longespee, and William Bassett, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furniual.

1240.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went ouer also the same time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniual with his brother Gerard de Furniual, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumon, Wiscard Leder, Punard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pefines, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poitouin, men for their ballance greatly renowned, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiers, Maith, Paris, M. West, Holensh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The coming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwin into England in the yere 1247, out of Maith. Paris, & Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

About the same time, Baldwin naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towarde the recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of William Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, Or. Long. in the yere 1248, and in the 32 yere of the reigne of Henry the third, sword.

Ewas the French king being recovered of his sicknesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the counsell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his journey into Asia, and the time thereof was also

would needs forwarde, dividing himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurs alone. To whom certaine sage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counsell, abused him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed plainly for them. The manner of mouer their wearied bodies, their tired hoxles, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency this present hunte, in which the aduersaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflamed with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious tauntes reuiled them, calling them cowardly bastards, & betrayers of the whole croile mighte loone be wooten to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellows, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they woxp knight to speake, desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be to mitigate him like wise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his woxp talles: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we haue here, if these talles and tailed people were purged from it, with other like wordes of villany, and much villaine: wherunto the Eng- mystry shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleue) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my hoxle, as in deede in the event it proved true: for Earle Robert woxd needes set forwarde, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the coming of the pay Dooges and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians conuincing, tame out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians inuading and entering into the munition incircum- pectly, were pelted and passed with stones by them which stood about, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie soe maymed, and almost in despayre.

Then immediately upon the same, rammed the Soldan with all his maine power, which see- ing the Christian armie to be deuided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heauy rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe hunte of the enemies, cried vnto him most cowardly to flic, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against vs: To whom the knight an- swering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers soules should runne away from the face of Saracene. The Earle then turning his hoxle, fled away, thinking to auoid by the swiftnesse of his hoxle, and so taking the flur: Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and vntained.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to despayre and scatter. Then William Longespe hearing all the force of the enemies; stood against them as long as he could, murthering and slaying many a Saracene, till at length his hoxle being killed; and his legs maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, murthered their errand bryges; and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, on the resilience of the armie, whom they had compassed on eery side, deuoured and murthered small, insomuch that scarce one man remained alive, saving two Templaries, one Hospitalier, and one poore rascall souldier, which he sought riding, heretofore the King.

And thus by the impudent and foolish hardness of this French Earle, the Frenchmen were murthered, and that valiant English knight overmarched, to the griefe of all Christian people; the glory of the Saracens, and the utter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie; and the same day with the same day with the whole earth, would

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¶ The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia, in the yeere 1270.



About the yeere of our Lord 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and divers other Nobles men of England tooke upon them the crosse upon sh. John Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ, for which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the tourney, there was granted him a subside throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Egumortes, which is from Malilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (hauing a mery and prosperous towe) within ten dayes arrived at Tuncz, where he was with great joy welcommed, and entertained by the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and sayd, the prince of this cite and the province adioyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every yeere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seven yeeres unpaid and more, therefore we thought good to make insurrection upon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but iustly demanded, hath now accepting in our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, to haue taken upon vs the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ: What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approach to holy city Ierusalem. Then said they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the same. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Adra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe well pleased there with: but after hee had made them a princely banquet, he went into his closet or priuy chamber from amongst them, neither would he partake of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They not withstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery windooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitifully lamenting for the perill and hazard of death that they were in: whereupon prince Edward being somewhat moued to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and redeemed and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboard.

Within seven dayes after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer against the Chia Tapas, calling their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and thoroughly fraught: and from the haven of the cite they sent out barques and boats to receiue and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their hopes for the most part, at all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the evening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest at a night: so much that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and broken down was of them at that tempest lying at anchor more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with inuulnerable forre and clothes, and that wicked money also which they had taken before: the wife perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as the ship of prince Edwards, who was in number 20. and perished one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the insurrection of the rest.

Within the morning the princes and kings came together aforesaid, and saw all their ships broken and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land downe, they had full view of the destruction, for of all their ships and machines, which were in number 1200. before the tempest commencing, there was no more saved then the timbers of one onely ship, and they were lost.

There was in that ship a good & wise Patrone, a Countesse of an Eritre wife, who perceiving the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the skipper of the ship, & asked him what he was attempting to the shore if it were not possible to save themselves: he answered, that to save the ship

was impossible: howbeit the countesse, for the safety of the shippe: who immediately as was possible, for the ship and sailed all that

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was impossible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe ye doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, save the scutes therein, and haue to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediately hoisting the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so nere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he brast the ship and saued all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe every one vnto their owne lands: only Edward the sonne of the king of England, then prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fiftene daies after Calicut arriued he at Acra, and went a land, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers

The arriual of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

and most expert, and caried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him fife or seuen thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some streit or other aduantage, were surprised by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

After this, about the summer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set vpon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate vpon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victory against the Saracens, where in 1000 of the were slain.

In the meane season the king of Ierusalem sent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they would come and loyne in ayd with him: who immediately thereupon came vnto him with great preparation of furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the gouernours of that their land, and that they might alwayes shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus, to knowledge and obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being here with animated, made a thirde voyage or road, and came as farre as the foyr called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in feare of him, they deuised among themselves how by some policy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Thereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa sent vnto him, saluing himselfe vnder great desire to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that he might be honorably entertained and vsed of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayeth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neuer feared God nor dyed death.

The first time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched according to the manner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had vpon into the princes chamber, and after his seruice done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his loze, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsonide, vpon a Tuesday, some great heat and incertepature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his loze would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The prince of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat to consulte the reed amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and shewing his obedience to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an inuentioned by his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme, and being about another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he felde to the ground: with that the prince gaue him by the hand, and with such violence waded the

Wither Edward stricken with a wound.

knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the fozehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

The pynces seruantes being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the bussing, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke up a stooke, and beat out his bzaines: whereat the pynce was wroth soz that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone throughout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, soz which they were very heauy, and greatly vncomraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious ringe against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the liuely blood, and in this mingling wife sayd vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgeons and Physicians were sent for, and the pynce was dyssed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrefie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the pynce began to mutter among themselves, and were very sad and heauy.

Which thing he himselfe perceiving, said vnto them: why mutter you thus among your selves? What see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the truth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painful for you to suffer. Whay sufferings (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the pynce, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace repulch special trust? to whom the pynce answered Dea, naming certeine of the Noble men that were about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the pynce first named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord John Voise, And doe you also faithfully loue your Lord and Pynce? Whio answered both, Dea vnboubredly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you there vnto. Whereupon they tooke her from the pynces ptesence, crying out, and wyinging her hands. Then sayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weep a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuentioned flesh out of the pynces arme, and threw it from them, and sayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall see your selfe abroade (if God permit) vpon your horsebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the pynce, it came to passe, to the much comfort and admiration of all his subiects.

When the great Shoulban heard hereof, and that the pynce was yet alive, he could scarcely beleue the same, and sending vnto him three of his Nobles and Pynces, excused himselfe to them, calling his god to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Whio pynces and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, woyshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (sayd the pynce) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neuertheless he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when pynce Edward had bene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he was in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence traualled thorow the midwes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honourably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much knowne among the common people, and enuied of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the Booke: but pynce Edward continued soothly his journey to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of Robert Turneham.



Robertus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologix professor insignis, Lynne celeberrimus, ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnifice praeiit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem com-

Saracenos Assyriam quoque Orator vehemens, ut dicitur, vel dignissimus, cum Anglico saluiferi partus, 1280, questum.

Robert Turneham, pynce of the Coloure of Isis in Northfolke, prepared his warlike be-1268, for the which in the cause of religion office: so that he bring-1280, setting forth di-Camuel.

Anthony Beck
salem, and
of Edward the



didit. Deinde & palatium fore nimio, & potentia equam extinguere potuit. scibus Britannia, dicen-Edwardo secundo regis

Anthony Beck was Anno after the invasi-arch of Jerusalem in-1270, pope of Rome. He was the castle of Acheland-1270, He much beauti-1270, and the castle Somaridone-1270, the palace of London, whi-1270, though his over great mag-1270, which he could not-1270, we will speake more-1270, his life in the pere of

Incipit Itinerarium
bus Orientalium



1270, multo-1270, ego tam-1270, indalium-1270, naree. Pri-1270, huli Trape-1270, est, sicut sca-1270, hac terra vidi minebile q-1270, no perdicum. Homo a-

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Anthony Beck. Traffiques, and Discoveries.

39

Saracenos Assyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam protectionem quæritus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principius vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus Assyrii filius peritus, 1280, varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

Robert Turnham Franciscan, a notable ypoct flour of Divinity, was with great dignity prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Spert to wne of Linne, situate upon the shore of this in Northfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henry the third, yere 1268. for the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stir up the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turnham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a stander bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duty with good commendation. He flourished in the yere of Christ 1280, leaving forth divers works under the same king Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

Anthony Beck bishop of Durisne was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the first bishop of Rome: in the 34 yere of Edward the first, Lelandus.



Antonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab adventu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hierosolomitanum anno Christi 1305, & a Clemente quinto Romæ pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat supra quam decebat episcopum. Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Danelmo in ripa Vuduglessi fluvioli. Elteshamum etiam vicinum Grenouico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ provincie, ædificijs illustria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, & potentia conflavit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem invidiam, quam vivens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, & eius scriptis fusius in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britanniciæ, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a nato in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

1305.

The same in English.

Anthony Beck was bishop of Durisne in the time of the reign of Edward the first of that name after the invasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ierusalem in the yere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the first pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded the castle of Acheland four miles from Durisne, on the shore of a pretty river called Vuduglessine. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham manor being nere unto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey. And lastly, he buile new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, though his own great magnificence add power he procured to himselfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not allwaie during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intituled of the Brittain bishops. This Anthony lived his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reign of king Edward the second.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.



lece multa & varia de rebus & conditionibus huius mundi enarrantur a multis ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes fidelium transire, magna & mira vidi & audiui, quæ possum veraciter enarrare. Primo transiens Mare Maius tre de Pera iuxta Constantinopolim transiit Itrapefundam, quæ antiquitus Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra bene situata est, sicut scala quædam Persarum & Medorum, & eorum qui sunt ultra mare. hæc terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicet hominem ducentem secum plusquam octo perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebat, perdicæ vero volabant per aëra, quæ

mare oceanum, & prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & diuitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum excunt cor-
pus, & descendunt vsque ad mediam tibiæ: idèd homines illius terræ volentes viuere, fa-
ciunt vnctionem, & vngunt illa, & sic vncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes,
& aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur lase, lutum sparto.
Ego autem ascendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo
diebus perueni ad ciuitatem Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyri-
zati sunt. Hæc terra est optimè situata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium.
Hæc terra antiquitus fuit valde magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro præliū ma-
gnum commisit. Huius terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, serpentes, & arbores: Et istam
terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & subiacerent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi
sunt diuersa genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi simia, gatimay-
mones, & noctuæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hic
canes, & idèd canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, In illa terra quilibet
homo habet ante domum suam vnum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset vna colum-
ba, & pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua. Multæ nouitates sunt ibi, quas
pulcherrimum esset audire.

De martyrio fratrum.

Martyrium autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per istū modum;
dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna nauī, vt nauigarent
vsque Polumbum, & violenter deportati sunt vsque Thanam vbi sunt 15. domus Christiano-
rum, qui Nestoriani sunt & Schismatici, & cum illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cuiusdam
illorum, contigit dum ibi manerent lixem oriri inter virum domus, & uxorem eius, quam sero
vix fortiter verberauit, quæ suo Kadi, 1. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum
hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quòd sic; quia 4. Franchi, 1. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc vi-
dentes, ipsos interrogare, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce vnus de
Alexandria præfens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximè scientiæ
& scripturæ benè scire, & idèd dixit onum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis,
& adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iaco-
bus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, vt res-
tans custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cepit cum illis de fide nostra disputare: dicens Chri-
stum tantum hominem esse & non Deum. E contra frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis
Christum verum Deum & hominem esse euidenter ostendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, &
infideles qui cum eo reuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc
frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Christum verum Deum & hominem esse, qui legem po-
nit inter homines, et Machometus à contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens
est optimè scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi & alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu
quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid
fido de eo, Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus vester fi-
lius perditionis est, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solum ipse, sed omnes ibi
erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, & falsa, & contra Deum, & contra
salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, ceperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic
contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in sole vrente stare permiserunt,
& ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tanti enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo
per spaciū vnus missæ peristeret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani & hilares à tertia
vsque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanferunt, quod vi-
dentes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copio-
sum, & in illum vos projicere, & si fides vestra sit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere:
si fide nostra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veni-
mus scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fi-
dem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima & verissima est, &
non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt saluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur
ut fratres comburerentur, rumor insonuit per totā ciuitatem, de qua omnes senes, & iuuenes,
& mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud spectaculum intuentium. Fratres autem
steterunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quem frater Thomas
se projicere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens:

Non vadas tu cum sis fenex, quia carnem aliquod vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset lacerare, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni sumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem projicere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentè in ignem procerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen eius audierunt, inuocantem semper nomen virginis gloriose: Igne autem totalitèr consumptus frater Iacobus super prunas illatus, & lectus, manibus in modum crucis elevatis, in celum respiciens, & Deum laudans & glorificans, qui sic declararet fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pariter, nec capillus laesus per ignem inuentus est: Quod videns populus vniuersimò conclamare cepit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & laeta est. Tunc clamare cepit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunc quæ portat est de lana terræ Habraz, & idè nudus expolietur, & in ignem projiciatur, & videbitur si comburetur vtriusque. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quam prius accenderunt, & fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, & oleo abundantisimè vnterunt, in super & oleum maximum in strem lignorum ex quibus ignis pareretur, fuderunt, & igne accenso fratrem in ipsum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotione se dederunt, Frater autem Iacobus iterum ignem exiuit illatus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cepit, peccatum est, peccatum est, offendere eos, quia sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich, i. potestas ciuitatis, vocauit ad se fratrem Iacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta sua, & dixit, videre fratres, ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, & fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse: & idè consulimus vobis, vt de ista terra exeatis, quàm citius poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confudistis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quasi completoria, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & stupefacti, tot & tanta miracula vidimus ab aliis hominibus, quod nescimus quid tenere & obseruare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos ad fratres ultra vnum paruum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate distantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hospitati associauit eos, ubi in domo cuiusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dum hæc agerentur, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quod facimus? Lex Machometi destructa est, verum tamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet præcepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis vnum Christianum interficeret, tantum mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alcoranus lex Saracenorum sicut Euangelium, Mecha verò est locus ubi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchrum Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade & fac sicut vis. quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cum aquam transissent, facta est nox, & illo sero eos non inuenerunt, statim Melich omnes Christianos in ciuitate capi fecit, & incarceratione, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, inuenerunt, & extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis, Scitis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos estis boni homines & sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere; quia si iussa sua non perfereremus, & nos cum liberis nostris & vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui huc venistis, & tale mandatum recepistis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis iniunctum est perficite; quia pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifixi & mori dignatus est, & pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos a nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se expellere, & frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modum crucis genua flexens capitis abscessionem suscepit. Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percussit in capite, & eum vsque ad oculos scidit, & alio ictu totum caput abscecidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, & secundo caput suum abscecidit: Statim vt fratres suum martyrium compleuerunt, acriter lucidius reseratus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, & luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & conuulsiones, & obscuritas fiebant, quod omnes mori crediderunt: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habebat, ita quod nunquam de illa postea aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus nostris prædictorum nostrorum, & tunc inuentus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alij Saraceni maxima promittentes persuaserunt quod fidem suam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane vsque ad meridiem

dueris panarum ac te Dei laudibus persistens Saraceni eum nō posse de nona vsq; ad noctem videntes illum læti, viuere de corpore eius inuolutus eius occulauerat re manifestare. Vt autem congregare cum Deo & dictorū Melich dormientes singulos enses tenentes ac diuidere vellent: qui accurrens quæsiuit, quid hac ad me cum ensibus, visionē, & petens consilium ibi consuliit, vltima matutine misit pro Christianis indulgentiam petijt pro se autem & legem statuit, quod nō rereur, & sic omnes illi & ceteros quatuor in quietas tan fecit. Audiens autem Melich, vt victus ad eum crudeliter illos fratres iussu malum & blasphemiam: dicit, cum videres quod Deum mortem inferre tam crudeliter scindi fecit, sicut imperatoris illius

Demir.

Est autem consuetudo in Campis dimittuntur, & triū fratrum prædictorum per inuenta fuerunt sicut illa dicitur habebant, prædicta corpora ens factum & martyrium illi accepi, & in pulchris tormalia deportaui, habens mecum domo cuiusdā hospitarij, & illa a Saracenis subito accensius meus & famulus de domo supra me, ossa accepi & cum combustis fuerunt, angulo in quodam modis lucidi, nec defecit illam tota pars illa sicut alia combusta sunt. Aliud miraculum ubi vbi piper nascitur abundanter adorantes Deos suos per inuocationes, & adorationes domo vt orationes fundere non intelligerent: quod nisi potius intelligerent: Tunc ego & celebrare, sic quod ventu placuerit, accepi vnu de ossibus, quo proiecto statim affuit ventu portu, meritis istorū martyrum: Et venimus ad quandam ciuitatem, & ibi reponere istas reliquias

diuersis penarum ac tormentorum generibus affluerunt ipſo ſemper conſtantiſſimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus perſiſtente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & deſtruente. Videntes autem de noua vſq; ad noctem viuus & illæſus pependit: nocte verò ipſum de arbore ſumperunt, & hi de corpore eius inuentum eſt, vni tamen perſonæ fide dignæ reuelatum eſt, quod Deus corporis eius occulauerat reuelandū in certo tempore, quando Deo placuerit Sanchorum corpora congregare cum Deo & Angelis & alijs Sanctis eius, die ſequenti poſt martyriū ſiſtrum prædictorū Melich dormitioni ſe dedit, & ecce aparuerunt ſibi illi fratres glorioſi, & ſicut Sol, lucidæ diuidere vellentes in manibus, & ſupra eum eos ſic vibrantes, quod vt ſi eum perſodere accurrentes quæſiuit, quid ſibi eſſet? quibus ille, illi Raban Franchi quos interfici iuſſi, venerunt huic ad me cum enſibus, volentes me interficere. Et ſtatim Melich miſit pro Kadi, referens ſibi ſibi conſuluit, vtilis maximas elemoſynas faceret, ſi de manibus interfectoꝝ euadere veller. Tunc miſit pro Chriſtianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum veniſſent indulgentiam petijt pro ſacto ſuo, dicens ſe eſſe amodò ſocium eorū, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem ſtatuit, quòd pro tempore ſuo, ſi quis aliquē Chriſtianū offenderet, ſtatim mortis quatuor moſ quæſas (i. e.) Eccleſias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodiſt illos tres fratres talem ſententiam ſubiſſe, miſit pro Melich, vt vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cum adductus eſſet, quæſiuit imperator, quare ita crudeliter illos fratres iuſſerat interfici, reſpondit, quia ſubuertere volebant legem noſtram, & malum & blaſphemiam, de propheta noſtro dicebant: & imperator ad eum: O crudeliſſime eamus, cum videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit, quo modo auſus fuiſti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem, Et edicta ſententia, ipſum Melich cum tota ſua familia per mecum de imperatoris illius domo clam fugit, & ſic euasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occiſorum.

Et autem conſuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur ſepulture, ſed in campis dimituntur, & ex calore Solis citò reſoluuntur, & ſic conſumuntur ſepulture: Corpora autem triū fratꝝ prædictoꝝ per 14. dies illic in ſeuore Solis lacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorifice ſepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorū fratrum, iui illos, & corpora eorū eſſodi, & oſſa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towallijs colligauit, & in Indiam ſuperiorem ad vnū locū fratrum noſtroꝝ ea deporauit, habens mecum ſocium, & vnū famulū. Cum autē eſſemus in via, hoſpitabamus in domo cuiuſdā hoſpitarij, & ipſa oſſa capiti meo ſuppoſui, & dormiui: Et dum dormirei domus illa à Saracenis ſubito accendebatur, vt me cum domo comburerent, Domo autē ſic accenſa, ſocius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me ſolum cum oſſibus dimiſerunt, qui videns ignem coibuſti fuerunt, angulo in quo ſteti cū oſſibus ſaluo remanente: Supra me autē ignis ſe tenuit in modis aëris lucidi, nec deſcendit quamdiu ibi perſiſtebam; quā citò autē cum oſſibus exiui, coibuſti ſunt. Aliud miraculū contigit, me cum oſſibus per mare proſiciente ad ciuitatē Polumbrū vbi piper naſcitur abundanter, quia nobis ventus totaliter deſecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos ſuos pro vento proſpero, quē tamen nō obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni ſuas orationes, & adorationes laborioſe fecerūt, ſed nihil profecerūt: Et præceptū eſt mihi & ſociis intelligere: quòd niſi poſſemus ventū proſperū à Deo noſtro impetrare, nos cum oſſibus in mare proiiceret: Tunc ego & ſocius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas miſſas de beata virgine petire, & cepti vni de oſſibus, & dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis irer, & clam in mare proiiceret: quo proieccto ſtatim aſſuit ventus proſper qui nunquā nobis deſecit, viquequòd peruenimus ad portū, meritis iſtoꝝ fratꝝ cum ſalute. Deinde aſcendimus aliā nauē vt in Indiam ſuperiorem; Et venimus ad quandā ciuitatem vocatā Carchan in qua ſunt duo loca fratrum noſtroꝝ, & ibi reponere iſtas reliquias volebam, In nauī autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores & alij

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nes ad hunc lacum, & proiecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in vno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere musicorum, & multas virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ & binæ, processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, vt transeat Deus supra eos; & omnes super quos currustrant, & comaminant, & per medium scindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sancto & secure: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres sicut reliquæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, continent omnes amici eius & parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, & post festum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quod cum peruenient, sumit vnum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & frustum incisum projicit in faciem idoli: vltima verò incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, & sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est diuissimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretiosissimis etiam sunt margaritæ pulchrioris de mundo. Inde transiens ius per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad vnam terram vocatam Lammoni, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam femine omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam & Euam fecisse nudos, in illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communæ, ita quod nullus potest dicere, hæc est vxor mea, & cum mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Totæ etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quod non meum & tuum in diuisione terrarum, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humanæ quando homo est pinguis ita bene comeduntur, sicut inter nos bouinæ: & licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladijs, riso, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis alijs. Mercatores autem eum accedunt ad hanc regionem, tunc ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatum Sy-mokra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 2. partibus, Et hijs imperant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Ultra transiit ad aliam insulam que vocatur Lau cuius ambitus per mare est triidm milliū milliariū, & rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, & hæc insula optimè inhabitatur, & melior secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascuntur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nucæ muscatæ: & breuiter omnes species ibi sunt, & maxima abundantia omnium victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terre habet palatium nobilissimum inter omnia que vidi vltimè sit, & gradus & scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper vnus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus; Pavimentum verò vnum laterem habet de auro, alii de argento. Parietes verò omnes interioris sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Kazy frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit & superauit.

Cruentissima sed
tanta vnanimitas,
& sacrificia.

Pironica
insula.

Simila vel
Sambora.

Insula.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

Vna istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamasim, & Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & venenum, & etiam venenum periculosus quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi vnum solum, & est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpsisset, si vellet liberari, sumat stercus bouinis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ & bassæ, & quando inclinantur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam sicut gumme, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in fasciis de folijs factis, & per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, & tunc decimi quolvis diei in sicco liquore desiccato fit farina, quâ primò ponunt in aqua munda, postea lauant eam cum aqua dulci, & sic pasta valde bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt ciues vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & est panis exterius pulcher, interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ceciderit, nunquam posse se compari, in contrata illa inueniuntur etiam longissimæ plures passus habentes quam ego & sunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiam Canes sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terrâ diriguntur vt graminis, & in quolibet modo earum multi produciuntur, quorum si prolongantur super terram per vnum mense sit in hijs Canis perierunt lapides, quorum si quis vnum super se portauerit, non poterit incidere aliquo ferro,

vel insula.

Mare quod dicitur
per currit versus
meridiem.

& ideo communiter homines illius contrate portant illos lapides super 7 Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parvi incidere in vno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere se per vnum puluerem de quodam pulce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui pulvis statim vulnus consolida & sanat: & virtute illorum lapidum communiter isti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec possent isti homines ledi per aliqua arma ferrea: Vnum tamen remedium est, quod aduersarij illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, prouident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutissimos & ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum: Similiter sagittas cum sagittis sine ferro, & sic confundit aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. De istis etiam Cannis Cassan faciunt sibi vela pro suis nauibus & domunculas paruas, & multa sibi necessaria. Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentissimum in omnibus vidualibus. Cuius rex quado fui ibi tot habuit vxores, & alias mulieres, quod de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies mille filias & quatuor elephantum domesticorum, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boues, vel greges in palatu.

Vela ex animalibus facta,
Camp.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se proiciunt in aridam.

In hac contrata vnu mirabile valde reperitur, quod vnaquaque generatio piscium in mari ad istam contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quod per magnu spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, & super aridam se proiciunt quando propere ripam sunt, & permittit homines per tres dies venire, & de illis sumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redit ad mare. Post illa speciem per illum modum venit alia species & offert se, & sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quia huiusmodi illa quomodo & qualiter hoc possit fieri responderunt quod hoc modo pisces per naturam docentur venire, & imperatorem suum reuereri. Vbi ista testitudinem illa magne sicut est vnus sumus, & multa alia vidi que incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiam contrata homo mortuus eboratur, & vixit vltra cum eo, sicut iudeus in alia contrata dictu est, quia dicunt homines illi quod illa vadit ad alium mundum ad moriendum cum eo, ne ibi aliam vxorem accipiat. Vltra transiui per mare Oceanum versus meridiem, & transiui per multas contratas & insulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, & habet in circuitu 2000. miliaria, in qua homines portant facies caninas & mulieres similes, & vnu bouem adorant pro Deo suo, & ideo quilibet vnu bouem aureum vel argenteu in fronte portat: Homines illius contrate & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quod vnum pannum lineum portant ante verentes sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi & fortissimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos a capite vsque ad pedes, & si contingat eos aliquem de aduersarijs capere in bello qui pecuniam non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum: si autem possit se redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnus spatium, & dum habet illum videtur ab alijs quasi vna flamma ignis, & ideo nullus audet sibi appropinquare, & dicitur quod non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Karai, nunquam vii pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cum tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Testudines magnae.

Moumoran.

De Insula Ceilan, & de monte vbi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

Transiui per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quae habet in ambitu plusquam duo millia miliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, vrsarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & siluestrium, & potissime elephantu. In illa contrata est montuosissimus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quod Adam planxit Abel filium suum 300. annis. In medio illius montis est planities pulcherrima, in qua est lacus parvus multum habens deusquam, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adae & Euae, sed probauit hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: haec aqua plena est hirudinibus & sanguisugis, & lapidibus pretiosis, istos lapides rex noster accipit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes sub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot possunt colligere illis concedit, ut orem pro animis suis. Vt autem possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis vngunt se valde bene, & in nudos se in aquam submergunt, & sanguisugae illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exiit & currit vsque ad mare, & in transitu quando retrahit se, fodiuntur Rubiae, & adamantes, & margaritae, & aliae gemmae pretiosae: vnde opinio est quod rex iste magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quam aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium & avium, & dixerunt mihi gentes illae, quod animalia ista nulla forentem inuadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantum homines illius regionis: Vidi in illa insula aues ita magnas sicut sunt hic anseres, habentes duas capias, & alia mirabilia quae non scribo. Vltra versus meridiem transiui, & applicui ad insulam quandam quae vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morantur pessimi

Ceilan insula.

Bodin insula.

pessimi homines, qui gitan non poterit; nam hoc per hunc modum rogans eum quod comedunt vadunt id idolum autem nostrum, te adoramus, & berati? Tunc Demon lecentia: Si autem dicitur & suffocabit eum, & ipse eius ad comedendum. Cum autem ego eos de vermes carnes eius les eos ab isto errore: autem coram Deo nihil ista insula inquisiui a m India 4400. insulas comant quod maior pars

De India

In primis refero, quod perueni ad illam magnam riuum inquisiui a Christo magni, qui omnes vno magnu ciuitatem, & piscium, &c. Omnes homines maris, dum modo propere pererant. Viri istius provinciam verò sunt pulcherrima vocatur Ceuskalon, & de mare cui contigatur, alia autem ciuitas tantum quod 300. librae de bonis sunt anseres grossiores & albisimi sicut lac, & habet sub gula habent vna pelle de anibus, & gallinis, quae penes maximi, & capium daret serpentes, nihil se abundancia. Inde transiui Mingres habent duo loca, & quibus supra magna est, sicut bis Bononiam. In vno autem istorum montium habentiu 1000. idolum est ita magnu sicut Christus inu ad videndum comestione lissima, & multi fumigant. Totum autem cibum illi

Vltra versus Orientem, in qua sunt Genesolum pro peninis habentiu per 18. dietas, & pertra magnum, & vidi quod in vniuersis diuersum modum sicut nix, & homines totaliter portant in signum quod habent per 18. dietas alias, & vniuersum illius fluminis habent

peſſimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiā faciunt quæ quaſi exco-
gitari nō poterit, nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrē, & maritus vxorem, & ē contrario, &
hoc per hunc modum: ſi pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadit ad Aſtrogolum ſacerdotem, ſc. z.
rogans eum quod conſular Deum ſuum, ſi pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc ambo
vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, faciētes orationes in hac forma, Domine, tu es Deus
noſter, te adoramus, & rogamus vt nobis reſpondeas, debetne talis a tali infirmitate mori vel li-
berari? Tunc Demon reſpondet, & ſi dicat, viuet, filius vadit & miniſtrat illi vſq; ad plenā conua-
leſcentiā: Si autē dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & vnum pannum ſuper os eius ponet,
& ſuffocabit eum, & ipſum mortuum incidet in fruſta, & inuitabuntur omnes amici, tu es Deus
eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni læritia, oſſa tamen eius honorificē ſepelient.
Cum autē ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens cauſam: Reſpondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus
ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnā poenā ſuſtineret, nec poteram euo-
lere eos ab iſto errore: & multæ aliæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas nō crederent, niſi qui viderent. Ego
autem coram Deo nihil hic reſero, niſi illud de quo certus ſum ſicut homo certificari poterit. De
iſta inſula inquiſiui a multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt mihi, dicentes, quod iſta
India 4400. inſulas continet ſub ſe, ſive in ſe, in qua etiam ſunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam di-
cunt quod maior pars illius inſulæ benē inhabitatur. Et hic iſtius Indiæ facio finem.

De India ſuperiori, & de Prouincia Mancī.

In primis reſero, quod cum tranſirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas verſus Orientem,
perueni ad illam magnā prouinciā Mancī, quæ India vocatur à Latinis. De iſta India ſupe-
rior in quiſui à Chriſtianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales ſunt domini Canis
magni, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt, quod hæc prouincia Mancī habet pluſquam 2000.
magnarū ciuitatem, & in iſta eſt maxima copia omnium victualium, puta, panis, vini, riſi, carniū,
piſciū, &c. Omnes homines iſtius prouinciæ ſunt artifices & meretores, qui pro quacūq; pe-
nuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare ſe poſſent per labores, nunquā ab aliquo elemoſynā
petent. Viri iſtius prouinciæ ſunt ſatis frumēſi, ſed pallidi, & raras & paruas barbas habentes;
ſcimus verō ſunt pulcherrime inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de iſta India
vocatur Ceuskalon, & diſtat à mari per vnā dietam, poſitāq; eſt ſuper flumen, cuius aqua propē
mare cui conſignatur, aſcendit ſuper terram per 14 dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat.
Iſta autem ciuitas tantum nauigiū habet, quod incedibile foret niſi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi
quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quā pro vno groſſo: Ibi
ſunt anſeres groſſiores & pulchriores, & maius forſi de illis, quā ſit in mundo, vt credo, & ſunt
altiffimi ſicut lac, & habent vnum os ſuper caput quanticatis oui, & habet colorem ſanguineū,
ſub gula habent vnā pellem pendente ſemipedalem: Pinguiffimi ſunt, & optimi forſi: & ita eſt
de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ ſunt valdē in illa terra pluſquam duæ de noſtris. Ibi ſunt ſer-
pentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret feſtū ſolemne, & non
daret ſerpētes, nihil reputaret ſe facere: breuiter in hac ciuitate ſunt omnia victualia in maxima
abundancia. Inde tranſiui per ciuitates multas, & veni ad ciuitatē nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres
Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portauit de oſſibus fratrum noſtrorum pro fide Chriſti interfe-
ctorum, de quibus ſupra. In hac eſt copia omnium victualium pro leuiſſimo foro, hæc ciuitas ita
magna eſt, ſicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monaſteria religioſorum, qui omnes idolis ſeruiūt.
In vno autem iſtorū monaſteriorum ego fui, & dictum eſt mihi quod inerant 3000. religioſo-
rum habitūū 11000. idolorum, & vnum illorum, quod quaſi parū inter cetera mihi videbatur,
eſt ita magnū ſicut Chriſtophorus noſter. Iſti religioſi omni die poſeunt Deos ſuos, vnde ſemel
iui ad videndū comentionem illam, & vidi quod illa quæ detulerunt ſibi comestibilia ſunt, & ca-
lidiffima, & multū ſumigācia, ita quod ſumus aſcendit ad iocula, & dixerūt Deos illoſum re-
creant. Torum autē cibum illi reportauerūt & comederūt, & ſic de fumo tantū Deos ſuos pauerunt.

De Ciuitate Fuko.

Vltra verſus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quæ vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus cōtinet 30. mil-
liaria, in qua ſunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ ſicut nix, lanam
ſolum pro pennis habentes ſicut pecudes. Hæc ciuitas pulcherrima eſt, & ſita ſupra mare. Ultra
iui per 18. dietas, & per tranſiui multas terras & ciuitates, & in tranſitu veni ad quendam montem
magnum, & vidi quod in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, & homines &
mulieres diuerſum modum viuendū habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba
ſicut nix, & homines totaliter diuerſi ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes ſceminæ quæ ſunt deſponſatæ
portant in ſignum quod habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde tran-
ſiui per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddā magnum flumen, & intraui ciuitatem vnā, quæ tranſ-
uerſum illius fluminis habet pontem maximū, & hoſpitabar in domo vnius hoſpitarij, qui vo-
lens

Vel Ceuskala.

Hi ſunt alcerati
vel onocrotali.

Vel Zaiton.

Vel Fagulen.

Magnum flumen

Aliis Consul,
vel Quinmal.

lens mihi complacere, dixit mihi si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; & duxit me super pontem, & vidi in brachijs suis mergos ligatos super periticas, ad quorum gulâ vbi ille ligauit vnu flumen, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio vno posuit 3. cistas magnas, & tunc dissoluit mergos de pericis, qui statim in aquâ intrauerunt, & pisces ceperunt, & cistas illas repleuerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissoluit filâ à collis eorû, & ipsi reitrantes flumen se de piscibus recreauerunt, & recreati ad periticas redierunt, & se ligari sicut prius permittunt: Ego autem de illis piscibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbatur. Inde transiens per multas diuitas veni ad vnâ ciuitatem quæ vocatur Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostra ciuitas cœli: Nunciam ita magnâ ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius cœtinet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi spaci quin bene inhabitaretur: Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solaria vnu supra aliud: hæc habet suburbia maxima continentia maiore populum quàm ipsa ciuitas continet. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarû portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt ciuitates forte maiores vt æstimo, quàm est ciuitas Venetiârû, & Padua. Hæc ciuitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamē habet propter ventum sicut ciuitas Venetiârû. In ea sunt plus decem mille & 3. pontium, quorum multos numeravi & transiui, & in quolibet ponte sunt custodes ciuitatis continuē custodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis soluit vnu balis, 15. cartas bombicis, qui vnum florenū cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. supellectiles faciunt vnum ignem, & sic pro vno igne soluent. Isti ignes sunt benē 85. Thuman, cum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò vnum decem millia ignium faciunt, reliquæ autem de populo ciuitatis sunt alij Christiani, alij mercatores, & alij transeuntes per terram, vidē maxime sui miratus quod modo tot corpora hominū poterant simul habitare: In ea est maxima copia victualium, scilicet panis & vini, & carniū de porco præcipue cum alijs necessarijs.

De monasterio vbi sunt multa animalia diuersa in quodam monte.

In illa ciuitate 4. fratres nostri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidē Christi, in cuius hospitio continuē habitabam, dum fui ibi, qui semel dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre ciuitatem istâ, & dixi quiddē sic, & ascendimus vnâ barcham, & iuimus ad vnu monasterium maximū, de quo vocauit vnu religiosum sibi notū, & dixit sibi de me, iste Raban Frācus, i. religiosus venit deinde vbi sol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vnu pro magno Cane, & idē ostendas sibi aliquid, quod si reuertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quoddā tale quiddē vidi in Kanasia ciuitate: tunc sumpsi ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad vnâ perclusam parauam, quam aperuit cum clauē, & aperuit viridarium gratiosum & magnū in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario stat vnus monticulus sicut vnu campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsi cymbalū, & incepit percutere ipsum sicut percussit quādo monachi intrant refectoriū, ad cuius sonitū multa animalia diuersa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt simia, aliqua vt Cani, Mymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic stare congregauerunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & se in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus posuit paropidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admittatus inquisiui quæ essent animalia ista? Ex respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorū, quas nos hic pascimus amore Dei, qui regit orbē, & sicut vnus hominis nobilis, ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò simplici & rusticorū, corpora villium animalium intrant. Incepit ista abusione improbare, sed nihil valuit, nō enim poterat credere, quod aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Inde transiui ad quoddam ciuitatem nomine Chilenso, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circueunt. In ista ciuitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm vnquam viderim, & benē inhabitatur, & nauigij maximum habet, & copiā omnium victualium, & aliorum bonorū. Inde iui ad quoddā flumen dicitur Thalay, quod vbi est strictus habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium montem Pygmariorum transit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus munda est. Isti Pygmæi habent longitudinē trium spanfarum mearū, & faciunt maiora & meliora poton, & bombicinā quā. aliqui homines in mundo. Inde per illud flumen transiens, veni ad vnâ ciuitatē Ianzu, in qua est vnus locus fratrum nostrorū, & sunt in ea tres ecclesie Nestorianorū: hæc ciuitas nobilis est, & magna habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Christiani viuunt: Dominus ihsus ciuitatis solum de se habet in reddendis 50. Thuman Balis, & valet balis vnum florenū cum dimidio: Ita quod vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnâ tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit carissima in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hæc ciuitas consuetudinem, quod quādo vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, & vbi ille circue per ho-

Pygmariorum
transiui.

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Kakam.

spes, dicens sibi tales am
pendere, & per illum re
vno. Per 10. milliaria a
que maius nauigium hab
nia, & in ipsi sunt hospitiu

Indē transiui per 8. dietas
Iquādā ciuitatem nomine
per medium Catai transiui,
flumen versus Orientem per
coto, quæ maiorem copiam
maior carissima Serici, ibi 40.
num mercimoniorū, & om
elektorū. Inde transiui v
nominatam Cambaleth quæ
perunt Tartari: Et iuxta ear
do & hæc 12. portas habet, &
las ciuitates benē inhabitat
rum ciuitatum est plus quā
dem suam principalem, & su
fia illud palatium sunt multa
vni moos pulcherrimus cō
palatium antenissimum in q
cus magnus, supra quem pot
et anatum, & omnium auium
suetudinem, & idē quādo d
Palatium verò principale, in q
doret, & omnes muri eius
mundo: Et in medio palatij
pide pretioso nomine merdo
vnus serpens de auro qui ver
per istam pignam deferretur p
eam pendente multa vasa aure
anuli pavones de ajro, & cili
nantes collidunt manus filijs p
mendat, & videntur tripudare:

Quando autem magnus it
tere sedet Regina, & per
quod non potest ad Regionem
sua parentela. Omnes autem re
longitudinis vnus brachij cum
maximæ margaritæ. A
regantur possit ipsum, & in
improbes scribentes omnia ver
cui alij nobiles cum sua gene
reus exceptis fanio & histerio
debet facere, nisi si eundem qu
ij sunt Barones custodientes
etere conuiuium, habet secum
minimo suo seruicentis: Et equit
in quā decies milites florenorū
milenarios, & cetera quod qui
ficus reperitur. Ego frater Od
qui nos facere in uia nostra in sua qu
Et dare sibi nostram benedicti
in curia domini, & respondere
podes autem canum & bestiarum

spites, dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, & tãtũ in telio volo
expendere, & per illum modum mellis conuiuant amici in pluribus hospitij quã facerent in
vno. Per 10. miliaria ab ista ciuitate in capite fluminis Thalay est vna ciuitas vocata Montu,
que maius nauigium habet, quã viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi sunt albz sicũ
nix, & in ipsis sunt hospitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

Inde transiit per 8. dietas per multas terras & ciuitates, & veni tandem per aquam dulcem ad
Iquãdam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod
flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas & ciuitates, veni ad vnã ciuitatem nomine Sumã
maior caristia Serici, ibi 40. libraz habentur pro minori quã pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia om-
nium mercimoniorũ, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carniũ, piscium, & omnium specierum
edendarum. Inde transiit versus Orientem per multas ciuitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, &
nominatam Cambaleth quæ est ciuitas multum antiqua, & est in provincia Catai, & eam ce-
do & hæc 12. portas habet, & semper inter vnã & aliam sunt duo miliaria, & medium inter il-
lũ ciuitatũ est plusquã 40. miliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet se-
dem suã principalem, & suũ magnum palatium, cuius muri benè 41. miliaria continent, & in-
fra illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiã inueni-
tur mons pulcherrimus cõstitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte
palatium amoenissimum in quo communiter Canis residet: A latere autem montis est vnus la-
cus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, & in illo lacu est magna cystus anserum
& anatũ, & omnium auium aquaticarum; & in silua montis copia omnium auium & ferarum
Palatium verò principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valde, & habet interius 14. columnas
aureas, & omnes muri eius cooperiti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de
pide pretioso nomine merdochas; & c. cõtra circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo eius est
vnus serpens de auro qui verberat & fortissimè: Habet etiã hæc pigna retia de margaritis, & iuxta
per illa pignam defertur portus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & iuxta
eã pendunt multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt
multi pauones de auro; & cum aliquis Tartarus facit testum domino suo, tunc quando conui-
uatur, collidunt manus suas præ gaudio & læticia, pauones erunt alas suas, & expandunt
oculos, & videntur tripudare; Et hoc credo factũ arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

Quando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro la-
tere sedet Regina, & per vnũ gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se,
quando non potest ad Reginã accedere: In infimo autem gradu, resident omnes domine de
curia parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suũ vnũ pedem hominis,
longitudinis vniũ brachij cum dimidio, & subter illum pedem sunt pennæ grui, & totus ille pes
ornatur maximè margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius eius primogeni-
tus, regiturus post ipsum, & inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi etiã sunt 41.
mulier alij nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui nisi a domino, licentia
ante exceptis fœtis & histrionibus, qui sunt dominum consolari habent. Illi etiã nihil
possunt facere, nisi secũdũ quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam pa-
rentelæ Barones custodiunt, ne aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cum autem ille Canis voluerit
ad conuiuium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, &
omnino suo seruientes; Et quilibet parat vnũ vestem de auro & margaritis tot quot valeat
in quã decies milia florentorum. Curia eius optime ordinatur per denarios, centenasque
milenarios, & taliter quod quilibet in suo ordine persagat officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis
deus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multo tempore in ista ciuitate fui, &
non facies inuicem in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos semper
eade sibi nostre benedictionem: Et inquisi ab illis de curia de numero illorum qui
sunt in curia domini, & respondere mihi quod de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Cur-
ios autem canum & bestiarum, & quibus sunt 25. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis
sunt

sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. & vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autē vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & vnus per vnam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, & tertius similiter, & quartus; ita quod semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quod inueniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illūmet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cum duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretiosis; & 4. Elephantes benē ordinati ducunt istum curru, quos præcedunt 4. equi altissimi optimē cooptati, luxa curru ad lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes curru, ne aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra curru sedent duo Gersalcones albiissimi, & dūm videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, & per iactum vnus lapidis nullus audeat appropinquare curru nisi populus assignatus: vnde incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de munere gentis suæ, & regine, & primogeniti sui. Iste dominus Canis imperium suum diuisit in 12. partes, & vna habet sub se 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vnde ita latum & longum est suum imperium, quod ad quamcūq; partem lier, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis hiis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitij paratis per totum imperium pro transseuntibus.

Iste dominus, vt transseunt habebant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, scilicet hospitij preparari vbique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si distat, ambasciatores superueniunt vel dromedarios festinant, & cūm lassantur in cursu, pulsan cornu, & proximum hospitium parat vnum similiter equum, qui quando alius venit iessus accipit literam, & currit ad hospitium, & sic per hospitia, & per diuersos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; & idē nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim sciat ab eo. Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 10. dietas, est vna foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium, quæ quum quod mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemo vadit ipse fine trium annorum vel quatuor annis tota gente, cum qua ipsum circueit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, ceruos, & alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus eorum maxime tremunt omnes bestie sylæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantes & 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & post ipsum omnes Barones, & post ipsos filij de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis figuris & diuersis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittit viam nemus reuertare vltimis habet ex eis venerationem suam, & quilibet illud animal habebat in cuius corpore inuenit sagittam suam quam læciebat.

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

Quatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum natiuitatis, festum circūcisionis, coronationis, & desponsationis suæ; & ad ista festa conuocat omnes Barones, & histriones, & omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Canis in suo throno sedens, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de vniuersis, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineis, & tertij de croceis, & tenent in membris vnam cabalam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis vno semisse latis, & ita pedibus silemum tenentes. Circa illos stant histriones cum suis instrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiusdam magni palatii resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes cūm deueniunt ad punctū & horam perueniunt ad philosophos, vnus pæco clamat valentē. In clausulis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram, & iterum clamant. Sicut omnes, & illi statim surgunt. Iterum Philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cūm perueniunt, iterum pæco clamat; punctū dignum inueniunt, & statim dicunt, extrahite istum iterum ad aliud punctum clamat, Barones feruntur: & multo alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam significationē habere, quæ scribere nolui, nec curui, quia vana sunt & risu digna. Cū autem perueniunt ad horam histriionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domini, & omnes pulsan instrumenta sua, & faciunt maximum iocundum, & statim alius clamat: Tunc omnes, & omnes cecant: Tunc accedunt histriionantes ante dominum dulciter modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc reuertuntur leones, & faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani: tunc histriiones sumunt citharas aureas plenas vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum se applicant.

phicare vt bibant. Hæc videret; & idē dimittit in quo sunt montes quando sunt maturi aperit quod in mari Hybernico biaz, quæ certo tempor

DE isto imperio Kata dem veni ad terram habet sub se ciuitates, Vltra & hæc est secunda melior extat a porta vnus ciuitas cuius Prouincie est 50. diuictualium, & maximē calidum vnum regnum vocatur vini, quam sit in toto mundo ex feltris nigris: Prius negerninis interescalariter. In ista contrata nullus a reniam vnus Idoli. In ista opium Idolatrarum; quibus Papa Romanus est caput octocentricas, & habent duos moritur, tunc filius conuocatur, & facit eum ad cam sacrodox cum magna sole quum corpus in frusta tunc idem vultures, de monte affluunt de eo quod sanctus est, honor, quem reputat fieri coque ipsum, & comedit, de cognatione eius bibunt cum & abominabilia facit gens viderent.

De diu

DE vni in prouincia Manu domocellas virgines sibi sculas, & habet semper 9. ferre: Iste habet in redditibus Tager pondus est asini semper vnum laterem habet a moniculus artificialis de auro edabitur pro solatio illius populo. Nobilitas virorum procurat sibi manus: Nobilitas sed matres quando filia suæ transiens verius meridiem apud ultra est valde & fertilis; Et omnes fecerunt sibi vnum murum bellissimi de mundo; Et iuxta pulcherrimi, & omne illud ad illum locum vocant hominem formosum & robustum, vendere facit vinum & lac abuntem aliquem vel Baronem, diu Baronis introduceret in parationem vnam, quæ ipsum f

phicare ut bibant. Hæc & multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; & idèdimitto ea. De alio mirabili audui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regio istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsi (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiantur, & intus inueniuntur vna bestiola similis vni agnello: sicut audui quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & sunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, & illud est verum.

De diuersis Prouincijs & ciuitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transiui 50. dietas versus Occidentem; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Kosan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se ciuitates. Ultra per multas dietas iui, & perueni ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kasan; Kasan. hæc est secunda melior prouincia mundi, ut dicitur, & est optimè habitata: Sic quòd quando exiit à porta vnius ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ est 50. dietarum, & longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, & maxime castaneorum; & hæc est vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Ultra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est subiectum Cani, in quo est maior copia panis & vini, quam sit in toto mundo ut credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tentorijs sacis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albis, & augebitur intersecalariter dispositis & curiosè compositis, & omnes viæ eius optimè pauidæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnius Idoli. In ista ciuitate moratur Abassi 1. Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatarum; quibus dat & distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam centumtricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes sacerdotes & histriones, & dicit se velle patrem suum; hoc facit cum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, vbi cum corpus in frusta concidunt, & ibi dimitunt, cum orationibus cum eoredeunt; Tunc veniunt vulvures, de monte affuefacti ad huiusmodi, & carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit rumor de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradysum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo mortuo: Tunc filius sumit caput patris, & coquit ipsum, & comedit, de testa eius faciens caphuram in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo & cognatione eius bibunt cum sollemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comestis. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

Tibek regio aliàs
Tebet Guilielmo
de Rubricis.

Eadem historia
de eodem populo
apud Guilielmum
de Rubricis.

De diuite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DVM tui in prouincia Manzi transiui iuxta palatium vnius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascens eum sicut auis aui-
culas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris nisi 30. Thuman, quorū quodlibet decies millies facit: vñ autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum duomilliaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pavimentum semper vnum lacerum habet aureum, alium argenteum: Iuxta ambitum istius palatii est vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia; & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere ungues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus accerunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum est paruos habere pedes: Et deo matres quādo filias suas sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimitunt crescere. Ultra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorie, quæ pulchra est valde & fertilis: Et in ista contrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi vnum murum circumeuntem istos montes. Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virginēs in maximo numero, & eorum illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradysum. Iste Senex cum viderit aliquem iuvenem formosum & robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum & lac abundanter. Iste Senex cum voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere reum aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso ut aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradysum illum, & illum delicijs frui permitteret, & tunc daret si-
pociorem vnam, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet; & ipsum sic dormientem

Mulierum parui
pedes.

Milestorie.

doramentem faceret extra paradifum deportari qui excitatus & fe extra paradifum confpicies, in tanta triftitia pofitus foret, quod nesciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum fenem iret, rogans eum, vt iterum in paradifum introduceretur; qui fibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nifi talem vel talem interficias; & fi. . . interfeceris, huc non, reponam te in paradifo, & ibidem poteris femper manere; Tunc ille huc faceret, & omnes fenii odiosos interficeret; Et eridit omnes reges orientales illum fenem timuerunt, & fibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

Cum autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepissent, venerunt ad istum Senem, & dominium illius Paradisi ab eo abstulerunt, qui multos ficiarios de Paradiso illo emittit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes ciuitatem, in qua senex obfederunt, eum ceperunt, & pessima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quod citissime per virtutem nominis Christi Iesu, & in virtute illius sanguinis pretiosi, quem effudit in cruce pro salute generis humani, daemones ab obfessis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem sunt obfessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres poribus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem sunt obfessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati statim credunt in Christum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipsum pro Deo suo, & baptizati sunt, & idola sua, & pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quae sunt benedicta confperunt, & iterum idola in ignem proiecerunt, & demones in effigie funi nigerrimi fugerunt, & idola remanserunt, & combusta sunt. Postea auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulsus sum. Et per istum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidunt ad idola pecorum: qui fratres conueniunt quasi stent cum illis, & illos informant. Aliud terribile fuit quod egovidi ibi. Nam cum irem per vnam vallem, quae sita est iuxta flauium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & irem per vnam vallem, quae sita est iuxta flauium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audiui sonos musicos dulces & diuersos, & maxime de cytharis, vnde multum timui. Hæc vallis habet longitudinem septem, vel octo milliariam ad plus, in quam si quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam viuus potest transire per medium illius vallis, & idem omnes de contraria decedunt à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc effet. Tandem orans de Deo me recommendans, & cruce signatis, in nomine Iesu intraui, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quod nullus crederet nisi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno saxo vnam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribiliter me respexit, quod omnino credidi ibi fuisse mortuum: Sed semper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est & habitauit in nobis) perculi, & cruce me signavi, nec propius quam per 7. passus, vel 8. accedere capiti ausus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & super vnum monticulum arenosum ascendi, in quo vndeque circumspiciens nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, quas per se (vt mihi videbatur) pulsari & resonare mirabiliter audiui. Cum verò fui in cacumine montis, inueni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quasi fuissent squamæ piscium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reseruans, & sic per gratiam dei liber exiui. Cum autem homines illius contrariæ sciuerunt me vnum exisse, reueriebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & sanctum; & corpora illa fuisse demonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de visis certudinaliter ego frater Odoricus hic inscripsi; & multa mirabilia omisi potest, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent.

De honore & reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

Vnum tantum referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in paribus illis quæ quando predictus dominus per aliquam contrariam transit, homines ante ostia sua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, vt dominus transiens suauem sentiat odorem, & multi obuiam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel veniret in Cambelech, & fama vndeque divulgaretur de suo aduentu, vnus noster Episcopus, & aliqui nostri minores fratres ego iuimus obuiam sibi benè per duas dietas. Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, posuimus crucem super lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incensum odoratum altæ voce dicentes: Veni creator spiritus: Et dum sic existeremus audiuit voces nostras fecitque nos vocari, ac iussit nos ad eum accedere, cum vt supra dictum est, nullus audiret appropinquare curru suo ad idem lapidis, nisi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum custodierunt dum iuissimus ad eum, ipse deposuit galerum suum, siue capellum inestimatam quasi valentem

fecit. reuerentiam Cr
pit thuribulum, & th
am. Accedentes verò
cum illum antiquam
cò portauimus nobisc
ipse duo acceperit, & de
remus, ne equi venien
ueritimus, & iuuuus ac
exercitu eius erant, & e
emes ita videbantur la
frater Guilelmus de Sol
exprimebat. Anno Do
uit de latino difficili, & f
rent quæ dicuntur. Ego
honis de ordine minoru
stro provincie Sancti An
finus, quod hæc omnia
audui: Communis etiam
alia ego dimississe, nisi
no contratas seu terras

Anno igitur Domini
sue peregrinationis
meritum, decreuit primò
nici Ioannis Pape 23. c.
cum ire volentium ad pa
Pontificem, non multum
in habitu peregrini eum
quereret quo modo ipsius
nou sanctum propofitum
sequenti decimo ex hoc
serum. Cum Senex ille sta
uerus est in bona prosper
em; Cumque esset in co
facta sibi fuit reuelatio, acce
stent incolumis in Domini
prefato sub manu Notarij
Anno Domini 1331. de
ordinis fratrum Minorum,
traui; quæ ego Guetelu
io, de mandato & voluntate
illi Vini, scripsi, sicut potui
bus, quia sunt innumerabi

Here beginneth
of the Minorites
Tartars of the Ea



Let be m
the fath
of Friuli
more na
I am ab
stantino
tuante, as

the fen. In this lande
the man leaueing about twice

feci. reuerentiam Cruci; & statim incensum posui in thuribulo; Episcopus nocte accepit thuribulum, & thurificauit eum; ac sibi prædictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem tuam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, semper sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; sed portauimus nobiscum poma, & ea sibi super vnum incisorium reuerenter obtulimus; & renus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque discessit eius erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipiant. Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicut prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exultatino difficili, & stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc ut homines facilius intelligerent de ordine minorum testificor, & testimonium perhibeo reuerendissimi patri Guidoto minisius, quod hæc omnia quæ superius scripta sunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis alia ego dimississem, nisi illa proprijs oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono constatas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & viuere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

Anno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suum peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam ut via & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò præsentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22. cuius benedictione obedientiaque recepta cum societate fratrum seculi volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cùmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à ciuitate Pisana, in quadam via occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quaereret quo modo ipse haberet noticiam? Respondit, Duxeras in India nouite, tuumque non sanctum propositum; Sed & tu modò ad conuentum vnde venisti reuertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, præsentem eum Senex ille statim post dictum ab eius aspectu disparuit; reuertit decreuit; Et reuertem: Cùmque esset in conuentu suo Vrinensi. N. in provincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta sibi fuit reuelatio, accepta communione, ipsòque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore exorato sub manu Notarij publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Ianuarij obiit in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruatio, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilij Vtini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quæ sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

Here beginneth the iournall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartari of the East.



There many and sundry things are reported by diuers authors concerning the fashions and condictions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of portu Vahonis being desirous to travel vnto the forreyn and remote nations of infidels, came and heard great and marvellous things, which I am able truly to mouche. First of al heerefore sapring from Pera by Constantinople, I arriued at Trapefunda. This place is right commodiously situated, as being an haueyn for the Persians and Medes, and other countreys betwene the sea. In this lande I behelde with grent delighe a very strange spectacle, namelie a cerement man leauing about with him more then foure thousande partridges. The man himselfe walked

Post Trapefunda

The cite of A-
zaron in Arme-
nia maion.

Soldanico.

Ther a citie of
Persia.

Di, Solonica.

The Calpian
sea.

Di, Calistia.

Gelle.

Coma.

walked upon the ground, and the partridges flew in the aire, which he ledde unto a certaine cite called Zauena, bringe thre dayes journey distant from Trapefunda. The saide partridges were the same, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so he led them unto Trapefunda, and unto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried unto the place from whence he came. In this cite lyeth the boop of Achanasius, upon the gate of the cite. And then I passed on further into Armenia maior, to a certaine cite called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde tyme, but now the Tartars have almost layed it waste. In the saide cite there was abundance of bread and fleshe, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This cite also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the world. It hath much hole some and sweete waters about it: for the veins of the saide waters seeme to spring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes journey from the saide city. Alashe said cite stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on unto a certaine mountaine called Nobissalaco. In the sofe saide countrey there is the very same mountaine wherupon the Ark of Noah resteth: unto the which I would willingly haue ascended, if my company would haue suffred for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man can euer ascend the saide mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I travelled on further into Persia, that great and royal city which was in olde tyme called Susa. This city is accounted to be one of the chiefest cities of the world for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing which longeth unto merchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city standeth very commodiously: for unto it all the nations of the whole world in a manner may resort by land. Concerning the saide cite, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receiues moze tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. There unto the saide city there is a salt-hill prebiding sale unto the city: and of that salt rebusan may be what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therefor. In this city many Christian and all nations do inhabit, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. When I travelled thence unto a cite called *Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour dwelleth all the summer time: he in summer he takes his progresse unto another city standing upon the Sea called *Baku. Also the sofe saide city is very great and colde, hauing good and hole some waters therein, unto the which also flowe many rivers. Howsoeuer I travelled with a certaine company of Caruans to the upper India: and in the way, after many dayes journey, I came unto the cite of the thesowars men called *Cassan, which is a noble and renowned city, saying that the Tartars haue destroyed a great part thereof: and it aboundeth with beere, wine, and many other commodities. From this city unto Jerusalem (whither the thesowars wisemen were miraculously brought) it is fower dayes journey. There be many wonders in this cite also, which, for breuitie sake I omit. From thence I departed unto a certaine city called *Gelle, whence the Sea of Sand doth flowe, one dayes journey, which is a most wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinde of victuals, and especiall of figs, raisins, and grapes: moze (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole world besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any means live therein about a yeere. Then passing many dayes journey on forward, I came unto a certaine cite called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde tyme, conceyning well nigh six miles in circuit, and hath done in times past great damage vnto the Romans. In it there are lately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, not without anding it is abounded with great store of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came unto the land of Iob named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situate. Thereabouts are certaine mountaines hauing good pastures for cattell upon them. Here also Manna is found in great abundance. Foure partridges are here: fowle for lesse then a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth upon the North part of Chaldea.

Of the maners of the Chaldeans, and of India.

The towne of
Babel.

From thence I traueled into Chaldea, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the towne of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and bejoynd women. The men of the same countrey vse to haue their haire cropped, and to wear vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly set with pearle, and precious stones. The women are clad in a course smock reaching to their knees, and hauing long sleeves hanging downe to the ground. And they are shooed, wearing breeches which reach to the ground also. They weare no attires vnto their heads, but their haire hangs downe

about their eares: as the lower India, which the for the most part, whereof dayes journey vnto the well fortified, and hauing to the heat in that countrey euen into their mid-legs, howe, to make a certain oil in certaine bags fastened by a kinde of Bark or shippe carried into one of them, which arrived at the city of Thana. This countrey is well situated. This kingdome in olde tyme a great battell with Alexander, serpents and trees. And these, and they themselves are named blacke Lyons in great numbers. Also there are much dogs, because cats are man both a bundle of great benefit as a piller, and it will moue and strange things.

How people

Myouer, that it may be a certaine kingdome well known in any other part of the world in circuit 18. dayes journey. Flandria, and the other Cythere whom there is often called all times. In the sofe saide countrey, which they pepper in clusters, as our vine are gathered as we gather grapes, they are put into earthen pots, and there be many rivers, which sometimes there abouts do burne their pepper without danger. I heard abundance with marchanting ore, as their god, whom men to rest from all his wothe, pearl, howsoeuer they vse this stone, of gold, and with one they vse they wash their face, and eyes, then they anointe the face, that they are sanctified from sin. This people worshipeth him, and from the noel desire sometimes requieth the blessing to consecrate their daughter vnto some Religion of the heathen, and so, much people is there. Also, many other bairns: and I sawe many more of the most vile custome the sofe dead corpes to ashes: and if his will accompany her husband in the two wife hauing children

urled about their eates: and there be many other strange things also. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouertran and wasted. And in this countrey the people eat beates for the most part, whereof 42. are there sold for lesse then a groat. I passed further also many dayes Iourney vnto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arrived, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the yuieties of men come out of their bodies and hang downe euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the same place, to preferre their owne liues, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their yuiue members therewith, do lay them by a kinde of Bark or shippe called Iase bring compact together onely with hemp. And I went on beards into one of them, wherein I could not finde any ypon at all, and in the space of 28. dayes I arrived at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friends were martyred for the faith of Christ. This countrey is well situate, hauing abundance of beas and wine, and of other victuals therein. The kingdom in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battell with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themselves are in subiection vnto king Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beas, as namely blacke Lyons in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeys, and battes as bigge as our dogs, because cats are not able to encounter them. Moreover, in the same countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a pillar, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied thereunto: with many other countries and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Ormus.

Thana, whereof
Frederick Cesar
maister was
captain.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

Moreover, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be understood that it groweth in a certaine kingdom whereat I my selfe arrived, being called *Minibar, and it is not so distant in any other part of the world as it is there. For the wood wherein it groweth concealeth in circuit 18. dayes Iourney. And in the said wood or Forrest there are two cities, one called Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Christians doe inhabit, be- cause there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foresaid wood peper is had after this maner: first is groweth in leaues like our pe-berris, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bying forth the pepper in clusters, as our vines doe beere grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is peper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many riuers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other Serpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne by with straw and with other dry steele, and so they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the said Forrest stands the city of Polumbum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worshipping one, as their god, whom they put to labour for fire peres, and in the seventh yere they cause him to rest from all his woike, placing him in a Solenne and publique place, and calling him an holy man. Moreover they vse this foolish ceremony: Euery morning they take two balons, either of gold, and with one they receive the vyne of the ore, and with the other his dung. With the vyne they wash their face, their eyes, and all their due senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they anoint the balons of their cheeks therewith, and thereby their bread: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day: And as the people doe, euen so doe their King and nobles. This people worshippeth also a dead toole, which, from the nauele byward, resembleth a man, and from the nauele doth ward an oxe. The very same fool deliuereth oacles vnto them, sometimes requirer the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that countrey do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes vnto their toole. And therefore the men of that countrey do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes vnto their toole, euen as Christians do their children vnto some Religion or Saint in heauen. Like wise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said fool by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other heinous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish people commit: and I sawe many more strange things among them which I meane not here to insert. Neither most vile custome the foresaide nation doth reaine: for when any man dieth they burne him dead to ashes: and if his wife surviveth him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she will accompany her husbonds in his estate and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. Do you see the said wife having children by her husbonds, may if she will, remaine still alive with them, without

Malabar.

Or, Minibar.

Polumbum.

The burning
of their dead.

without shame or reproch: nor withstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt wth their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such inconvenience, but he may marry another wife also. Like wife, & said nation keep another strange custome, in that theire women drinke wine, but their men do not. Also the women haue the lires & byowes of their eyes & beards shauen, but the men haue not: with many other such & stilly fashions which the said women do vse contrary to the nature of their sexe. After these thinges I traueiled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdom called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idoles: and in 15. houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and selfe-murderers.

Mobar, or Malabar.

Of a strange and vncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

IN the said kingdom of Mobar there is a wonderfull strange idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christopher, & consisting all of wood pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke ribband, full of most rich & precious stones, some one of which is of more value then a whole kingdom. The house of this idole is all beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pavement, and the siding of the wall within and without. Thus this idole the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halberts about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some other with knives sticking on their armes, or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded armes feeleth of any paine, they esteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. Hence comes the temple of that idole is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, wherunto the pilgrims cast gold, silver, & precious stones, for the honour of the idole and the repairing of the temple. And therfore when any thing is to be adored or minded, they go vnto this lake to see the treasure which was cast in. Whereouer at euery yeerly feast of the making or repairing of the said idole, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrims assemble themselves, & placing the said idole in a most stately & rich chariot, they carry him out of their temple with songs, & with all kind of musicall harmonie, & a great company of virgins go p^{ro}cession-wise two and two in a rank singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselves vnder the chariot wheelles, to the end that their false god may go ouer them: and al they ouer whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, & diuided asunder in the midst, and slaine right out. Yea, in doing this, they thinke themselves to die most holily & securely, in the seruice of their god. And by this means euery yere, there die vnder the said stilly idole, more then 500. persons, whose carcases are buried, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Whereouer they haue another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the seruice of this false god, his parents, & all his friends assemble themselves together with a comfort of musicians making him a great & solemne feast: which feast being ended, they hang 5. sharpe knives about his neck & crying him before the idole, so soone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his knives crying with loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he cutteth the most holie flesh is cut, at the face of his idole: but at the very last wound wherewith he murdereth himselfe, he saith these wordes: Now do I yeeld my selfe to death in the behalfe of my god. And being dead, his body is burned, & is esteemed by all men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, silver, and precious stones, & there be the fairest vniuers in all the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies iourney southward, I came vnto a certaine land named Lammor, where, in regard of extreme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: so seeing me apparellled scoffed at me, saying, that God made Adam & Eve naked. In this countrey all women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, whome she pleaseth. Likewise al the land of that region is possessed in common, so that there is not mine or thine, nor propriety of possession in the diuision of lands: howbeit euery man hath a certaine house peculiar to himselfe. As for flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our countrey. And thus the people are most lewd, yet the coldest in erecting good, abounding with all commodities, as wheat, rice, sugar, gold, wood of aloes, Camphire, and many other things. Merchants come vnto this region for traffique not usually buying to them fat men, selling them vnto the inhabitants as we sell hogs, who immediately kill & eat them. In this island towards the south, there is another kingdom called Simolara, where both men and women marke themselves with red-bee peeles, & sundry spoes of their faces: and this nation is at continual warre with certaine naked people of another region. When I traueiled further vnto another island called Iaua, the compass was

Wherby the
mariners Co-
mings.

Sundries,

Iaua,

by sea is 2000. miles. The said island is throug-
hly. In the same island
ward all kinds of spices are
king of the said land of Iaua
er I saw any, & it hath in
our staye being of silver, &
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having about their temple
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Of certaine

NERE vnto the said island
Of the same countrey ha-
ding meale, honey, & wine, &
one only remeys: & that is to
danger thereof, let him comp-
repel the payson immediat-
said trees after this manner. A-
ground, there is much out of
two large kinds of leaues, lay-
11. daies, when the said licor-
in sea water, washing it after-
ward they make either mead
it is sapier without & some-
tree, which runneth continu-
In this countrey also are found
in they are as bigge as trees.
The grass, & out of euery kno-
ground almost of the space
which stones, who for euer care-
the men of that countrey for
ship also cause one of the ar-
of the said stones into the woun-
certaine fish (the name wher-
the said wound. And by this
triumph both on sea and land.
nation, knowing the vertue of
himselfe armour of yron or
on of trees, & they carry in the
yon: like wise they shoot arro-
warmed their rustling too secu-
Cassia they make saples fl-
ence after many dayes traue-
rich countrey, & abounding
many wiles & concubines, &
elephants, which are kept

Of the abundance of

In this countrey there is one
far come swimming toward
the sea, nothing can be ferre
by come nere vnto it, do suffice
itselfe, & then they returne
they do this but once in a ye-
comes this strange accident
nature, to come & to be damag-

by sea is 2000. miles. The king of this Island hath 7. other crowned kings under his iurisdiction. The said Island is thoroughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Islands of y^e whole world. In the same Island there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibes, and nutmegs, and in a king of the said land of Iaua hath a most hause and sumptuous palace, the most lofty built, that ever I saw any, & it hath most high greeces & flayres to ascend up to the roomes therein contained, one flaye being of silver, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paved all ouer with one square plate of silver, & another of gold. All the walls vpon the inner haue about their temples, each of them a wreath of golde, adozned with p^{re}cious stones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Caray hath had many conflicts in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes overcome & vanquished.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

N^{ext} vnto the said Island is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same countrey hath many Islands under his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the most deadly poyson in all y^e whole world: for against it there is but one only remedie: & that is this: if any man hath taken of y^e poyson, & would be deliuered from the danger thereof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & so drinke a good quantity thereof, & it shall rescue the poyson immediately, making it to void at the fundament. Beale is produced out of the said trees after this manner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there flutteth out of the flooke a certain licour like unto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the sun, & at the end of those 15 daies, when the said licour is thoroughly parched, it becometh meale. Then they sleepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good & sauorie palle, & it is fatter without & somewhat browne within. By this countrey to the sea called Mare moruati, which runneth continually Southward, into y^e which whosoever falleth is neuer scene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which ouerspread the earth like grass, & out of euery knot of them spring forth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the said canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whosoever carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the most part, carry such stones with them, whither soeuer they goe. They also cause one of the armes of their children, while they are young, to be launced, putting one of the said stones into the wound, healing also, and closing vp the said wound with the powder of certaine herb (the name whereof I do not know) which powder both immediately consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Notwithstanding there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the said stones, doe practise against them: namely, they provide themselves armour of yron or Steele against their arrowes, & weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: like vnto the shot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound & slay some of their enemies thus trusting too securely vnto the vertue of their stones. Also of the aforesaid canes called Cassan they make saples for their ships, and little houses, and many other necessaries. & from hence after many dayes trauell, I arrived at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful & rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king whereof, at my being there, had many wives & concubines, that he had 300. sonnes & daughters by the. This king hath 1000.4. elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe hounds or oren, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselves vpon the shore.

In this countrey there is one strange thing to be observed, & euery several kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that for a great distance in the sea, nothing can be scene but y^e backs of fishes: which, casting themselves vpon the shore when they come neere vnto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of them as they please, & then they returne againe vnto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, casting it selfe after the same manner, and so in like sort all other kinds whosoever: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what means this strange accident could come to passe? They answered, that fishes were caught, euen as much, to come & to do damage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an oxen.

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still house
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Ships made
of reben.

Campa.

Tortoise.

Mormoran,

ouch. Many other things I saw which are incredible, unless a man should see them with his own eyes. In this country also dead men are burned, & their wives are burned alive with them as in the city of Polumbum about mentioned: for the men of that country say that the worth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in marriage. Moreover I saw also further by the ocean-sea towards the south, & passed through many countries and islands, whereof one is called Mormoran, & it containeth in compass 400 miles, wherein men & women have dogs faces, and worship an ore for their god: and therefore every one of them carry the image of an ore of gold or silver upon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, carrying that they hang a linen cloth before their privities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they carry upon their targets before them, which do cover and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whosoever of them that they take in battell not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently beate him: but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 3000000 and most beautifull unions, and taketh every day 3000000 prayers unto his god. The women weare a longer also a tione of a span long, which seemeth to be a flume of fire, and they thinke that it is worth it, no man dare once approach unto him: and they say that there is not any flower in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tatarian Emperour of Karay either by force, money, or politie obtaine it at his hands: notwithstanding that he hath done the veriest of his endeavour for this purpose.

Of the island of Syan: and of the mountaine where Adam mourned for his sonne Abel.

I passed also by another island called Syan, which containeth in compass about 1000 miles: therein are an infinite number of serpents, & great flocks of lions, beares, & all kinds of ravenous wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that region do report that Adam mourned for his son Abel & spare of 500 years. In the midst of this mountain there is a most beautiful plain, wherein is a little lake containing plenty of water, which water the inhabitants report to have proceeded from the teares of Adam: howbeit I doubted that to be false, because I saw the water flow in the lake. This water is full of boy-leeches, & blood-suckers, & of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not unto his own use, but once or twice every year he permitte certain poore people to draw under the water for the said stones, & at that they can get he bestoweth upon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But the people may with lesse danger draw under the water, they take limons which they sell, annoying themselves thoughtfully with the suler thereof, & so they may draw naked under water, the boy-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth run into the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other precious stones out of the stone: whereupon it is thought, that the king of this island hath greater abundance of precious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth bestowes. In the said country there be all kinds of beasts and foules: & the people told me, that those beasts would not invade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island foules as big as our country geese, having two beaks, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traveling on further towards the south, I arrived at a certain island called Bodin, which signifieth in our language vnclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who devour & eat raw flesh, committing all kinds of uncleannes & abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, & the son his father, the husband his owne wife, & the wife her husband: and that after this manner. If any man father be sick, the son might goe unto the foot: saying or prognosticating piteously, requesting to demand of his god, whether his father shall recover of that infirmity or no? Then both of them go unto an idol of gold or of silver, making their prayers unto it in manner following: Lord, thou our god, & thou be so above, be merciful to us, to resolve us, whether such a man shall die, or recover of such an infirmity or no? Then the son answereth our of the said idol: if he saith (be that he will) then returneth his son and ministrereth things necessary unto him, till he hath obtained unto his father health: but if he saith (be that he will) then goes the piteous son unto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into pieces, & at his buriall and himselfe are buried with the eating thereof, with musique and all kinds of mirth: where his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reward thereof, one of them gave me an answer: this we doe, because the women should not be sick, when his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any means remove them from that error. Many other novelties and strange things there be in this country, which no man would credit, unless he saw them with his owne eyes. Whereby, I beseech almighty God, who

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make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure. Concerning the foresaid Islands I inquired of bluer well-experienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. Islands under it, & within in: in which Islands there are three and foure crowned kings: and they say moreover, that the greater part of those Islands are well inhabited. And here I conclude concerning that part of India.

Of the vpper India: and of the prouince of Mancy.

21, China.

First of all therefore, having traueled many dayes Iourney by the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arrived at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of all such as bare any office under the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the prouinces thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rice, flesh, and fish. All the men of this prouince be themselves by the labor of their hands, will neuer beg almes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, having their heads shaven but a little: but the women are the most beautiful vnder the sunne. The first city of y^e said India which I came vnto, was called Ceuskalon, which being a daies Iourney distant from the sea, stands vpon a riuer, the way to the space of 12. daies Iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of Idols. The town of Ceuskalon hath such an huge many belonging thereunto, that no man would be great. There are the greatest, and the fairest greeke & most plenty of them to be sold in all the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throat they haue a kin of bag hanging as big as two of ours. There be monstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the Indians & eaten: whereupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is nought set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are all kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed vnto a city named Calcan, wherein y^e friers & Monks haue a shop for the sale of Christ, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of all kind of religious persons, al which do worship Idols. I my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, & it was shewed vnto me, that there were in it 100. religious men, having 100. Idols: and one of y^e said Idols which they had to feed their Idols: whereupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and when the smoke thereof ascended vnto their Idols, & they said that their gods were reioyced with the smoke: howbeit, all the meat they consumed away, eating it by their owne selues, & they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

22, Ceuskala.

23, Mancy.
The manner
of the
the Spaniards
call Alcantara.

24, Zaiton.

Of the citie Fucco.

Then passing eastward, I came vnto a city named Fucco, which containeth 30. miles in circuit, where there are exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their beards are as white as the very snow, being wool in stead of feathers, like vnto sheep. It is a most stately & beautiful city & standeth vpon the sea. When I went 18. daies Iourney on further, & passed by many prouinces & cities, and in the way I went ouer a certaine great mountaine, vpon whose side whereof I beheld al liuing creatures as black as a cole, & the men and women in that side differed somewhat in manner of liuing from others: howbeit, on the other side of the said mountaine every liuing thing was snow-white, & the inhabitants in their manner of liuing, were altogether unlike vnto others. There, all married women carry vpon their heads a great bunke of home vpon their heads. From thence I traueled 18. daies Iourney further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered also into a city, the same belongeth a mighty bridge to passe the said riuer. And mine host with whom I sojourned, being desirous to shew me some sport, said vnto me: What if you will see any fish taken, he will shew me. Then he led me vnto the foresaid bridge, carrying in his hand with him certaine baskets of water-foules, bound vnto a company of poles, and about every one of their baskets he tied a chaine, lest they should eat the fish as fast as they coule them: and he carried a great staffe with him also: then looked he the nine-doppers from the poles, which presently went into the water, & within lesse then the space of one houre, caught as many fishes as filled the 3. baskets: which

25, great riuer.

26, fishes caught
by fish.

¶ J Canals, 63
Quilra.

The Italian cap
pe in Ramoth,
bath 11000,
blyngs.

which being full, mine hoste vnepes the chyebes from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the riuer they fed themselves with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselves to be bound vnto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, we thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes tourneys, as length I arrived at another city called Canasia, which signifieth in our language, the city of beaume. For in all my life did I see so great a cite: for it conertheth in circuit an hundred miles: and I sawe I any plot thereof, which was not thoghly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of some of the lue dogles bigg, one aboute another. It hath mightie large suburbs conueining many people then the cite it selfe. Also it hath twelue principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaide city of Canasia is situated in waters of marshes, which alwayes flowe still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice. In this cite there are then 10000. hydges, many wherof I numbred and passed ouer them, and vpon euery of those hydges stand certaine watchmen of the cite, keeping continually watch and ward about the saide city, for the great Can the Emperour of Canay. The people of this countrey say, that they haue one dueite imposed vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one bolis in regard of tribute: and a Bolis is twelue papers or pieces of silke, which are worth our shopen an halfe of our coine. Tenne of these households are accounted for one fire, and so payeth one but for one fire onely. All those tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, which other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 80. in all: And one Thuman consisteth of 1000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some trauellers through the countrey: whereupon I marvelled much howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and lue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this cite, as namely of bread and wine, and especially of hogg-flesh, with other necessaries.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of diuers kindes doe lue vpon an hill.

In the foresaide cite foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the cite. Then vpon a certaine time came vnto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the order. And I said, yea. Then imbarqued we our selues, and directed our course vnto a certaine great Monastery: where being arrived, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman cometh from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambalech to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when he returns into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight of nouelty haue I seen in the city of Canasia. Then the said religious man tooke two great baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a little walled parke, the booke whereof he vnloched with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleasant faire greene plot, into the which we entered. In the greene stands a litle mount in forme of a steeple, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine flowres. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball of bell, and rang therewith, as they were ring to dinner of beuoir in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys, and some hauing face like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselves together about him, the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselves in good order, before whom he laid a platter, and gaue them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the second time, and they all returned vnto their former places. Then, wondering greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be: They answered he, the souls of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneith the world: and as many honorable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, encreth into the body of some creature beest or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of wilde and brutish creatures. Then I began to refuse that soule error: howbeit my speech did nothing at all preuaile with him: for hee could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a certaine cite named Chilenso, the walls whereof conuerne 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 300. hydges of stone, the fairest that euer I sawe: and well inhabited, hauing a great nuite belonging therunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called Thalay, which, where it is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of Pygma, whose chiefe city is called Cakam, and is one of the goodliest cities in the world. These Pygmies are

Califia.

Thalay.
Cakam.

chire of my Spania bigg, & other nation vnder the sun named Tanzu, in which theye Churches of the Noman of tributarie heres fables and fithes, as Chyrenemes for sale onely, coppe: in somuch that or rns. Howbeit the sayes them freely two hundred. There is a custome in this about vnto certaine euer ryp particular hoste, you sh my name, and so much I better sealed at diuerse pl cite, about the head of the which hath the greater name and they haue banqueting house, vnlesse he had seen

Trauellers eight dayes fresh water vnto a cite which runneth through the forth the banks, of 32 each ward, after many dayes can hoo, which aboundeth more great scarcitie of silke, for the summer of all merchandize all chesse and delicate spices into the noble and renowned the province of Cagaeie. This mile, they built another cite eight two miles distant from saye cities is very well and to were them both. The whole te the great Emperour Can h palace containe foure miles u houses of his nobles which be rinal, there is a most beautiful the Speme mount, hauing a n the most part, the great Calah, whereupon a most steepe and all kinds of water fowles all birds, and wilde beastes. And by banking, he neede not so much face, wherein he maketh his al woules thereof are hanged with woules. In the midst of the pal our stone called Merdochah, a ben mirage of a serpent, as it were fully a kind of net woules of per conuerpeth those into certaine pipe upon the which also there hang saye licour. In the foresayd palace banquet vnto his toye, if the g peace he also will speake abouon and this I suppose to be vnto by

three of my Span high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotton and silke, then any other nation vnder the sunne. And coasting along by the saide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Tanzu, in which citie there is one recepecte for the Friars of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Tanzu is a noble and grene citie, containing 48 Thousandes and sixes, as Chistians doe usually line vpon. The lord of the same citie hath in pecerly revenues for sale onely, sixtie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our rra, wherby the saide lord fauourerth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcety of weath among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going by particular hoste, you shall haue such, and such of my friends, whom you must intertaine in better seated at diuerse places, then they should haue bene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the sayde riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greater stauy that I saw in the whole world. All their ships are as white as snow, and they haue banquetting houses in them, and many other rare things also, which no man would beleue, vntill he had seene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

Trauelling eight dayes iourney further by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water vnto a certaine citie named Lencyn, standing vpon the riuer of Karauoran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, by breaketh footth of the channell. From thence passing along the riuer Calluon, after many dayes trauell, and the sight of diuers cities, I arrived at a citie called Suma-lan, which aboundeth moze with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is summer of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals also, as of beead, wine, flesh, fish, with manye more noble and renowned citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being situate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tocke, and nere vnto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betwene the two sayde cities is very well and thoroughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betwene them both. The whole compass of circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and nere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the sayde palace Imperiall, there is a most beautifull mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, having a most topall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Upon the one side of the sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bylogie is built, in which lake is great abundance of getle, ducks, and all kindes of water fowles: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beastes. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting by hunting, he needeth not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreover, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, having within it 14 pillars of golde, and all the wals thereof are hanged with red skynes, which are sayd to be the most costly skynes in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a chierne of two yards high, which consisteth of a pretious stone called Merdochal, and is wreathed about with golde, & at the top thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were, furiously shaking and casting forth his head. This chierne also hath a kind of the topke of the perle wrought about it, like wise by the sayd chierne there is drinke conuerped thowt to certaine pipes and conuerts, such as were to be drinke in the emperours court, upon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whoeuer will may drinke of the sayd liquor. In the sayd palace there are many peacechs of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the guests chance to clasp their hands for joy and mirth, the sayd golden peacechs also will spread abroad their wings, and lift up their tresses, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine vnder the ground.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

Moreover, when the great emperor Can sitteth in his imperial throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene of empyrie, and upon another inferior seat there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his spouse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his house. All the married women weare upon their heads a kind of ornaments in shape like unto a mans foot, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foot is adorned with crane feathers, and is all over thicke set with great and shining pearls. Upon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begetter sonne, and heire apparent unto his empire, and under him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There be also foure secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and divers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of soldiers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, unless they have obtained licence of the emperor to doe, except his letters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord, whether yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but only according to the pleasure of their emperor, and as hee enliueth them by lawes. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading upon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleaseth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carrying wenchers & little creatures upon their heads, and giving attendance upon their lord, and every one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is worth ten thousand scylings. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundredes, and gouernours of thousandes, insomuch that every one in his place performeth his dutie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to be found. I After Odoricus was there present in person for the space of thre yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for his friers Spinouses haue a place of abode appointed out for vs in the emperors court, and are enioined to goe and to bestow our blessing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperors court. And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and suchlike, there were eightene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beastes and fowles were sixteen Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body were four hundred; the Equesters also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. As my being there, all the sayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreover, when he will make his progresse from one courtier to another, he hath foure troups of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the manner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midst, and in every particular troupe haue their daily iourneys lined vnto them, to the end they may provide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in manner following; hee sitteth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a quadrifidall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being moored with gold and great pearles, and precious stones, and foure elephants haue furnished vnto him the way. Hard by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from appoaching neere vnto their emperour. Upon the chariot also two milke-white Ter-salcons doe sit, and carrying any game which hee would take, hee killeth them he, and so they take it, and after this manner speeth his solace himselfe or his court. Moreover, no man dare come within a fowles-call of the chariot, but such as are appointed the number of his stoute followers, of his women attendants, and of the traine of his first begetter sonne and his heire apparent, would seeme incredible vnto any man, unless hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The sayd great Can hath decider his Empire into two hundred partes of winters, and one of the sayd partes he hath chooseth and great cities, within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whosoever part thereof hee directeth his iourney, hee hath space enough for six moneths continuall iourney, except his Thuman which are at the least 1000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for travellers throughout the whole empire.

The sayd great Emperor (to the end that travellers may haue all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be provided in sundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continual readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from the

part, his ambassadoys vpon their beastes are weary, they set a horse and a man, and so by others Innes, as hapen, is in one naturall be can be done in his empire, Can himselfe will go on by the ste of Kambalech there is are so many kinds of beastes of every third or fourth ye together emulon the sayd beastes: namely, lions and the the forest, because all the be commeth the great Can him the whole herd of beastes and family doe all in the family marke. Then they returne into the wood that they say that be all as his owne.

Of the foure fea

Foure great feasts in a ye the feast of his circumcisi the feasts for murther all his the great Can sitting in his th and crowne upon their heads pymples: the second are in v their table of elephants too they stand upon their feete kee their instruments. And in oue Spigians remaine for certai the point and bowe which the our with a loud voyce, saying, all the Barons fall flat vpon th they all arise. Likewise the w when it is fulfilled, the erier evngome he fairly; Plucke them on her circumstances also doe th goe to bed, neither would I wite vicibus. And when the muske into your Lord: with that all of voyce, and immediately another men, musicians and sing sweetly men. After them come in the Hon and golden cups full of wine s some monthes that they may d part of the great Can, which no and therefore I omit to speake of her miraculous thing, namely, contains called Kappei (the kin which being ripe, doe open ne into green as I my selfe haue be in the sea, bearing fruits like vne err, and become birns called B

Of di

After three yeeres I depa towards the West. And as I

part, his ambassadors upon horses of some darer ride post unto him, and when themselves and their beasts are weary, they blow their horns, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise proueth a horse and a man, who eates the letter of him that is weary, and runneth unto another Inne: upon, in one natural day brought unto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment Can himselfe will go on hunting, he useth this custome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambalech there is a forest concerning the dayes iourney in circuit, in which forest there are many kinds of beasts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Into this forest, at the ende of every third or fourth yeere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth, and they all of them together environ the sayd forest, setting dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring forth the beasts: namely, lions and tigers, and other creatures, unto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the forest, because all the beasts of the forest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then cometh the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like manner discharge their arrows also, and every mans arrow hath a returne into the wood that they may haue more sport with them another time) and every man crieth that he hath as his share, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

Four great feasts in a yeere doth the emperor Can celebrate: namely, the feast of his birth, the feast of his coronation, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his marriage. And unto the great Can sitting in his throne, all his Barons present themselves before him, with weapons of warre: the first are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little they stand upon their feet keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players or musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers of the point and tower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selues before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat upon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Arise all, and immediately when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out againe; Put your fingers in your eares: and forthwith in other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say haue some certaine signification: and when the musicians haue come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast unto your Lord: with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noise. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all while. Then come the women, musicians and sing sweetly before the Emperour, which musike was more delighefull unto him. After them come in the lions and doe their obediens unto the great Can. Then the iuglers and other men that they may digne of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleue unless he had seen them with his owne eyes, and therefore I write of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another marvellous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdome name is Kolor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which bring ripe, doe open at the top, and within them is found a little beast like unto a pong, which is given as I myselfe haue heard reported, that there stand certaine trees upon the shore of the Indis Sea, bearing fruit like unto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.

A Lamb in a
Gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

After three yeeres I departed out of the empire of Canaie, traualling thre dayes iourney towards the West. And at length I came unto the empire of Pietegoni, whose principall title

His returne
Westward.

Cain.

101, Thier.

Who came first
up concerning
the deep faith
people to in
William de Ru-
bric.

Long naites.

Mellistore.

city is Kolan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence passing many dayes I came vnto a prouince called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the oury prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, inasmuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in diuers of them. The breadth of the sayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, & the length aboute fifty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chesnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called I Tebek, which is in situation vnto the great Can also, where in I thinke there is more plenty of byzard wine then in any other part of the world belies. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall cupes are inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed chekerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together: likewise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paved. In the sayd countrey none dare shed the blood of a man, or of any beast, for the reverence of a certaine idole. In the sayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and pryncer of all idolaters (vpon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his manner) even as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare aboute an hundred rich and trisles aboute them, and they haue two eies in their mouthes as long as the tubes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assemblith together all the priests and musicians that he can get, saying that he is determined to honour his father: then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kindred, friends, and neighbours accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut off the fathers head, giuing it vnto his sonne, which being done, they binde the whole body into muske, and so leaue it behinde them, returning home with papera in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankers, come flying from the mountaines, and carry away all the sayd muske of flesh: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can receive to performe vnto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, setting it and eating the flesh hereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, where in himselfe with his family and kindred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and honoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the sayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither can nor will beleue, except they should haue the sight of them.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fiftie virgins.

While I was in the prouince of Nancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending vpon him, feeding him every meale, as a bird feeds her young ours. Also he hath sundry kindes of meat serued in at his table, and thre dishes of ech kinde: and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in yeerly reuenues thirty thousand of tagars of rife, euery of which chymen prebendeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pavement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of silver. Neere vnto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and silver, where vpon stand towers and steeples and other delectable thyngs for the solace and recreation of the sayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long naites vpon their fingers, and especially vpon their thumbes, which naites they may selde aboute their bands: but the grace and benediction of their women is to haue small and slender feet: and therefore the mothers when their daughters are young, do binde up their feet, that they may not grow great. Travelling on further toward the South, I arrived at a certaine countrey called Mellistore, which is a very pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certaine aged man called Senex de monie. He round aboute two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within the wall there were the fairest and most chypfall fountains in the whole world: and about the sayd fountains there were most beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly houses also. And in a word, euery thing that could be desired for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valiant young man, he would admit him into his paradise. Whomever by certaine conuises he makes wine drunklike to be abundant

Oodoricus.

This Senex, when he be-
hath that is gennet of
king or baron, permitting
pauon being of force to
and so being in a pposon
himselfe thout out of the
wife what to do, or whiche
him that he might be adu-
ered either, vntil he you
enry, whether you will be
claynes: then would che
all these against whom th
of the east hand in alie of

Also when the Car-
man, and cooke from
others desperate and reful-
carn nobles to be flaine.
one man was, took him, as
place home this speciall gift
left, and in the verue of b-
manhood, they doe cast for-
poultier men in those parts
help being dispossessed of the
nourishing him for their de-
to the fathers all their tools
towards his: then the sayd
son: he may see the selfe go-
bre at the best those tools can
help water, sailing the tools
blacke smother, and the tools
and a countrey was heard in th-
by these means the frie
three tools: inasmuch that the
them men. There was ano-
by, which is strange beside a p-
ward waters sweet sound and
was greatly amazed. This w-
which whosoever enureth, de-
herof: by which cause all the
was compsed to go in, and to se-
ing my selfe to God in the nam-
man would beleue vntil he
sake vpon a certaine done, I
speak, that I thoughte worthy I
word became flesh, and di-
the signe of the crosse, and recei-
the I departed & fled vnto an-
me, where looking rounde abo-
two miraculously founding: a-
vpon the toppe of the mount-
ner: and I gathered some part
thinking me, I cast it vpon the
I expected without danger
one of the valley almes, they
the sayd fountains were in
arms, to the end they might al-
the things which I beheld

This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernour of the sayd paradise, to bring thither some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to giue him a certaine pain being of force to call him into such a slumber as should make him quite void of all sense, and so bring in a profound sleepe to conuey him out of his paradise: who bring awaked, & seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorrowfull, that he could not in the world desire what to do, or whether to turne him. Then would he go vnto the foresaid old man, beseeching to stayer, vntill he you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will giue the attempt: whether you kill him or no, I will place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine all those against whom the sayd old man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd old man, and gaue vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

And when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed therat, sent abroad certain nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the sayd old man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this speciall gift and prerogative: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ mankind, they doe cast forth devils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many who being possessed of the vncleane spirits, do presently beleue in Christ who deliuered them, to the friers all their tools, and the tools of their craft, which are commonly made of felt or of wood: then the sayd friers kindle a fire in a publicke place (whereunto the people resort, but at the first those tools came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled the sayd fire with holy water, casting the tools into it the second time, and with that the devils fled in the likeness of blacke smoke, and the tools still remained till they were consumed vnto ashes. Afterward, this way of cure was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation, and by these means the friers doe baptize great multitudes, who presently reuolt againe vnto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must oftentimes, as it were, underprop them, and informe them, which is situate beside a pleasant riuer, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of cytherns, wherewith I was greatly amazed. This valley continueth in length seven or eight miles at the least, into the which whicouer encreth, with presently, and ran by no meanes passe alme thowen the widest thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereof decline vnto the one side. Whereouer, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Iesu, I entered, and saw such swarms of dead bodies there, as no man would beleue vntill he were an eye witness thereof. At the one side of the foresayd valley upon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should haue died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, the word became flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neuer then seven or eight paces I durst not approach vnto the said visage: & as I departed I flew vnto another place in the sayd valley, ascending by into a little sandy mountain, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd cytherns, which me thought I heard vpon the toppe of the mountain, I found others there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew to some wonder, but my conscience would not suffer me to do so, referring me to the earth, referring me to all vnto my selfe, and so, by Gods assistance departed without danger. And when the men of the country knew that I was returned from the valley alive, they reuerenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murder them. Thus much concerning these things which I beheld most certainly with mine eyes, I thus Odoricus haue here written:

written : many strange things also I haue of purpose omitted, because men will not beleue them vnlesse they should see them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great Can.

I will reposit one thing more, which I saw, concerning the great Can. It is an vsuall custome in these parts, that when the foresayd Can traueleth thowm any countrey, his subjects kinde fires before their doores, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come forth to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was coming towarde Cambalich, the fame of his approach being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minoyte friers and my selfe, went the dayes iourney to meet him : and being come nigh vnto him, we put a crosse vpon wood, I my selfe hauing a censer in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice : Veni creator spiritus. As we were singing on this wise, he called vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him : notwithstanding (as it is about mentie ed) that no man were appoach within a stones cast of his chariot, vnlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came nere vnto him, he vailed his face of honor being of an inestimable price, doing reuerence vnto the crosse. And immediately I put incense into the censer, and our bishop taking the censer perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Whereafter, they that came before the sayd Can do alwayes byng some oblation to present vnto him, obseruing the ancient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And so that cause we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him : and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified vnto vs, that we should go apart, least the hoyle coming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene converted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the same time in our way : and we offered vnto them of the foresayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great joy, seeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them some great gift.

All the premises abouewritten frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing vnto the foresayd frier Odoricus uttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the month of May, and in the place of St. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but euen as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the more easily vnderstand the things reposed. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minoytes, dwelt in the marke of Treviso (being by him required vpon mine obedience so to do as all the premises aboue written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same repeated by credible and substantiall persons. The common report also of the countreys where I was, witnesseth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to visit countreys of lands, in which action I dispose my selfe to die or to live, as it shall please God.

Of the death of frier Odoricus.

In the yeere theretofore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe in the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauell and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe vnto pope John the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being receiued, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himselfe vnto all the countreys of indies. And as he was travelling toward the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the way an olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying : All hail frier Odoricus. And when the frier demanded how he had knowledge of him : he answered : Whilste you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also : to see that you returne immediately vnto the conen from whence you came, for vnto me you shall depart out of this present world. Wherewith being astonished and amazed at his wordes (especially the olde man banishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no corporeall paine mite of body. And being in his conen at Vdene in the prouince of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himselfe vnto God, yea, in strong and sound of body, he happily rested in the Lord : whose sacred departing was signified

Mass. Gourne

into the Pope's chapel.
In the peere of our L
deceased in Chyl, as w
publique notarie of V
direction of the honora
Vina, haue written as
minoytes: howbeit no

The voyage Knights



Etace
under h
bellico
cum (v
prelijs
in Hispa

[E]t is by no meanes to be
warrior in the reigne of
of Somerset, commonly
age; and that (as it is man
na himselfe at the siege of
Shace, of Cressle, of Ingeno

The coming of

yeere 1386,
truit to fin
two



Thus in abiding
then king. Ly
king, like the
him for a goat
Council, to
two Brethren, England and
be the Saint Denice, along
to Bolaine, and thre he took
the Earle of Cambridg
of armes, and a two thousand
that the Frenchmen should la
at his Council with him, and
king of Armenia was arrived
and so he came to the kings C
by remanence of him from
that in trust of goodwille h
treatie of peace betwene Eng
there : for he sayd, by reason of
of Saracens, Jewes & Turkes
and by reason thereof I haue
without there were first peace
with all Christendome to the
Then the kings Councill
lawes and sayd, no : there
to see the king of England
as he demanded where the

unto the Pope asofeato, vnder the hand of the publique notary in these wordes following.
In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Januarie, Beatus Odoricus a Friar minoyste
deceased in Christ, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus
publique notarie of Viuna, sonne of *W.* Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and
direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Galsaldion, and one of the Councell of
Viuna, haue written as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof unto the Friers
minoystes: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English
Knight, against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and
Spain. *M. Camden pag. 159.*



*N*ectacendum Mattheum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgarilingua Stoke
vnder Hamden in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepulturn esse, virum
bellicosissimumregnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obiuit,
cum (vt ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos,
prelijs Benamazin, Schlusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Picauicnsi, & Nazarano
in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

It is by no meanes to be passed ouer in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant
warrior in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie
of Somerset, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his
age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly beha-
uour'd himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of
Sluer, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

*In the reigne
of Edward the
third.*

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the
yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in
trutt to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement be-
tweene the King of England and the French
king. *Iohn Froysart lib. 3. cap. 16.*



*L*yon in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind,
then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the
king, sixe thousand frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate, tooke vpon
him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his
Councell, to see if he mighte find any matter of peace to be had, betwene the
two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne
to Boloine, and thence he tooke a shippe, and so sayled forth till he came to Douer; and there he
found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundred men
of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the white rai,
that the Frenchmen should lande there at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part
of his Councell with him, and daily heard ryvings from all the wythes of England. When the
king of Armenia was arrived at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger,
and so he came to the kings Chancel there, who sweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient,
by remaunders of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and
said, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell,
to treat of peace betwene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not
to laste: for he saide, by reason of warre betwene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long,
the Saracens, Jewes & Turkes are wared proude, for there is none that make them any warre,
and by reason thereof I haue lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe
without there were firme peace in ali Christendome: & I would gladly shew the matter that cou-
thold all Christendome to the King of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French
king. When the kings Councill were assembled of this, if the French king sent him thither or no; he
answered and saide, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne mo-
tion to see if the king of England and his Councell would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then
as he demanded where the French king was, he answered I beleue he be at Sluer, I saide
not

not him thence Iooke my leave of him at Senize. Then he was demanded, whome he could make any trouble of peace, and how no charge so to doe, and heir, if yet he conserued to the King our Mayestie and to his Council, and the French king in the meane season enter with his puissance into England; yet may hope thereby to receive great blame, and poor person to be in great leaperie with them of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I have sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remove from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well counsellor, that he will graunt my desire, and that he will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, first, I pray you in the intreatie of love and peace, to comey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: for if yet that be his Uncle, if ye have authoritie, to give me answer to all my demands. Then the Earle of Buckingham said, O King of Armenia, we be ordained here to keepe and defend the passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Council, and we have no charge meddle any further with the business of the Realme, without we be otherwise commaunded by the King. But if ye be come for a good income into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but if, as for any firme answer ye can haue none of us, for as now we be not of the Council, but we will comey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answer that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreshed at Dover a day, and had spoken with the kings Uncles at good leisure, then he departed to wards London, with a good conduct that the Lozds appointed to him, for feare of any recovery: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good chere met him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Court wardrobe, and his Council were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were surprisying of their ciety. When the coming of the king of Armenia was knowne, the kings Council began to the king to heare what spynge the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then began his proffesse to the flazers, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England who he had never seene before, & said, how he was right loyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his wordes, that to withstand the great violence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his own goodwill to see good therein if he might, not sent from the French king, willing to let some wayes of peace betwene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant wordes the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Council, then he was shortly answered thus by the king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soueraigne lord, and all be as glad to see you here, but fir, we say that the king hath not here all his Council, but shortly shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was contented therewith, and returned to his lodging. Within foure weekes after the king was counselled (and I thinke had sent to his Uncles to know their intence, but they were not present at the answer) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Council with him, such as were about him, and send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Council, the king sat downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Bishops and other of his Council. There the king of Armenia requested againe the requestes that he made, and also desired wisely how all Christendome was laye in ceayn manner blisshed by occasion of the warres betwene England and France. And how that all the kings and Emperours of both Realmes remember nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part, & on the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople lesseth, and is like to lesse: for before this time the Knights and Emperours were wont to adventure themselves. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired to knowe what there might be some treaty of peace betwene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Cantuarie, for he had charge in this And he said, Our King of Armenia, it is not the manner nor better than to see betwene such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king our Soueraigne lord should be requiered of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, whereof as fir, we say you, this if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and comend him and all his people

to receive backe into the
you ye may returne againe

This was all the cause
of England, and had as
great gifts of golde and
by a ring to the value of
to his lodging, and the ne
truce of such lozds as were
from thence went to Sluce
threwen them how he had
Charles took no regard of
can was to enter into Eng
of Berrie and the Countesse
they could neuer enter into

The voyage of and lastly R Barb

Ranci into
saigau, be
flashed ieb
music Hen
id bellum fa
Africa traie
fuit, quoad Anglorum fagi
ch Tueram vibem regiam
mioru, quam nostris dare
Gallique ora manus absti
domum repeditum est.

The French in the meane
being solicited and vpper
and the Moores, who robbed
Likewise Richard the second,
of Derbe with a choice army
English and French, with fo
approched into the those were
they had passage made them b
mores, they forthwith march
barbarians being dismayed, sent
which our men graunted unto e
and that they should from th
France: And so having dispatch
they returned home.

This Historie is f and Hol

In the thirtieth yere of the
king a warre against the Sa
went a great number of Lozds
about being their Generall
came to the Duke of Lancaste
under, Sir Iohn Harecourt
with poore of the kings reigne

to receive backe into their owne countrey. And when every man be at home, then if it please you, we may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the answer the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee desired, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and silver, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but along with his looting, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Dover, and there heooke his leave from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Uncles, and desired them how he had bene in England, and what answer he had: the French king and his Unclesooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might have winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Countesse came to them: The winde was soe contrary to them, soe therewith they could never enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derby, after Duke of Hereford,
and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, to Tunis in
Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by

Polidore Virgil. pag. 1389.

RFranci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulasque Italie latrocinis infestare iebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbensem cum electa Angliæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglique viribus & animis consociatis in Africâ traiciunt, qui ubi litus attingere, catenis à Barbaris defensione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, ut aditus pateret: in terram egressi remeunt, quam nostris dare placuit, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, ut soluta certa pecunie summa ab omni deinceps Italie, Galliarque ora manus abstinerent, his peractis rebus post paucos menses, quàm eo itum erat, domum repeditum est.

The same in English.

The French in the meane season having gotten some leisure by meanes of their truce, and being solicited and urged by the treaties of the Genuois, undertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Flanders adjacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued unto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derby with a choise armie of English souldiers unto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes united, sailed over into Africa, who when they approached unto the shoare were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, untill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus having landed their forces, they forthwith marched unto the royall cite of Tunis, and beleeged it. Whereas the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadors unto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted unto them, upon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thence forth abstaine from pirates upon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so having dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froylard
and Holmshed in manner following, pag. 473.

In the thirteenth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a warre against the Saracens of Barbarie through suite of the Genuois, so that there came a great number of Lozges, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Berrie being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort balliue unto the Duke of Lancaster (as Froylard hath noted) also Sir Iohn Russell, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remained not verie long, but

The Chroni-
cles of Genoa.

but that the gallees and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them ouer into Barbary. And so about midsummer in the beginning of the fourteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed south to the coast of Barbary, where nere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) took all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shoare, which came downe to resist their landing. After they had got to land, they beleagured the city of Africa (called by the Moors Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, byeeing in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition upon certaine articles to be perfozmed in the behaile of the Moaracens: and so 61 dayes after their arrivall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise exprest. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derby should be generall of the English men, that (as he saie you heare) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in diuers parts of *Italie* of *John Hawkwood* English man in the reigne of *Richard the second*, briefly recorded by *M. Camden. pag. 332.*

Alteram ripam fluvij Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, et accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corrupti vocant) quem illi campere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, ut Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximie fortitudinis, fideque rethmonium ornauit. Res eius gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Iovius elegijs celebrat: (at mihi sit Iulij Feroldi tetrastichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti

Italica, Italico præfidiung, solo,

Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri

Virtutem Iovius donat honore iuvam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twice, to wit, in the common wealth of Florence and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord *John of Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, brother by the mothers side to King *Richard the second*, to *Ierusalem* and *Saint Katherins mount*,

1194.
Froyster.

The Lord *John of Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, was as then on his way to *Ierusalem*, and to *Saint Katherins mount*, and purposed to returne by the Realme of *Hungarie*. For as he passed through *France* (where he had great chere of the king, and of his brother and uncles) hee heard how the king of *Hungary* and the great *Turke* should haue battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that journey.

The voiage of *Thomas* lord *Moubray* duke of *Norfolke* to *Ierusalem*, in the yere of our Lord 1399. written by *Holinshed. pag. 1233.*

The Lord *John Moubray*, second sonne of *Elizabeth* Seegrave and *John* lord *Moubray* her husband, was advanced to the dukedome of *Norfolke* in the 31. yere of the reigne of *Richard the 2.* Shortly after which, hee was appalled by *Henry* earle of *Bulwyke* of treason, and caried to the castle of *Windesore*, where he was strongly safely garded, having a time of combat granted to determine the cause betwene the two dukes, the 16. day of *September*, in the 32. of the sayd king. being the yere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of *Norfolke* was banished for ever: whereupon taking his journey to *Ierusalem*, he died at *Venice* in his returne from the said cite of *Ierusalem*, in the first yere of king *Henry the 4.* about the yere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of *Constantinople* into *England*, to desire the aide of *Henry the 4.* against the *Turkes*, 1400.

Thomas Wol-
sey.

Sub eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulans subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad Blackheath, dum sancti Thomæ Apostoli, suscepitque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxit. Lo-

donas, & per multos dies
anno falligio donatus. E
in honoratum a rege don-

About the same time of
against the *Turkes*: he
heav upon the day of saint
and brought him to London
of his net, and giving him m
these newes, the emperor
many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the
yeere of the reigne
1417. Thomas Wol-

Vltimo die mensis
cienle, peregrina
vbi tantum valuit
concordiam, & ad

The last day of October
where the chusing of the
am persuasion to much p
man, and also moued them

A preparation of
land against the in
wherein he was pre
gth, and Holmsted.

In this fourteenth
to the White frier
for ships and gal
to be provided f
recover the city
armies of Christian p
to the perill of their own
Christian faith, as in conference
to Chronicle, that he was ca
Edward's shippe, there
ump. We was so suddenly an
in how else presently: w
number that was met at home, b
then bespoke the king, and w
giving himselfe in a strange p
particular name, whereunto
king. I would be given to cha
her, according to the prop

Of this inten

Oh hec Henricus Rex
iustitie, que ad honun
tunis omni oculi bello
occupat, de republica

domus, & per multos dies exhibuit gloriose, pro expensis hospitij sui soluens, & eum respiciens tanto fastigio donariis. Et paulo post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator latior recessit ab Anglia, honoratus a rege donarijs preciosis.

The same in English.

About the same time the emperor of Constantinople came into England, to seek ayde against the Turkes: whom King accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall upon Blackheath upon the day of Saint Thomas the Apostle, and received him as becomed so great a pynner, and brought him to London, and royally entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giving him many honorable presents. And a litle afterward: Upon the bearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great joy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Ierusalem, in the sixte yere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

In ultimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constantinense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electionem summi pontificis celebratam, ubi tantum valuit eius facunda persuasio, ut & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem summi pontificis se ocius prepararent.

The same in English.

The last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the choosing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ierusalem: where his eloquent persuasion so much prevailed, that he both perswaded my lord the Cardinals to unity and amon, and also moued them to proceede more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was prevented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Holenshod.

In this fourteenth and last yere of King Henries reigne a counsell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be provided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recover the city of Ierusalem from the infidels: for it grieved him to consider the calamities of Christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischeuous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. This kinde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickness, while he was making his prayers at the shrine of Saint Edward, there as it were, to take his leaue, and so to proceede soone on his way. He was so suddenly and grievously taken, that such as were about him feared lest he should haue died presently: wherefore to relieve him, if it were possible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a bed before the fire, and used all remedies to revive him. At length he recovered his speech, and being himselfe in a strange place, which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then sayeth he, I wised be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this place, according to the prophesie of moe declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem.

Where taken
for building
of ships and
gallies.

Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following:

O Rex Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quam ad officium iustitiae, quae ad hominum utilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, proinde omisso civili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos omni tempore turpiter occupari, de republica Anglica bene gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes sumendo,

sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destinabat, clatteraque unparabat, cum et Italia agentibus medicantibus casus morbum attulit: subito enim morbo commotus, nulla medicina sublevari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westminsterium, annum ætatis quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ 1413.

The same in English.

Afterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the deuiot of his labour for the performance of iustice, whereby to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning cruell warre (wherein he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) turned to a more deere consideration of well governing his Realme of England, of waging warre against the common enemy, and of recouering, in pposesse of time, the citie of Ierusalem, and was pforming a saue for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his beuolent action and enterprise, he was surprised with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of phisicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Iherosolym in England, in the yeere, 1522.



Villing faithfully to write and reduce in verities Histories, the great business of oppugnation, and vicious taking of the noble and renowned citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, imprisoned in Turkie to saue and keepe them in their faith: the rest and perrye solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Iesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: hauing course of newes in the parties of Leuant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for fauour. And first I shall shew the occasions that moued this cruell bloodshedder, enemy of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by land, to besiege and assaile the space of three moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, the perrye of our Lord Iesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

The first and principall cause was that he did consider and saue by experience, that there was none other towne nor place in Leuant that warred against him nor by land nor by sea, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing the continuall complaints of the territories of well of Syria, as of Turkie, for the damages and pissen dayly done of their land and goods by Christian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And also of the shoppes and pillages of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might see the great Citie of Rhodes, his power and subiection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, that his subjects should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessors, and himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in action the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand five hundred threentie and one. The third, that the great Turke put in all readinesse his armie to the number of thre hundred thousand, proposing for to send them against Rhodes, if mortallitie had not happened in his host, and he was warde by the will of our lord was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at the death of him) did charge by his testament, he caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death he should make his two first enterprises, the one against Belgrade in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes, for to get him honour, and so for his Country.

The taking of Belgrade.

Seven should
stand behind
your office
chair.

28 Downing St.
London.

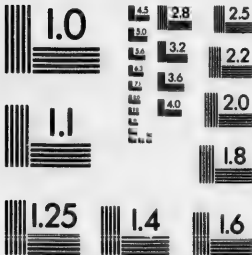
Philip de Villiers
 DEPUTY MINISTER,

6



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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great master was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was cause, the better to bying his cursed mind to passe: and also gaue the sayde greene Turke knowledge that all Christian princes were busie, warring each vpon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is scene by experience. And for lacke of succours of euery part, and especially of such as might easily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being understood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ships & vessels of diuers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, pallanoyes, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall had sent into Turkie had done his commission, he returned into Rhodes, whereto euery man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his coming againe, as of a thing vnaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner more then he was wont to doe. Therefore betlike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the honorable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

The great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne vnwarly as hee was accustomed, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subjects should goe to Rhodes for any manner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barbers and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in those coastes, because they should giue no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to be kept, that none should passe, howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not be long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was sayd and done in Turkie. Neuerthelesse, the sayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessors of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should haue gone into Cyprus or to Catara, a land of the lordship of Venice, howbeit the great master not willing to be taken vnwarly, but the meane while as careful and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, vnderstanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build vp, and raise the bulwarke of Auvergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditch. And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord ouerthrewen the twise of thysie euery day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for provision for the towne.

When the sayd reuerend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitayles for the sustentance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasure, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his coming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chancellor Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore, and of his vntruch agaynst his religion. Which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitayles for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: And vnderstanding it were good to haue more, of the sieges were laid afore the towne, and therefore it behouefull to send for wheate and other necessities into the West for succours of the towne and at that time to purchase for euery thing.

Sir Iohn Bourgh
the English
Turcoplier.

As touching the store
ough for a peere a
cise was yielded. It is
But it was needfull to
comming neere, and from
consider the great num
ing vs so many assailes
whole moneths day and n
stand them in all points.
provided speedily for it, as
dels of his ille Fraculous
it sufficed not.

And for to speake of the
three lordes, that it was tin
hoste were come thither. A
captaine hight Brambois
sea, the which made so good
good store of wheate from

How a Brigant ships that cam

After this, a motion
Candie durst not sail
the Turkes hoste: and al
ser and enclosed with the
willing to haue aduencured
when her worth wime in Car
and their let was but for a li
ing the wealth of the treat
the enterprise and will of the
that the said traitour held in
batter, that in all things fr
with all diligence and right
and other experience, and
gaur named Anthonie of B
well, that within a small c
rich them men of warre the
Candie durst let none of t
those those fifteene Gripes
man Genetian, Messire I
den with 700. buis of win
uable will I leave to the r
posed to haue had his win
was in the porte du Cast
ch, but came out and retir
damage. He being arriued
ale and comfort for the tow
folke, to the reuerend grea
And during the sieges, el
in such places as moostly
payment or recompense fo

How the corne w to the towne for

During these things, the
necessary, as men and oth

Of the prouision for vitailles and ordinance of warre.

A touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was p-
cise was periled. It is of truth that there was great store, and it had lasted longer then it did,
But it was needfull to spend largely at the first coming of the enemies to keepe them from
comming neere, and from hyung carth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreover you are
to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spent round about the towne, gi-
uing vs so many assautes and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of fire
whole moneths day and night assailing vs, that much ordinance and store was wasted to with-
stand them in all pointes. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Whobeyt the noble lord great master
of this ille Feraculous and Lyndo, for hyng powder and saltpeter to strength the towne, but
it sufficed not.

And for to speake of the purnelance of vitailles, it was aduised by the lord great master and his
other lordes, that it was time to send some ships for whert to places thereabout, before the Turkes
holle were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Galliege, whose
captaine hight Brambois, other wise called Wolfe, of the Almanne nation, an expert man of the
sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought
good store of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did be great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers
ships that came to helpe the towne.

After this, a motion was made to make prouision of wine for the towne, for the men of
Candie durst not saile for hyng wine to Rhodes as they were wont to doe for feare of
the Turkes hoste: and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be ca-
ptured and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Whobeyt some merchants of the towne were
willing to haue aduentured themselves in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue
brought her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treasure,
and their let was but for a litle thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, fat-
tering the wealth of the treasure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profit-
table enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose
heart the said traitour held in his diuillish heart: that notwithstanding, the reuerend lord great
master, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, had alway shewed his good will, and
with all diligence and right that might bee requisite to a soueraigne captaine and head of warre,
with other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother ser-
uant named Anthonie de Bofus, a well spryghted man and wise, that by his wisdom brought
well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and
with them men of warre the which came under shadow of those wines, because the gouernours
of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke.
And those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose captaine and owner was a rich yong gen-
leman Venetian, Messire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship
laden with 700. butts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folke, whose good and
valuable will I leave to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For her being
supposed to haue had his wines to Constantinople, as he was enioyned of the pulstines of Rhodes,
who was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailles to the extremities of the
island, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profit and
reuerence. He being arrived at Rhodes, dispatched with his wine, which was a great en-
crease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and
his folke, to the reuerend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Reli-
gion. And during the siege, the sayd captaine behaved him moostly in his person, and put him-
self in such places as moostly men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding
payment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought in
to the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

During these things, the reuerend lord great master careful and busie to haue every thing
necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the waf-
ters

ters of the sea to come into Rhodes for the heaping and foxing up of the towne, the which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the service of the religion.

Warren in
will and spay.

After that the sayd lord caused to there downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in April: and then in May in some places, he made to there the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the felos, because the Turkes holie was come out of the streights of Constantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd isle and wares, the sayd lord made them to leave shipping of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master provided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arrived a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of April, and ran at anchor at the flosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish holie. Then the lord willing to furnish him with people as most behoovefull for the towne, sent a knight of Provence named Sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the capitaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the haven with his ship for the defence of the towne, proffering him what he would, and fursing him his ship. The capitaine excused him, saying, that the mer chandise was not his owne, but belonged to divers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many wordes and promises to him made, hee came into the haven, the which capitaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and here his person behaved him valiantly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes naue, of whom he receiued a letter.

After the month of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes holie drew neerer, and that hee had the most part of the wasters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which upon holy Rood day in May made their musters before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse & other things necessary for warre, & their arate faire & proper, with crosses on their. Then the matter of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of citizens of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisdom perceived that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as hee would, or needed to be, whereof the great Turke might have knowledge by goers and comers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters severall by handes and companies, and the strangers also by themselves, to the end that the number should not bee knownen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselves. And the more to hearten and give them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and devices, and took with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noise of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as envying each other which should keepe best array and order, so haue the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three or foure thousand, besides men of the villages that were about the towne, 27.000. or 2000.

The eight day of the same month, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for to beken in a place called le Fisco, in the middle land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes after they had made another, this is to wete, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the Clarke of the gallies named Laques truchman, the which went thither to speake with him, was withholde of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to have perfect knowledge in what estate the towne was then in a very thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliver Laques, the reverend lord great master sent one of his gallies, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Provence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arrived at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demanded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to returne till it were brought. The patron as warie & wise in the businesse of the sea, though in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some evil intent, so he surprised his vessel being alone, wherefore hee bade them give him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the evill and dishonest deed that they

had done the dayes which he turned his galle which hee took, which assemblen the as followeth.

The copie of the master, and

Sultan Solymen B. Symonite holding the rope, Egypt, and of all the of Rhodes, to his doing convenient and to receive your letters of our doer well understood, to the end that Rhodes for many damage done to us and our and give the citie to us and by 26000. of our prophet Mahomet, that it shall abide in the say imperiall maiestie, neith with his goods and houses under mine Imperi person. And if there be, we shall give him abide in the sayd isle, yter. And therefore if with your letters to me you wish all provisions of the end that ye may knowe not with your good that they shall be come up to God, as we have done in the people the first day of the

How the Turke

driven to their

When the lord gave none answer of artillery, so that to a would have nothing. For biganines that went to much the said armie was from Rhodes, they had seen the men on land in the commander of the sayd place, and he met so well with number of them: and of the men were entered into the, between the sayd isle

How part of the fore the citie of

De 18. day of the said month by the Cape of Chion, the the the of the bay of S. the gulf by plaine day, and

had done the boyes afore, to withhold the Clarke under their words and late conduct: and there-
with he turned his galliasses to have gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gave him the letter,
the which heooke, and when he was arrived at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master,
which assembles the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be read: The tenor wherof was such
as followeth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great
master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

Vltan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of
Mistie holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ierusalem; of Asia, Eu-
rope, Egypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great ma-
ster of Rhodes, to his counsaillors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. When
received your letters sent vnto our Imperiall maiestie by George your seruant, the tenor wher-
of we doe well vnderstand; and for this occasion we send vnto you this our present commaunde-
ment, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will haue that Isle of
Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the sayd
place done to vs and our subiects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of vs & doe vs obeisance,
and giue the cite to mine Imperiall maiestie. And we sweare by God that made heauen and earth,
and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Apostles that sell from the skies, and by our first pro-
phet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeto you with good will vpon these othes, all you
shall abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare ye will nor damage of mine
Imperiall maiestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other place
with his goods and household, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite in any other pla-
ce, vnder mine Imperiall maiestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any
lesse. We shall giue him wages and psonion greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will
abide in the sayd Isle, ye may so doe after your ancient blages and customes, and much bet-
ter. And therefore if that pee will accept these our othes and intreatings, send vnto vs a man
with your letters to mine Imperiall maiestie, or els know pee that wee will come vpon
you with all ppositions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to
the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe
not thus with your good will, wee shall haile and undermine your foundations in such manner,
that they shall be come vnto the doome, and shall make you slaues, and cause you to die, by the grace
of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye in doubt. Written in our court at Constanti-
nople the first day of the moneth of June.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were
driven to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

When the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would
giue none answer to the great Turke, but that he should be receiued with good strokes
of artillery. So that a foolish demand behooued none answer. And it was very like that he
would haue nothing. For five dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of June, the
Turkines that went toward Sin to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a
truth the said armie was coming, and that night to Lango an Isle of the religion, an 100. mile
from Rhodes, they had scene and told 30. Gallies that were most part Gallies and Sullies: the which
commander of the sayd place, called not long from the said place with the knights and people of the
Isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he drove them to their ships, and slew a certaine
number of them: and of the side of Pre John some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the
armies were entered into their Gallies, they went to a place called calis Judeo on the maine
land, betwene the sayd Isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came be-
fore the citie of Rhodes.

The 18. day of the said moneth of June, these 30. Gallies went from the sayd place, and passed
by the Cape of Chion, entering the gulf of Epimies betwix Rhodes, and were discouered
by the Turkes of the citie of Salaco, a citie in the Isle of Rhodes. On the morrow they came out of
the gulf by plaine day, and sailing along by the coast, they entered into a haven on maine land
called

called Malfara, where they abode thre dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and trauesling the channell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of coyne the same day, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Abito in the yle of Rhodes discovered and spied the great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in to great number of sailles that they might not be numbez, was entred into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailles that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of June the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, & trauesling the channell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailles turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Chistian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till noone of one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 8000 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fustis: and passed one after another before the towne and haven of Rhodes thre miles off, and came to those in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, five miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that unhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

The number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 163 gallies, aswell battaros as schiffmen, honnetts, 15 taffours, 30 fustis, 64 great ships, sixe of leuen gallions, & 30 gallers, beside the nauy that waited for Chistian men, if any came to succour vs. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And such that the sayd hoste came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailles, aswell gallies as fustis. And many other ships came such, and ioyned with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailles and more.

The same day that part of the hoste came to the sayd place, the reuerend lord great master appointed a great bigandine to send into the Ecclesie, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Chistian princes how the Turks army was afoze Rhodes. And in the sayd vessel he sent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude dansoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperor.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the sayd place, it was 1403 15 dayes of the year any ordnance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came on shore, whereof we maruailed. And it was tolde vs by some that came but of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number to view the towne, but they went priuily for the ordnance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing braille and people, & the which ships passing nigh the towne, were shot many strokes with bombardes, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordnance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and layd him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that the other siege the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. Iohn Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontifical Masse was celebrate with solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pious oration of prayer before Saint Iohn Baptist his protectour: and about althre wordes, which were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it would please him to take the hopes of that miserable city. The which hopes he presented and layd upon the altar before the image, beseeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, & by his grace he had given to him vnto the governing vnto that day: and by his holy grace defend them from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them.

The eight day in many houses fault that the wife be true their houses and first mouer thereof. The same day for were slain with the

How the

the mane

The 18 day of they put three shrens of England and pieces destroyed which first mantellet was by

And the 29 day of same Cosine and Dan great pieces, as Guin and Spaine, to the w often byake them. And telles in diuers places which number was u come from many plac

The attil

First there were five and a halfe: also the to there were 14 great battiasses, whereof the land and Spaine, and Nicholas tower. Also shot, as sacres and palls incredible. Also there within the church of the port of Italy, and the ord and there were thres for the sayd stones were cast mine and fencefull, which suborn thysle, thankd persons, and the most par the 9 day of the sainte mimes, more or lesse.

Then the enemies we and sayd in the towne, the thought that they had slaine that shooting, for it hem. It is of a crueltie thalle of copper, full of ing on the ground, they in the maitie thereof, they had hurt no more foith

How the captain

and all the slaues

The 24 day of the sam in came a worthy cape

How the women slaues would haue set fire in the towne.

The eight day of July it was knowne that the Turkish women being slaues and seruantes in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leaue their persons & defenses to go and save their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopora being a slaue, was first mouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshor.

The 18. day of July, for the beginning and first day they set up a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the poertens of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and the pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set up two other mantellets. One beside a church of saint Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards against the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great strokes, and often broke them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they set up many other mantellets in diuers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

First there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brass, that shot a stone of three footes and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of five or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleuen spannes about. Also there were twelue ballistikes, wherewith they shot but with 8. that is to wite, foure shot against the poertens of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes calling buttises or ballistikes. The meane shot, as sacres and polduolans, were in great number. The handgun that was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelue portgunnes of brass that shot upward, wherof eight were set before the church of St. Cosme and Damian, and two at Saint John de la Fontaine toward the poert of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auvergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, wherof the greatest were of five or seuen spannes about. And the said stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearful, which manner of shooting is little used amongst christian men. Howbeit by continual practise, thanked be God, the said pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, vntill the end of August, & it was accounted that they shot 2000. times more or lesse.

Then the christians were warned by the Ietwe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the said portgunnes did no harme: wherfore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to cease that shooting, for it was but time lost, and powder wasted, and then they shot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the said portgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brass or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed forth, and in falling on the ground, they broke, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee sawe the malice thereof, and the people was wario from coming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captain Gabriel Martinengo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaues were in danger to be slaine.

The 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arrived that was sent afore into Candie, wherewith came a moorth capteine named Gabriel Martinengo with two other captaine. And there

went so secretly him melsieur prou John pny of S. Giles, and the ppy of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well appertained, they brought him befoze the lord great master, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very tolfe and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard regado from the host, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approaching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaues Turkes that wrynght by vs in the ditches had slaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not so. Wherefore the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the sayd slaues coming to prison, as it was ordeined in all the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slain an hundred or more the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifteen hundred of them: which slaues did great seruice in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make entrenchments, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all wayes they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes.

The 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turkes, and in likewise did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 31 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fico a hauent in the maine land with a galley and a flut, and arriued about noone, to take his army lay, the which day may be called unhappy for Rhodes. For his coming, his presence and continuall abiding in the field is and hath bene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriu'd, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their saile pennes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his mansion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or five miles from the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morrow, as it was reported to vs, hee came in a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steven, for to viewe the towne and fortresses, whereto they had set by mantellets for to lay their ordnance.

The last day of July, one of our bylandines went out with a good company of men against the Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demanded if there were any that would passe ouer into Turkie, that they should haue them to come. The Turkes weening that they had bene of Turkie, there came 12 persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Capitaine Gabriel Mariniago was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first almoner of the Italian nation, of the first ballage of pike that should be made. And in the meane season the religion should giue him twelue hundred ducates for pension every yeere, and the same day he was returned to the Council in the toome of a hapillie.

The first day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine by a gunner, which was great losse for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Melsieur John Baptiste, the physician aforesayd, which conselled his host and diueltish workings, and had his head stricken.

Of the marvellous mounts that the Turkes made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

After the coming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordnance of another sort then they did before, and specially with barque bushes and hamogates, and also to make their trenches and approaches. And also they did more diligence then afoze, to bring by earth high the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to be weert, that they moued the earth from half a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordnance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people lay behind the sayd earth, were slaine. As our people told they neuer left working till they had brought it to the byrimes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthening it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the walls of the towne by 10. or 12. foute, and it seemed a hill. And it was against the gate of Auvergne and Spaine, and near our women that were at the gates of wallward in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plank and boards to cover our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other place.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the walls of the

with outward: which walls as on the butt of the trenches, each of these capitaine entered under him. Pery Bachelors under him. And the lanizaires and the ches of Prouence. A flut side, and diueltish gate of Almaine, which was: and by the great fear, if they had to be made within, from the morning till noon and the flut of the mantellets that it was a piece, and bare them of the ditch without to a way, they beat the flut. The sayd mantellets twelve dayes they shot was not one mantellet in such diligence and mantellets by day, no thing was by of memory to tower a certain time and bare it where they were.

During the shot in our scale night and day against it, shooting great and some other of nine or smooth with the Barbican of Spaine for to raise the shot stones of eleven span and wall in such wise, the enemies for ladders, to take the defences from the he pieces on the byrime of the in a while they made a hole without cease against the in the night. For they had of England was shot a gun the pieces, and flew foure which died soone after: which have lost one of his bal were three or foure mantling of shot that they made by night come by to it.

Of the politiker

Gabriel Mariniago, waller.

The capitaine Gabriel Mariniago full places, for to make good repaires, and guard not onely at the byache of the affaires that they made a wall artillery, as barquebushes

with outward: wherethow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men as well on the
 walls as on the bulwarke, and slew many of them. Then the valiant and capitaine entered into
 the trenches, rich to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as
 chiefe capitaine entered the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & capitaines
 under him. Pery Basha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes & capitaines
 chiefe under him. Acmek Basha was in the trenches of Auvergne and Spaine with the Aga of
 the lanizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the tren-
 ches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company against the garbins of saint Anthony on the
 French side, and diuers other capitaines with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the
 gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set up seuen mantellets by the milles toward the
 west: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the same wall; which put vs in
 the great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repaires
 from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hastied. The artillery of the gate of Almaine,
 and the Pallis of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so soze and so often vpon the sayd
 mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke vp the
 pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the bynnes
 of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But of they bore the artillery
 away, they beat the steeple of S. Johns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe.
 The sayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or
 twelue dayes they shot soze against it: but they had so sharpe and vigorous answer, that there
 was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The capitaine of the sayd tower and his folke
 did such diligence and busynesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set up no more
 mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the spoone did shine, which is a
 thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the
 sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance thence,
 and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other capitaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but with
 our cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foure or five mantellets
 against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were five or six spannes about,
 and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost euen
 smooch with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke
 of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which
 shot stones of eleuen spannes in compass, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke
 and wall in such wise, that they made great breaches, and the stones and earth that fell, serued the
 enemies for ladders, so that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised
 the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Prouence, and set three great
 pieces on the bynnes of the ditch, which shot stones of eleuen spannes against the wall, and with-
 in a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot
 without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is sayd
 in the night. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the posterne
 of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayd mantellets, and hit vpon one of
 the pieces, and slew foure or five men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance,
 which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had ear-
 lier haue lost one of his halphas or capitaines then the sayd master. Also it is knownen that there
 were three or foure mantellets aduersed against the plaine ground of Italy, and by continuall bea-
 ting of that that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen,
 they might come by to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious capitaine
 Gabriel Martinigo made within the towne against the breaches in the
 walles.

The capitaine Gabriel Martinigo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the need-
 full places, forthwith caused to make the crauerles upon the wall whereas the breach was,
 with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd crauerles, the which
 were not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies as well at
 the assaults that they made as other whyles. And beside the crauerles, the sayd capitaine placed
 all artillery, asarquebuses, and handgunnes vpon certaine houses within the towne, that
 stood

Doore open against the breach, with good repairs: and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of crutch that beside the sayd mantelliers that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantelliers in an her place toward the way to the garbin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as ballistias with low stones and wilde fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all adventures to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great & terrible treatings, and that the enemies had way to mount upon the towne walls, and come to hand with us by trauesling of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach moze surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting choys to holes that they made in the walls of the ditch without, they cast by much stone and earth, because it should cover them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auvergne. And also they shot feruently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, referring only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which little of nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible in them that haue not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the hyminne of the ditch, and from the mantelliers bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 0230 times and moze. And I beleue verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was neuer bent and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherefore it is no maruell if the walls be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clefts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

And because, as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue spoken of the gunshot and treatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity and in so many places, that I beleue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they within made, and also trenches that the right honourable lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, unto two or threer foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, of the best art, secured right well: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betwixt the posterne of Spaine and Auvergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the towne to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought soze and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The sayd great master that was come 15 dayes or moze with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or threer houres, the enemies repelled and dyuen backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and bent with ordnance on every side, with hope to them with their losse, shame, and dammage. And this was the first victorie that our lord gaue vs, and there abode our enemies a thousand and moze.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordnance of the trancheres of the walls and of the houses made so faire a resistance, that they were very willing to withdraw themselves: for at the retreat, and also at that comming the sayd ordnance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had not some repairs of earth. Of our men which that day 15 of thereabouts, aduall knights as other, on the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feur, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driven away.

The ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seven in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines: one at the posterne of Provence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England.

At thousand 6
more Turkish
saine before
the English
bulwarke.

England, which fell as was as fierce as the other all they that were in it: warke, the enemies were, as people lost and of Quosquino, and of their capitaine made them remount vpon the earthen pale. Then our men in whole houres, till at the moze to themselves, moze: for all one as any of the trenches, and holes that day at the assault in the ditch, with faire a three hundred, that is to be about thirty persons.

How Sir John

The 17 day of the sayd moneth, at the sayd bulwarke brought fire banners with parts, and there were got the Castellaine of Rhodes of England, chiefe captaine: and in holding of it he the sayd banner was remembered that they of the lord prior of S. Giles danger of death, but he of the sayd assault, the enemies to the hands of our men, shot so busily and so sharply, and Spaine, skirmished in England, well heere to cold and confusion, which our lord, which gaue vs gain one.

Also the 22 day of the sayd moneth, which did no harme.

Of the trenches

And the 23 day of the sayd moneth, the other by the wall: he made all the towne to shake: howbeit, it fell no damage, and by a rocke under the mine was ill. And so true, in the sayd mine, thinking they entered into the towne at the feet. And the capitaine determined, and to haue an entrance, and not to shoot artillery: into the trenches.

England, which killed another piece nigh to that that was call owine atoze. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or moze, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it came away. And when the standers of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to have entred: but when they saw the sayd standers of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Whereby, remount upon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pighteuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with muskies and steel speares against them the space of thre whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and small on every side, moze: for allose as any of our men went up on our repaires, he was slaine with small gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the wallies of our ditches. And there was slaine of our ent in the ditch, with faire and rich harness. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were thre sanctuaries, that is to say, great fene shalles or guards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victorie given to vs by the grace diuine.

Two thousand
Turks slaine
at the English
bulwarke.

How Sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

The 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to give another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place as of old tyme, without setting of fire in mines, and pikes, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which Sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castellaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of Sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a handgonne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recovered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the sayd poy of S. Giles pre John was hurt thorow the necke with a handgonne, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantitey of artillery that was shot so bully and so sharply from our trauerles on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine, chastised them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well nere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselves with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and overcome: thanked be our Lord, which gave vs the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Provence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auvergne.

And the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auvergne, the which mine by Auvergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne shake, and made the wall to open from above to beneath unto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had bent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke under the Barbican, the which did cleave, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned upside downe. And foreruth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should have bene overthrowen, and then they might have entred into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the capitaines determined to give assault at foure places at once, to make vs the moze aware, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine thre score thousand men and moze into the trenches.

How

**How the bulwarke of *Spaine* was loft, and
woonne againe.**

The 24 day of the same moneth, a litle before day, they came assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Age of the Janissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three scoze of the scoze and some banners and figures, and fought them in the earth of the breach. and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other manner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about fife houres. And forthwith, as the assault was giuen, a great foze of Turks entered into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set on eight or nine signes of banners vpon it, and vpon our men out, I can not tell how, vntill they were otherwise. And they were losers of it three houres and more. Doubtless there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gaue vs euill hope. And then continently the lord great matter being at the defence of the posterne of England, having knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix leaving the charge of the bulwarke in the hands of the batillie de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and every man layed his hand to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entered at the sayd gate, and went by, where they found but few enemies, so that the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had to doe met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and figures were left with vs. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the trauesels of Spaine and Auvergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the coming and presence of the lord great matter) hath giuen vs this dayes victory).

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarke of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not percieve nor see any ground of the trenches. And the stench of the maffis carions was so grievous, that we might not suffer to leave of eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might save themselves did so, and withdrew themselves to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sort, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fiftene or threene thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the number of an hundred men or more, And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Frenche commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of barquebushes: it beinge at damage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There in also messieur Nastasy de sancta Camilla also perished, hauing two hundred men under him of the lord great masters succours. There died also diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that lost any member, messieur John de le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to haue lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston aboue sayd, captaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his legges stricken away with an barquebush: which knight behaued himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine under the Age of the Janissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes before, with sixe hundred Hamelukes, and two of three thousand Spozes. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglaiby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not reparable here, for cause of breuenesse.

Sir Will. We-
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of the English
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The losse of T

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How the Turks traitours within

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How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of England.

During this assault, the great Turke was by his pavillion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people were so sharply put backe, and the vice with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither the furthest; and he had bene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done other things than to beleue that he should take the towne in threene dayes, or a moneth at most. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Basha threatened him that he ought not to do iustice in the land of his enemies, for it would shame him and grieve them courage. Whereby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captaine thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, as well for his honour as for to encourage him. And by account were made 11 mines as well to the bulwarke of England for to mine them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the said mines came out men by the good diligence and sollicitude of Sir Gabriel Du-chesse Steward of the house of the said businesse he behaved himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and travell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

The Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and having but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to raise the siege, and gone their way. And in deed some of them bare their carriages toward the ships: and also certaine number of people were out of the trenches with their standards might to the ships. And it was written unto us from the campe how the Janissaries and other the best would fight no more: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, save one of the capitaines of the foresaid Mustafa Bassha of Acmeke Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giving them knowledge of all that was sayd and done among us. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, to warne them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

It is like saye then wrote the abovesaid Chancellor Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as yet was not knowne: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gave to the enemies at divers times.

When the bashas and capitaines of the holle understood the sayd warnings, they all purposed contrary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knowne over all the army. And beganne to move artillery faster then ever they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing he thought once againe to assay his adventure, and made three assaults three dayes after. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The second on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Monday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and great full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine of haile. But in the end the enemies nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches full contented, and murmuring, saying by their Pashas that Mustafa Bassha should not make them to mount any more the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the and sacrifice of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies assaults that were made, came by by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, some

of our men abused to cleanse the barbacan, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come upon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoovefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they doved the barbacan, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was burfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarcely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should have done if the earth had lien still: but their small intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarke, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbacan, as they have done: for the enemies seeing that the barbacan was cleansed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgoun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, covered their trenches with tables to save themselves: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbacan. So by these two meanes, afterwards they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to escape the view of the bulwarke of Auvergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this manner they being covered on all parts and without any danger, pulled the towne and leapt into the barbacan, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an unhappy day for the pooze towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and beginning of the fame.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hit the wall. And weening to make remedy therfore, and to finde meanes to drive them from the sayde barbacan with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it availed nothing: for the quantity and multitude of people that travelled there was so great, that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might have bene remedy to have raised them from thence: but considering that our force and small hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might have bene done, and that should have bene good then and other times also, for saule of men of warre. At the last it was pointed by Sir Gabriel Martinengo, that there was no remedy but to betw the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordnance and with engins of fire to burne and undoe them. Then our men began to betw the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as we did, and shot at vs, and indeed they slew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martinengo devised to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should knowe with whom to meet. The traufferes were made on each side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd traufferes and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the masse of Spaine made by the renowned lord great master Mery d'Amboise, & ended at the church of S. Salvador. The sayd traufferes and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and traufferes were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martinengo never ceased going to every place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordaine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgoun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recovered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that was of him that time in all things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Nevertheless the lord of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended the sayd repaires and traufferes, there and elsewhere. The enemies on the other side might not without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourly and newly ready) have any undermined the sayd wall.

And the 30 day of October they put fire in the underminers, weening to have cast down the wall, but they could not: then they would have pulled it downe with great ropes and anchors, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auvergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine under the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same month they did put fire to the same mine, weening to have overthrowen the wall, which it did not. But failed it, and made it to fall almost straight upright, which was moze disadvantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in some dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Nevertheless it was not necessary to offend as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forehead, and the mortar by which at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, where was a basilike that bore right upon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betwene our two walles, dialling to ward the towne of England on the one side, and toward Auvergne on the other side, and would have cut

the wall further then our repairs enlarged and made in length: and to the end the repairs, for to brake at the breach, and thus the repairs some assault. The cruell England the day that they stole the better the wall and inquier places. And knights and men of warre, as they ought to be, coming since it was made day: for oftentimes hee person, but he did it for to defend and die for the sake

How the ene

By the will of our Lord Domestically that against the which trenches they were made, and specially of a. And they put vs in such a way for to repaire that to the beginning of our people the gate of Provence, and finally, and most at the taking of the cape of Sicily, and could well in the sayd plaine, and from

How the treaso

Don these returns and whom I spoke before, seeing a quarrell of a cross, which commanded to take of other before, at the time with the Turkish hathas, saying them that they should not be hurting at the assaults in the last the towne should be the which I have spoken part before, but for to come.

Due to returne to the platina, some small shot of fourteen years were almost broken and lost, never ceased to growe the of the last the most part fell small that was toward the sea, as came to the foot of the plateau into the towne wall: and the master seeing that, among the church of S. Panchalio, place of Spaine, where to was needfull, because there was part of the bulwarke of

shall further then our trauesles were for to come in binbeaten of our artillery. Then we the
repaires enlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelve, & 16 foot
in breadth: and so the enemies might goe no further forwarde, but that great artillery against our
breach, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the
breach, and into the repaires: and certainly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue
the same assault. The ruender lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of
England the day that the great assault was made; and since that time he moued not from thence
while they beue the wall, & where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous &
most quiet places. And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his
knights and men of succours, intently ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his
wounds as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode there three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, con-
stantly since it was made, unto the end, fighting with his enemies every day in great perill of his
person, for so often times hee put himselfe furthe in the yeafe then needed for the danger of his
person, but he did it for to hearken and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing
to defend and me for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of *Prouence* and
Italy, and how they were driuen away.

By the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: the which trenches they cut infinitely with harquebushes and handgannes, and slew many of vs, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crumbled. And they put vs in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for vs, at the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doinge either with assault themselves, and most at the plains of Italy. Whombeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conseruing of the capitaine of succours of the same place, the pziour of Nauarre, that was prompt and valiant, and could well encourage his men, the enemies had alway the worst, and were diuised by the sayd plaine, and from the breach of Prouence.

How the treason of Sir *Andrew de Merall* was knowen, and
of the marvellous affaults that the Turks made.

For these termes and assautes, the creation of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceived: for a seruante of his, named Blafir, was found taking a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, wherof he was accused to the lord great master of other before, at the commandement of his master by iudice, and he confessed the shot of that with the Turke passas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to him, warning that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying all the towne should be theirs: And diuers other things the seruant sayd of his matter, of the which I haue spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great master to come.

to returne to the plaine of Iealy. After many batells and assaults done in the sayd place, the continual shot of seauenteene great gunnes that beat the sayd plaine, the repairs and traueses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come ioping to the breach, were ready to graze the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repairs & traueses to fall: the last the most part fell downe, & our men were constrained to leaue the sayd plaine, saue till that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afoze the enemies to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and raised the earth, & at the last they passed vnto the colvne Iuall: & anon began to beyt and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord haller seeing that, anon cast downe a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of our church of S. Panchalon. And within they began to make their patres and traueses as at that of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the Iazy would, and as profitfull, because there were no labourers to helpe. After that the enemies had wonne the rest of the highmarke of England & the plaine of Iealy, they purposed to make assault to the

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sayd

sayd plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and so enter into our repaires to winne them to the end of vs. And for euer to afferble the repaires and for to abash vs, the 28 day of September all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery, both from the battlements of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine & eleven foot about, and from the murtherers without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times of murtherers against our repaires and trauceries of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the flying of the day, the enemies went to the breach with their banners, and entered into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardly and fiercely for to fight with vs. But at their coming in, the artillery of the trauceries, and the hand gunnes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and overthrown, and there abode about 1000 of the Turks slain. The others that came after seeing their fellowes so euill welcommed, as people that were enemies and yet, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and halied them to go away: and by report from the campe there died like thousand of the day; the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to haue died all, and lost the towne: but when the pleasure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it other wise, and the enemies were slain and overcome. And it is to be noted, that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deale that they had cast into the ditches, for to couer them from the shot of Auvergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayd battlements (withoutes to them) smote them going and coming, and made great murder of the sayd dayes. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they understood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so great slaughter, they were a frayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

And that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse every day goe from worse to worse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more assault, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter covertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slain many good men. And at the last, for default of their helpe and of gunshot, it was left and giuen up of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And thus is the place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considered in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies haue so great advantage, might well say, and iudge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty, and deliuerance of the same.

A few dayes after the same iourney a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois of Rhodes, came to the gate of Auvergne, and demanded to see him, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he sayd that he had marvell of his help he would not perill our selues, seeing the piteous estate the towne was in: and he as a Christian man counsilled vs to perill our selues with some agreement: and that if we would looke vpon that some should be found expedient to vs some what for our safeguard. And it is very like that he sayd not such wordes, nor spake so far forth in the matter, without commission from some of the chief of the campe, or of the great Turke himselfe. To the which Rhodes was answered, that he should go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though their enemies had great advantage, there was yet enough where with to receive and fressh them, they made any assault. These wordes heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe and demanded to speake with a merchant Genouois of the towne, named Mathewe de Vn, and was answered that he to which he demanded, was sicke, and might not come, but that he should haue the letter, and it should be giuen to him. The sayd Rhodes sayd nay, and that he would giue himselfe, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the matter. Upon this he was bid to go his way: and so for him parking, they shot at him from

The losse of

piece of artillery. Spaine to the campe. sayd, saying likewise, many were spoken, that a comrade that was of Rhodes had spoken of the campe, without they reported the wordes of the Rhodes. The wordes of the Rhodes, that there was none that should be all and most of the wordes to the honour of the towne, but all secretly: to his great master. he good to thinke there many things for his honour, for any thing in the world, their wayes, and then things, and to the salvation of the people. The lord seeing not, we shall do it as well, called the lords of the towne assembled, the lords termes and wordes came to the Councell, at which they required a their poore householders, and matter was already for the piteous of Rhodes, and at the last way, if he to haue their wives and children slain nor made slave, nor puruey therefore, they called the names of eight of the lords, the sayd lord Rhodes, that it was but a course for to content and appease the required, and after as the to know more plainly in the word, and then of men of Rhodes, Giles pre Iohn, and Gabriel Martinengo, for being of the towne might hold of the towne, saying and affirming, ouruers were dead and buried from one place to another, the repaires the which were shot of the enemies artillery of the towne, was spent long in two assaults. And he seeing without power to put of the towne be lost, and that the captain Gabriel Martinengo of the Councell, that seeing the towne by their trenches, as they were at the foot of the wall, and other were slain and be

piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis Albansie that was fled thowow the breach of
 Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois propounding such woordes, or like as the other had
 sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no
 woordes were spoken, nor answere made, for the lord great master as wise and prudent considering
 that a towne that will heare increatings is baile lost, defended vpon the paine of death such
 that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so harpy to speake nor answere them
 of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadores,
 they repoyed the woordes of the sayd Albansie, or euer the sayd lord had knowledge of the woordes
 of the Siotis. The which woordes spread thowow the towne put many folke in thought, and would
 haue none that that the Siotis said the which is no maruill whereas is much people, for with
 all and most often they regard sooner to saue the liues of them and their chyldren, then
 to the honour of the resloue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that busi-
 nesse, but all secretly: and some came and spake to certayne lordes of the great crosse for to speake
 to the lord great master. And in effect some lordes spake therof to him, perswading him that it should
 be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed
 many things for his honoꝝ and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought
 for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lordes hearing this answere, went
 their wayes, and then returned againe to the sayd lord, aduising him moze to thinke well on all
 things, and to the saluation of his towne and of his religion. And they sayd mozeouer, that they
 doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themselves, their wiues and chyl-
 dren. The lord seeing that such woordes were as things enforced, as who should say, if thou do it
 not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by coun-
 sell, called the lordes of his Councell for to haue aduise in these doings, and other. And when they
 were assembled, the lord propoed the woordes that were to him denounced, and sayd: Which these
 termes and woordes came two or thre marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the
 doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication to the great master, and lordes of the Councell,
 whereby they required and besought meekely the sayd reuerend lord to haue respect to them and
 their poore householdes, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd
 matter was already forwarde in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to con-
 sider the piteous & forowfull estate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to saue it:
 and at the last way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodnesse)
 to haue their wiues and their chyldren out of the Rhodes to saue them, for they would not haue
 them slaine nor made slaues to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would
 not pursue therfore, they would pursue for it themselves. And there was written in the said re-
 quest the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which woordes of the sayd supplication
 being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing
 that it was but a courte game, and thought on many things to make answere to the sayd citizens,
 for to content and appease them: and also to see if they should inteno to the appointment, as they
 requeren, and after as the Genouois had repoyed: and the better to make the sayd answere, and
 to know moze plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpow-
 der, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord
 of S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the capitaine Sir Ga-
 briel Marcinigo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth
 if the towne might holde or not, if there were any meanes to saue it. The sayd lord of S. Giles
 answere, saying and affirming vpon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaues and la-
 bourers were dead and hurt, and that scantely there were folke enow to remoue a piece of artille-
 ry from one place to another, and that it was impossible without folke any moze to make or set by
 the repairs the which euery day were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continual
 shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for stoye in
 the towne, was spent long ago, and that which was newly brought, was not to serue & furnish
 the assaults. And he seeing the great aduantage of the enemies being so farte within the towne,
 without power to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne
 would be lost, and that there was no meanes to saue it. The woordes of the sayd lord finished, the
 capitaine Gabriel Marcinigo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them
 of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great boarings of the shot that the towne had
 suffered, and after seeing the entering which the enemies had to large, and that they were within
 the towne by their crenches both ending and ouershaue: seeing also that in two other pla-
 ces they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knyghtes and men of warre
 and ocher were slaine and hurt, and the gunpowder wasted, and that it was impossible for them

to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succor for to helpe and resist the siege. The whole opinions and reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feates, understood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Council, they were most part abused for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the safeguard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy thorne, the hand of S. Iohn; and part of his head, and divers other reliques. Whome the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heauily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway steadfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Council: Abuse you, and thinke wellon every thing, and of the end that may happen, and be prepared to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to save the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were divers opinions: neuertheless, at the last they sayd all, that whomever that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for vs, notwithstanding feeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist against our enemies, and weanes to save the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse vs to forsake our faith, but only would have the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to save all the Jewels above sayde, that should be bestid and lost if they came in the hands of the enemies of the faith. And also to hope so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shameful limes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to have it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

When these consultations and wordes almighty God that saue them which trust in him, and that would not that so many evils and cruelties should come to the poore city inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in our great pride and vainglorie, put him in minde to seeke to save the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to have done for his honor, nor by reason, for the towne was in a manner his. And in like sort he ought not to have let vs goe as he did, seeing that we were his mostall enemies ever, and shall be still in the time coming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we have made in this siege. Whome, the eternal goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause unknown of us. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to have a communication and parle in following the towne of the Genouise also sayd. Then was a signe set upon the church of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answer with another at the milles of Quinquino. And forthwith came two Turkes to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the squire of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captain Gabriel Martinengo to know the cause of their coming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes delivered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had received it, they bare it presented to the reverend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yield the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him goe & all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soever they were, with all their goods & Jewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his faith. And also he swore & promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he bestid, that as it were given. And he sayde afterwards, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayd treaty, that none of the city, of what estate soever he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all unto the gates should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answer forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of the great weight, and the time so short for to give so great an answer, and with demand, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Council were in great thought, whome they determined to give an answer, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no more. Hearing the reports and opinions a day or two before of the time to pass & overcome within the defense of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalls of the towne would

have appointment. And stated, that it were better to the furie of the enemies. After the conclusion of the Turke at his word, of every house his people went into the great Turke the token of the Turkish dinar.

When these two ambassadors of the camp of the great Turke, with the sayd gage of Quinquino, came to our repairs, and spake

How the ambassador and what answered.

When our ambassador, the lord great master of Rhodes, desired that they should be sent to him for to know his purpose. And in so doing he said that would goe with him to his camp. And if he accepted Rhodes till he had taken it, should faile of it, and that it should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that his people should be no defenders within the towne. When the great Turke returned to the towne, with cloth of gold of the Turkish pavillion, and increasing and thinking they had other. And among all other, for to know how many men he had with him, and how many his faith and certified, and how many other weapons, 60,000, 40,000, 50,000.

How one of the ambassadors answered, and how the Council answered.

When we now to our great master. The two lords, certifying of the great Turke after the demand of the great Turke, and his offer & treaty, the great Turke that they had

have appointment. And in likewise, at the other counsell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to save the towne for respect of the pooze people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foresaid treatie. After the conclusion taken, and there was made ready for a good respect; that is to wete, to take the Turke at his word, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. So every house his people thanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe unto the great Turke were obtained these two knights, Sir Passin afoze named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse judge Dy-dinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them ready, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid capitaine Acmek led and comited our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pavillion, that they might have the more knowledge plainly, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were repoyted to the reverend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authority of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well received, and they were lodged high the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and thanke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

When our ambassadours had made reverence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall maiestie to know what he requiered, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had received his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, by writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, such the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should peele him the towne. And in so doing he was wiled by his catch for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiving any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turke should die there, rather then he should faile of it, and that there should neither great nor little escape, but unto the cats they should be eaten in pieces, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should give him an answere, for he would not that his people should loose time; and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor victuals within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leave of him, and returned to the towne, and there was given to each of them a rich garment of branched velvet, with clasp of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke Sir Passin, and led him to his pavillion, and intrating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in the morning and evening they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other thing our ambassadour demanded of Acmek, and prayed him to shew him how many men died of the campe while the siege was laid. The said basha shewed him his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of wounds and other wayes, 64000. men of more, beside them that died of sickness, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

64000. Turke
killed at the
siege of Rhodes.

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeld the towne.

When the news to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great master had sayd, certifying that he would have an answere quickly either yea or nay. The which was after the demand of the great Turke had bene purposed and concluded by the whole council, and his offer of treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare lest it

he should repent him. And upon these determinations that they would haue sent the sayd Perle to heare the answer, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were aduertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with rousement by him taken, which they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

When the reuerend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turkes offer, it was needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for repoynting of it to the enemies by reitours, but he kept still and secret. And moreover, that it was concluded to make an answer shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, lest that he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answer had bene giuen, it had bene our long businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profit and advantage, as much or moze as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadors, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordeined two other ambassadors for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniards, the one named Sir Raimon Markez, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassador, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leaue them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pavillion, and had done him reuerence as he pertained, our ambassadors sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of wiser nations, and because the time of answer was so short, hee might not doe that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would giue him an answer.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

When the great Turke heard the answer of our ambassadors, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of powder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Acmek Bashas kept one of the ambassadors, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourly by their trenches into the towne, called them that resours had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselves well, or to doe their endeavour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should haue knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or fve of them that gaue sayd) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for adoe, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were his succours, should goe to the beach of the about sayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were content for a day or twaine, howbeit a young Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commandement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people amonged them, and their heartes failed, and left standing resistance, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to wete) amongst of his succours. And in the night he sought out more people for to keepe y watch at the said

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The losse of Rhodes. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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and paid to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus abandoned and left of his people, he sent to the them againe wherefore they did not their endeavour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answer that they came and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gained the opinionance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene in long endeavours of many things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But suchens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the adventure and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to haue suretie of him. The which was granted, and two opinarie ambassadours were chosen for them: one Nicholas Verca make the sayd answer. When the great master they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) advised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruie bare the sayd letter, and as he was at custome, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to haue audience, and to the Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor give him a letter: for it is the guise in the great shall be said, what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread upon it, saying many uncomely and vil- thinkes on his businesse, and to make answer to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) to send him two men of ours that bare earth to ward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Ac- the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruie was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayd Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he made for his armie. The which answered that such wordes of offers of silver were not to be made presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by silver. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answer to the great lord after his demaund, to peeld or not peeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred allwayes, saw himselfe in such pious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heavinesse, he offered to him presented which was the 20. day of December, the price of our lord a thou-

An answer to such as will make question for the deliuerance of the cite of Rhodes.

And if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayd lord great master hath peeld the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with othe and covenants, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I answer: Notwithstanding the great Turke was mortified by some traicours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the towne almost fallen, and that there were but few men of warre within the towne, yet he believed not, nor gave credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that we were young for a great while, and considered that hee must cary till they were waster and spent, to be booured time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the hands of his enemies, and had bene there already five months, (and not without great danger of his person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many his folks: and per when hee had overcome and wonne the towne, they should fall each upon the other in departing of the bootie of pillage, doubting finally the hazards of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleged, the great Turke had much rather to have the towne by composition and treatie, then otherwise. And it sufficed him to desire his owne enemies out of the coun- try of Levant, and let the subjects of his countrey in rest and surety. And we of the towne that

that knew our weaknesse, & that we might do no more, it seemed better to saue to much in all people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not haue done, but tempt God, and die as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yielded to the great Turke, and of the euil behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great master had giuen his voyce to the peering of the towne, he sent the sayd Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pious answere and conclusion to yeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had obtained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to haue some sureritie of their persons, wines, and chyldren, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pavillion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd Iohn, and sayd that the great master yielded him the towne vnder the promise made by his Imperiall maiestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to goe to his maiestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for sureritie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should haue no manner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promising againe vpon his faith, and on his honour to the sayd great master, that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the sayd Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships enough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would bestow the artillerie that was wont to be in the ships of Bellegrado. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should be well entreated, and should pay no tribute in the peece. And their chyldren should not be touched, and who so would goe within the sayd space of five peeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leave of him, & when they were departed, they spake againe with the sayd Acmek Basha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd Iohn. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made: whereby hee promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would goe with their goods, without hauing displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to messire Passin. And as touching withiawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great Iohn would so: howbeit he remained but from the trenches, and some of his people went a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demanded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should be of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd Iohn should send onely a capitaine with three or foure hundred Janissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withiawen. And so it was done: and beside this hee gaue twelue dayes respite to the sayd great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gaue him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell obtained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were ready, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed fro the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or five and twentie thousand Janissaries, which by the commandement of the great Turke was gone vpon the boyers of the countreys of the Shophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayd Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withstood no daye, as fresh men. And it was the wiske of God and a wonderfull miracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone other wise, and there had bene many Greekes giuen: but I beleue that the enue should haue bene pitious for vs: but God would not that the Turke should haue victory vpon vs as he might haue had, seeing the greates advantage that he had in all things: but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be

had and marvelled how
mitten, and as the end
could be by unknown
fate within the towne
towne to be lost. Two
other of the campe ene
to us, and then the Tur
rhelle there was no sa
lary, and entered by for
that they had tanc
and hake the line
the were left whole.
licka folke, called the
with, and raised them
and some were cast do
to the church of saint Ioh
were any treasure hid in
were christened and had
the sayd man had made ch
any of the other. The m
great Turkes pavillion f
made to be wel & graciou
happened to him was a ch
should not take ouermuch
in any thing, and thus he
with his people without
leave and departed.

Go little
Of the 2
To all estates
Of thine estate
Excusing me
Ought be a mi
me submit
To be correct

An ambassage from
the, vnto King
now the great Turke



high willowes, and after thoug
new great reuerence made,
bell: Dary: for in a cor: hee min
des were foot: ch to folow: and
thou: good fruits, which was
ing, Manomet had taken Gen
any downe the Turkes haue in
they had taken euen north
now done; and in of we will be

The losse of Rhodes. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

25

and marvelled how it was possible alway to have overcome our enemies in all attempts of their
raides, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some
cause to be unknown. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies to
come to be loſt. Two or three dayes after the coming of the sayd Balha, his Janissaries and
others of the campe entered into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time given
to us, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuer-
theless there was no word broken, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pil-
lage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would,
and brake the images, And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints,
like folks, called the Farmoye, and tooke all the silver vessel that the sickle folks were served
with, and raised them out of their beds, and drove them away, some with great strokes and staves,
and some were cast downe from the galleries, where the le boulds had done strokes and staves,
to the church of saint John and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there
were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that
were christened and had bene Turkes also, were they men, women or children, and children that
the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turke, which thing is of greater importance than
any of the other. The morning after Christmas day, the reverend lord great master went to the
great Turke pavillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he
made to be wel & graciously received. And he signified unto him by his interpreter, that the case so
happened to him was a thing usual and common; as to loose towncs and lordships, and that hee
should not take overmuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt
in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe
home and departed.

FINIS.

of Lennoy of the Translator.

GO little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodians fearefull oppugnation,
To all estates complaining richfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their suppotation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles
the 5. unto king Henry the 8. in the yere 1527. desiring his aide against Sol-
iman the great Turke. Holinshead. pag. 894.



the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueyed from London to Green-
wich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salsmanca,
earle of Oronburge, John Burgrave of Syluerberge, and John Faber a fa-
mous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando,
brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame,
after the death of his brother in law king Lewis, which was slaine by Sol-
iman the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the
high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there
after great reverence made. Mr. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Go-
spell, that good men and women are sowne: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disci-
ples were forth to sow, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought
forth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then hee declared how contrary to that sowing
Manomet had sowne seed, which brought forth evil fruite. He also shewed from the begin-
ning how the Turkes have increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people
they had subdued even unto this day. He declared further what actes the great Turke should have
done; and in conclusion he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of
the

the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he says) of all the kings christened. We see tooh also what power the Turke had, what diversities of companies, what captaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marvellous great number of people, hee could not be overthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not have enterprised that act; wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an unitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be ready to helpe to ward the glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well chearished, and divers times rejoyced to the court, and had great chere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leave & departed homeward.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitecome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner wherof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, wherof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, wherof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and some times to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barut in Syria. The commodities which they carrie thither were fine Herles of divers colours, coarse Herles, white & blacke boyne Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-woyles, and Cloathes which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silkes, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Palmestes, Dykabels and other wines, sweete oyle, cocten wool, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinammon, and some other spices &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other foreigners. Neither did our merchantes onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candians, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian gallies, Spanish and Portuguese ships. All which particulars doe much evidently appeare out of certaine ancient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Petter of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which J. Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annere, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to Iohn king of Portugale, for a Portugale ship with the goods of Iohn Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, voladen in Portugale from Chio.



Beatus Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugallie, & Algarbi-
bionum circa & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guinez, & conquiste-
navigationis, & commercij Ethiopiz, Arabiz, Persiz, atque Indiz, &c. Franci-
& amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliz & Franciz, fidei defensor, ac domi-
nus Hiberniz, Serenissimo Principi, domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi
Portugallie, & Algarbiionum circa & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guinez,
& conquiste navigationis, & commercij Ethiopiz, Arabiz, Persiz, atque Indiz, &c. Fratri & amico
nostro charissimo, salutem. Tanto libentius, promptiusque iustas omnes causas vestre Serenitati
commendandas suscipimus, quanto a superioribus indies nostrorum, qui in eiusdem vestre Serenitati
regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis
officio ita accurate, exacteque ius sumunt; prae bere, ut ad ea nemo iustitiae consequenda gra-
tia frustra unquam confugiat. Cum itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Ioannes Gresham
meretor Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidam Willielmus Henricus
ipsum Factor, & negotiorum gestor navium quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto
Antonio, praenique Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conductus

re, cum nauisq; praefecto
onerandas primo nauiga-
deret, omnes quidem in h-
decim millium ducatorum
bus constet, accidit, ut pr-
iam in nintre parum fidel-
subditorum detrimento, y-
in eodem portu commore-
am (quam subditiis nostris
ac iustitia ab ipsa corrigi, e-
lra Serenitatis ipsiusque f-
pulerint, semper commien-
ipiam vehementer rogam-
ham novum constitutum p-
la d- & ique bonis recuper-
nos in vestros subditos feci-
aduectz, nisi illic vendantur
rem saluipere, sique ad su-
manare, & expedire, ut pe-
rem iuri, & indemnitati qu-
s, consimili, aut grauiori ve-
licet valeat. Ex Regia noi-

To the high and mighty
on this side and beyond
traffique of Ethiopia, Arab

Henry by the grace of G
Ireland: to Iohn by the fam-
in Africa, and lord of Ghie-
Persia, India, &c. our mo-
willingly and readily we bne-
gale by the daily testimonie
are informed, that a copying
under iustice unto euery man
will to obtaine the same. W
merchant of London, of late
Factor and Agent, certaine
Santo Antonio, (the patrone
sayd ship, that he should first sa-
si comes returne to Candie,
kingdome of England, to the
noze plainly appeareth: it so fo-
he said goods, very trecherou-
sellers, putting in by the wa-
England, he remaineth still in-
leaving it is done in your Dign-
county & right, the rather ac-
sons of your Dignesse, & of y-
you prooue the last yeere. W
John Ratcliffe the bearer of th-
which climeth into your domi-
niz, & recovering & freely by in-
were sold there (the like w-
the patron of the ship, the wa-
rejoycing to iustice, & so farthe
may concerne, that we may v-
sustained upon this our comm-
thines that find vs in the like o-
attily well to fare, & from our

re, cum nauisq; pfecto conuenerit, vt in insulam Chium ad qualdam diuersi generis merces
onerandas primo nauigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia re-
diret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodum aduecturus ad valorem circiter duo-
decim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentionisq; instrumento aper-
tius constat, accidit, vt pfectus Diego vestra Serenitatis subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, &
subditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugallia portum diuertisset, sententia huc nauigandi mutata,
in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorumque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam iniuri-
am (quum subdijs nostris in vestra Serenitatis regno, & ab eius subdito illata sit) ex æquitate,
ac iustitia ab ipia corrigi, emendarique confidimus, nostro quoque potissimum intuitu, qui ve-
stra Serenitatis ipsiusque subditorum causas, mercisque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum ap-
pulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde
ipiam vehementer rogamus, vt Iohannem Ratliffe præsentium latorem, & dicti Iohannis Gref-
ham nouum constitutum procuratorem, huius rei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis,
quos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per nauis pfectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint
aduectæ, nisi illic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commenda-
tum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem
restituere, & expedire, vt perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subdito-
rum iuri, & indemnitati quam maximè consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est futurum, & in
comfiliis, aue grauiori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ se-
cundum valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

The high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue
on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and
traffique of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of
Ireland: to Iohn by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this side and beyond the
sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Ethiopia, Ara-
bia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother, sendeth greeting. So much þ more
willingly and readily we undertake the recomending of all iust causes vnto your highnesse, be-
cause by the daily testimonie of our subiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we
are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you mi-
nister iustice vnto euery man, that all men most willingly repaire vnto your highnesse, with full
willing to obey the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and trustie subiect Iohn Grefham
merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified vnto vs, that one William Heith his
factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called
Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and couenanted with the patrone of the
said ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, & then
sooner returne to Candie, to be freighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our
kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant & agreement
more plainly appeareth: it so fell out, that þ afore said Diego your highnes subiect hauing receiued
the said goods, very treacherously & much contrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great losse of our
subiects, putting in by the way into an haue of Portugale, & altering his purpose of coming into
England, he remaineth still in that haue, & like wise detaineth our subiects goods. Which injury
seeing it is done in your highnes kingdome) we hope your highnes will see reformed according
to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes haue had a speciall care of the causes &
redress of your highnes, & of your subiects whensoever they come into our kingdome, wherof we
haue prooue the last yere. Wherefore we instantly request your highnes, þ you would so receiue
Iohn Ratliffe the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of Iohn Grefham,
which cometh into your dominions about this busines, being thus commended vnto you in this bu-
sines, & recouering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, vntil
they were sold there (the like wherof we did towards your subiects) seeing by the fraud & deceit
the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching þ whole matter,
according to iustice, & to further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers who
may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our subiects right and liberty hath especially bene
maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your
highnes that find vs in the like of a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most
heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the *Holy Crosse*, and the *Mathew Gonson*, to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master *Richard Hackluit*, by *Iohn Williamson*, Cooper and citizen of *London*, who lived in the yeere 1592, and went as cooper in the *Mathew Gonson* the next voyage after.

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson departed from *Turkey*.



The shippes called the *Holy Crosse*, and the *Mathew Gonson*, made a voyage to the Ilandes of *Candia* and *Chio* in *Turkie*, about the yeere 1534. And in the *Mathew* went as Capitaine *W. Richard Gonson*, some of old *Master William Gonson*, paymaster of the kings naute. In this first voyage went *William Holstocke* (who afterwards was Controuller of her *Majesties* *Naue*, lastly deceased) as page to *W. Richard Gonson* aforesaid, which *W. Gonson* was in *Chio* in this his first voyage. The ship called the *Holy Crosse* was a hoyn shippe, and of burthen 160 tunnes. And hauing bene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, upon her arrivall at *Blackwall*, in the river of *Thames*, her wine and oyle caskes was found so wrake, that they were not able to hoyle them out of the ship, but were constrained to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to unlade the shippe. Their chiefe freight, was very excellent *Pistacels* and red *Palmettes*, the like whereof were scarce to be seen before in *England*. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, *Turkie* *Carpets*, *Galles*, *Cinnamon*, and some other spices. The said shippe called the *Holy Crosse* was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd up in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio* made by the shippe the *Mathew Gonson*, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of *Iohn Williamson*, then Cooper in the same ship, made to *M. Richard Hackluit* in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonson went to *Turkie*.



The good shippe called the *Mathew Gonson*, of burthen 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old *W. William Gonson*, pay-master of the kings *Naue*, made her voyage in the yeere 1535. In this ship went as Capitaine *Richard Gray*, who long after died in *Russia*. *Master William Holstocke* afterward Controuller of the *Queenes* *Naue* went then as purser in the same voyage. The *Master* was one *Iohn Picher*, servant to old *W. William Gonson*, *Iames Rummie* was *Walters* mate. The master cooper was *Iohn Williamson* citizen of *London*, living in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in *Sant Dunstons* parish in the *East*. The *W. Gunner* was *Iohn Godfrey* of *Bristol*. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpeters, all which foure trumpeters at our returne homewards went on land at *Melsina* in the Iland of *Sicilia*, as our ship roade there at anchor, & gat them into the *Gallies* that lay nere unto vs, & in them went to *Rome*. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100 men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to carry 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from *Chio* untill we came through the straight of *Sibaltar* into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a chiffe. We were out upon this voyage eleven moneths, yet in all this time there died of sickness but one man, whose name was *George Forrest*, being servant to our Carpenter called *Thomas Plummer*.

In a great *Iygier* booke of one *William Eym*, servant unto *Sir William Bowyer* Clerkerman of *London*, bearing date the 15 of *November* 1533, and continued untill the 4 of *July* 1544. I find that he the said *William Eym* was factor in *Chio*, not only for his *Master*, but also for the duke of *Norfolkes* grace, & for many other worshipful marchants of *London*, among whom I find the accomptes of these especially, to wit, of his said *Master*, *Sir William Bowyer*, *William* & *Nicholas Wilford* *Parchant*-taploys of *London*, of *Thomas Curtis* petoweter, of *Iohn Starky* *Berger*, of *William Ostrige* *Parchant*, & of *Richard Field* *Diaper*. And further I find in the said *Iygier* booke, a note of the said *W. Eym* of all such goods as he left in the hands of *Robert Bye* in *Chio*, who became his *Walters* *Factor* after his death, and amongst like note of parcels of goods that he left in the hands of *Oliuer Lesson*, servant to *William* and *Nicholas Wilford*. And for prooffe of the continuance of this trade untill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed unto the former note of the goods left with *Robert Bye* in *Chio*, a letter being dated the 27 of *November* 1552 in *London*.

Sir Tho. Chalon

The Epitaph of
Ile of Saint Peter
Charles the fifth at

Here under lyeth the
his Prince and Co
of Barbarie, and at his De
Emperour for his valiant
the peres of our Loys Co

The voyage of
154

Thomas Chaloner was
licus, religio
mentemq
à potentiss
ratorem tu
cus, velleidm à consilijs.
à Corfica in Algyram in
nauisimo illo Kneuetto leg
multibus viris eundem in
minisce vitam suam Chal
vel grauissimis procellis c
ribus, brachijs manibusc
difficultate rudenti, quæ ex
aliquorum iactura ac fractu

Thomas Chaloner was
tier, by religion a devout
name in the studies of good
mighty Prince Henry the 8.
friends, as one of his Coun
and Corfica in Alger in Afri
the kings ambassadour, Thoma
sons, of their time accoyd as
in Thomas Chaloner escape
ing either bathed against the
sawd himselfe a long while
faint and weary, with great
of the next gally, not withou
life, and returned home inco

The voyage of M.
to

In the yeere
Barke Auche
Candia and C
wood, from
trarie windes
Libery, and I had provided a
Wood, and with all speede I
which happily I did, and chat
ard untill tuesday, meeting w

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the South Ile of Saint Peters Church in the cite of *Norwich*, which was knighted by Charles the first at the winning of *Tunis* in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

Here vnder lyeth the cōpyes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the first, both at his conquest of *Barbarie*, and at his Siege at *Tunis*, as also in other places. Who had giuen him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of *Barbarie*. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to *Alger* with Charles the first 1541, drawn out of his booke *De Republica Anglorum illustranda*.

Thomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, verēque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum inuēniem aetatem, mentemq; suam humanioribus studijs roborasset, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentissimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolū quintum imperatorem transmissio legato, vnā cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eundem à consilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua & Corsica in *Alger* in Africa contra Turcas classem soluente ac hostiliter proficēte, ornatissimo illo Kneuetto legato regi, Thomas Chaloner, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Isamo, multis viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, pariterque militantibus, pacifice vitam suam Chalonerus tutatus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel grauissimis procellis conuulsata, naufragus cum se diū natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibulque languidis ac quasi eneruatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non sine dentium aliquorum iactura ac fractura sese tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

Thomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a devout and true Christian. Therfore after he had confirmed his youth and name in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the first, he went with him as his familiar friend, as one of his Councill. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing ouer from *Genoa* and *Corsica* to *Alger* in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honorable Kneuet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isam, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & serued him in that warre, wherein Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rocks, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saued himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to *Candia* and *Chio*, in the yeere 1550.

In the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at *Grauesend*, for my voyage to the *Ilands* of *Candia* and *Chio* in the *Leuant*. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to *Silbery hope*, and there remained with contrary windes untill the 6. of January 1551. The 6 of Januarie, the Barke came to *Silbery*, and I had provided a skilfull pilot to carrie me ouer the lands end, whose name was *Sh. Wood*, and with all speede I baled downe that night 20 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to *Douer*, and there came to an anker, and there remained untill tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight Sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

The Barke Aucher gorch for Leuant.

The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, andooke others aboard.

Mallorca,

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the Straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staid there five daies with contrary winde.

Messina.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardinia, and the fift of the said month wee arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there untill good Friday in Lent.

The Turke
prepareth an
army to bes-
sege Malia.

The chiefe marchant that laden the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Saluago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Leuant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Mr Anthonij Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should have my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answer that the Turke would give none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliver the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine adventure. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would haue compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine adventure, the which I denied, and sayd plainly I would not goe, because the Turkes galleies were come forth to goe against Malra, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leave Malia, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he was. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrakas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning betimes, carrying newes that I would not goe forth: the same night I prepared before I should what I thought good, without making any man priuie, untill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Afterwards I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was ready to set forth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 mariners made such request vnto the rest of my men to come aboard, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Islands the winde stanted, & I was forced to anker at an Island called Micone, where I staid 10 or 12 daies, hauing a greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small boates with mpson sayles to goe for Chio, with diuerse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Island of Chio, with which place I fell in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Island in the morning betimes. The sayd small vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in y night, but upon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming vpon them to spoile them. My Pilot, hauing a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreated me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demicoluering at a foyll that was ready to enter one of the boates. This was so happy a shot, that I made the Turke to fall a sterne of the boate and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne untill day light, by which time I came before the Pole of Chio, and sent my boate on land to the marchants of the place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 10000 ducats. So I made full & sold such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speed as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So upon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to saue my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaueth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order y none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such newes to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe forth. But the marchants English men and other regarding moze their gaines then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going forth, and made the mariners to come to me to demand their wages to be payed them out of hand, and to haue a time to employ the same there. But God prouided for

The Barke
Aucher at Mi-
cone.

The towne of
Chio is bound
in 12000 ducats
for the
safegard of the
Barke Aucher.

But God prouided for

me, that I paid them the sayd foyll. I was then married, & my wife was married to a gunner: the Parliament betweene them, swearing that hee & his shippe against all the armie of the Turkes, I made him confesse the Pole of Chio, in French boate that was my way. Then I came with much a doe the made all the sayle I could into Chio to stay gone. Whereupon which I left in the port, but that the towne men of Gallies, and there I departed, I had the I thought my selfe o' pull, who came with in had come thither. The in the mountaines, the are good archers, euery and boates that reach y other halfe behind, the make wine out of all other things: and so after I found about Zante, I was with Bulgarels, shot and within a few Noblesia, which I took into the Leuant, with good steele untill I came thence I came to London. Mariners that were in small part were within a ler, who first discovered became the Queene's

The



my good thorne, and thus I came to London. The said ship was utterly out of hope of recovery, was informed to fall out to luckily, that in an agreement made the 25 by reason of the of Gibraltar, but were from hope, and continued our course towards

very calme, but the current of the Straits very favourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwell untill we arrived at Legorne the thirde of June. And from thence riding over land unto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Ierusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

John Locke, accompanied with Haister Anthony Rastwold, with divers other, Hollanders, Zealanders, Almains and French pilgrims entered the good shippe called *Fila Caueria* of Venice, the 16 of July 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sailed towarres the coast of Itria, to the port of Rouigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the *Perceueua* of the shippe named *Tamian*, for to receive the rest of all the pilgemes money, which wasin all after the rate of 55. Crownes for every man for that voyage, after the rate of five shillings sterling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

The 19 day weooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the boote that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bobie of the sayd Saint.

The 20 day we departed from Rouigno, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the billes of Dalmatia, or else of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from each other, and more.

The 21 we layd still in sight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a ship garloafe. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea on this rocke is onely one Monastieric of friers: we layd betwene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had also kenning of another Iland called Lissa, all on the left hand, these thre Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them, Ilpomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from another Iland called Lezina, which lieth betwene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, twene miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes, and here against we were becalmed.

The 21 we had sight of another small Iland called Carza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betwene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and hath a long ledge of rocks lying out three miles to the sea, for that many ships by night are cast away upon them. There is betwene Carza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400 miles. There is also about twelve miles eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, some what hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitful of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left by the left hand: & we have yet to keepe our course from Rouigio East southeast. This Iland is under the Signorie of government of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is also under the government of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and over against this Iland lyeth a hill called Mount Angelo, upon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time.

The 23 we sailed all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towards night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to be ashore againe to Ragusa, for to know the names of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This crie of Ragusa payeth tribute to the Turke yearly fourethene thousand Scutinos, and every Scutino is of silver ten money eight pennes and two folles, besides other presents which they giue to the Turkes Balias when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke 62 cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Raguseos would giue them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profit. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il Cromo; there is nothing on it but onely a Spallatorie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subjection. This night we were put backe by contrary winde, and ankred at Melica.

The 24 being at an anchor under Melleda, we would have gone on land, but the winds came so faire that we presently set saile and went our course, and left on the right hand of us the top named Iland, and on the left hand berthorne us and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within in a mile of that under the maine by East, another Iland called Iola de Mezo, This Iland had two Conventories by it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Still there is a third rocke with a Fierie called Sant Andrea: these Ilands are from the maine the

The Ship File
Cauena departs
for Jerusalem.
Rouignio a post
in Ithia.

Santa Eufemia.

Monte de An-
cole.

Иногда

Saint Andrea.

Life on Land

Lybia Island.

Cover

Pelegrina

Appendix

Molde

Motor-Sensory
Angioma.

Ragusa paletti
14000. See
chinos to the
Turkish people

II. CONCLUSIONS

Summary:

Tide de Mero.

Best Answer:

John Locke.

two miles, and the c
gelle, but very deepe
Mezo are well inhy
night toward sunne

The 24 we were
came from Cyprus,
with them, to know
Venice. About noon
Turke took from the
besides the rest which
mouth of a channell
led Cataro, this chan-
we were over against
a towne called Anticu-
two towne continuall
the Countrey of Scl-
from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept on
had sight of both the n
between Cape China
low lande, and Chime
king our course along
marker, About three
8 miles from Corfu,
prosperous winde, an
were accompanied wit
quarters of a yard in l
night in booy, and the
might nor suffer them to

The 29 in the morning, Cephalonia, it is under a hill, of the which there are plenty of corn, flowers, &c. little miles, it stands on the South some oftentimes into the sea, the Countrey people of galleys in the morning of the clocke in the forenoon could not for the galleys, but the towne of Cephalonia we went but little

The 30 day we remain
this night the wind in
which channel is about
and by 1200h from
came to an anchor. At 1

The 31 about fire of the
at the house of Pedro
we went into some
ornaments. This
e, these are wellerne
the Greeks, for the
the Monasterie the sa
his wife. This com
was in time past a fi
found a part under gr
found a writing of th
for his wife, and vne

two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or five miles ouer by gresse, but very deepe, for we had an anker foure fathoms. The two Islands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie saue wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waied calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue spoken with vs, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to haue sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant sight of Castell nouo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which sight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaues. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth vp to Budoa, and further vp into the countrey. About sunneset we were ouer against the hills of Antiuieri in Sclauonia, in the which hills the Venetians haue a towne called Antiuieri, and the Turkes haue another against it called Marcheuetri, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hills endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. These hills are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coast of Puglia, for feare of Fopples. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape Otranto in Puglia 60 miles, Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diuers white Towers, which serue for sea-marks. About thre of the clocke in the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 3 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discovered Corfu. Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Sharkell, some what bigger and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Island, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Island beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plenty of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, wherby we might perceiue their lightes. There come oftentimes into the creekes and riuers, the Turkes soppes and gallies where at their arrival, the Countrey people vse signalls vnto their neighbours by so many lightes, as there are forties of gallies in the Island, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Island ouer. About thre of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Island of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortye miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still tarrying by and by because the winde was contrary, and toward night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which channell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and these two bene East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about five of the clocke in the morning, I with five Hollanders went on land, and lodged at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery, the which Monasterie we sawe the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about fye yeeres since, when the Monasterie was built, it was in the way past a streere where the tombe stood. At the finding of the tombe there was found a pard vnder ground, a square stone some what longer then broad, vpon which stone was found a writing of two severall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the same stone was found a glasse some what proportioned like an vjmall,

Castell nouo.

Boca de Cataro,
The towne
Cataro,
Budoa,
Antiuieri,
Marcheuetri,
The end of
Sclauonia and
the beginning
of Albania.

Puglia.

Cape Chimera,
Cape Otranto.

Il fano.

Corfu.

Palomide.

Cephalonia.

Monasterie
of Friers
called Sancta
Maria de la
Croce.

Zante.

John Locke, and
five Hollanders
goe on
land.

Sancta Maria
de la Croce.

The tombe of
M. T. Cicero.

Cauo de le gatte, and anchored afoze Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de le gatte twelue miles distant.

Cauo de la gatte,

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, save onely in the midst of the towne there hath bene a fortrell, which is now decayed, and the wals part ouerthrowen, which a Turkish Rouer with certaine gallies did destroy about 1000 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Cavalette. As I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grasshopper, for I can ludge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they haue had such quantitie y they destroy all their coyne: They be the nature of the comrey, or the plague of God, that let them ludge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the destruction of the, they haue through- out the whole land a constituted order, that euery Farmoz or husbandman (which are euen as full of the seede or egges of these forcenamed Cavalette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them be- into a house appointed for the same, and hauing the house full, they beate them to powder, and cast them into the sea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine byeth both of ingendereth at the time of coyne being ripe, and the coyne being had thus, in the crows of the same ground do the husbandmen find y nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nestes are much like to the keies of a basket, when they be byed, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken open shall see the egges lie much like unto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I maye saye of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

Limisso,

Cavalette, is a certaine vermine more in the Island of Cyprus.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonies crossings, it were too long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leave it vnto your eyes: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or seruice, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer see any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Also they haue store of lampes alight, almost for euery image one. Their women are alwayes separated from the men, and generally they are in the lower end of the Church. This night we abode the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patron should not lose it with the delay of the pilgrims.

The pilgrims going to the Greek church ches.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for our sailes except onely the foresaile and the mislen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some fixe miles from Iaffa, but it proved contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anchor seuen miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned againe, they went by a little hill standing hard by the brynke, whereon as they thought they saw the hill of Ierusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa, the coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe houses or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulf betweene two Capes.

The 18. day we abode still at anchor, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: the 19. we set saile, but the current hauing more force then the winde, we were diuyn backe, so much, that the ship being vnder saile, we cast the sounding lead, & (not withstanding the wind) remained before the shippe, there wee had murthered ground at fiftene fadome.

A great current.

The 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side- wind. It chanced by fortune that the shippe Cat lepe into the Sea, which being downe, shee her selfe very valiantly aboue water, notwithstanding the great waues, still swimming, which the master knowing, he caused the skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her, to fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile from the shippe, and all this while the ship

as it fell into the sea and recovered.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

**The pilgrims
return from
Jerusalem,
Mount Carmel.**

Pesce columbian.

Caso de la Grieta.

Salini.
Arnacho di Salini.
Casalia.

The 26. we set sail againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Iaffa 250. Italian miles.

Five hoysmen
to watch the
salt pit.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired hoysmen to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water coming from the mountaines, which water is let in untill the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conveyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the year doth allowe. There they let it remaine untill the ende of July or the middle of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heat of the sunne. This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the use of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Island are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Island buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. hoysmen to the end it be not stolne by night. Also under the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but every one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, so if he be knownen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looketh on ere. The most part of all the salt they haue in Venice cometh from these Salines, and they haue it so plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in July, August, and September, and not fully these three monethes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hills, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they neuer take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is six inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaves to carie it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

Famagusta.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Island. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betwene them curtains, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They haue also on the haueen side of it a Castle, and the haueen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortye and five gunners, besides Captaines, yeie Captaines, Gouverneur and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikers and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate five and twentie, upon the walles every night doe watch fiftene men in watch houses, for every watch house five men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no souldier serue there above 5. yeeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart above 5. yeeres be expired, and there may serue of all nations except Greekes. They haue every pay, which is 45 dayes, 15 Mozzenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their hoysmen haue onely five soldes Venetian a day, and poulden for their hoyses, but they haue also certaine lande therewith to plow and sow for the maintenance of their hoyses, but cruelly I maruell how they live being so hardly fed, for all the summer they feede onely upon choyce strawe and barley, for they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and seruiceable. The Venetians send every two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished.

Mozzenigo,
Solde of Venice.

Castellani.

Saint Katherin
Chappell in old
Famagusta.

Others count
under ground.

The 30 in the morning we rode to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in old Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane out of the towne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Island. Howsoever when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde ancient coines, some of golde, some of silver, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vaultes with sepulchres in them. This olde Famagusta is from the citie, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward evening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Iaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie & thye, and had to wife one of the daughters of

Venice, of the house of

and by me and of that

The first of October

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Famagusta.

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The 8. day we returned to

the hill called Monte de la C

15. Italian miles. Upon

his Crosse in times past did

quake, the crosse and the c

again in the air. But

Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great revenues in this Island, and by means of that marriage, the Venetians challenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

Cornari, a family of Venice, which contribute to King Iaquar.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greeke Churches to see a pot or Jarre of Stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seven Jarres of water, the which the Lord God at the marriage converted into wine. It is a hatch on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in forme as the Painters make angels bent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, with a long necke and correspond, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Jarre is very ancient, but whether it be one of them or no, I knowe not. The aire of Famagusta is very unwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marshy ground adioyning unto it. They haue also a certaine peerey sicknesse raiging in the same towne, about all the rest of the Island: yet neuertheless, they haue it in other quicksolsen, it taketh away their sight, so that peerey almost in that towne, they haue about the first of October, and the last moneth: for I haue met diuers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their living is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of prouision within their libertie bee sold out of the Citie.

No vitall must be sold out of the city of Famagusta. Great ruins in Cyprus.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested untill the first day. This towne is a pretty Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side diuers monuments, that there hath bene great overthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde no less many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruined and overthrowen by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in reuenge of his sisters rashment comming to Ierusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water. Cyp. ruined by Rich. the 1.

The first day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seven Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Island, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is thoroughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath every Cavalier of Come of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine by Saint Marke, which is bound every eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for every tree a Bizantin, which is twelue soldes in Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden there, he is not pained, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks and Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of alpsio Stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cartage coffer, twelue spannes long, six spannes broad, and seven spannes high, which they say was found under ground. It is as faire a stone as I haue seene.

Nicosia.

A fontaine that watereth all the gardens in the citie. A Bizantin is 6. d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedrall church of Nicosia.

The seventh day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasant place, and the friers feasted vs according to their abilitie. These friers are such as be true Priests, and their wiues dying they must become friers of this place, and neuer after that, for if they do, they are deposed from saying masse: neither, after they haue taken this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greeke friers are very continent and chaste, and surely I haue seene some (which I haue well knowne) of them say.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Upon the top of this hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy crosse, as Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were overthrowen, so that neuer since it would rise againe in the ayre. But it is now covered with silver, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood on

Monte de la Croce.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an hour, and by 10. in the morning, we had sight of Cauo Marapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in the which place we anchored. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and joined to the South side to the land. It hath a little castie built into the sea, with a peece for little ships and galley to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the channell, the Island of Sapiencia, with some little Islands which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say was taken from Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemish pilgrimes being drunke would haue laine the patrone because he anchored here.

Cauo Marapan.
Cauo Gallo,
Modon,

Sapiencia.

Coron.
Napoli de
manus.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke we passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but little, and desert, under the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundred miles.

Prodeno.
Zante and Ce-
phalonia,

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Tornesse, and the Island of Zante. This castie is on the firme land under the Turke. This night we anchored at night we were warned aboard by the patrone. This night the ship took in vitalles and other necessaries.

Castle Tornesse
under the
Turke.

The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cauo de Santa Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we anchored before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selues.

Cauo S. Maria on
the coast of Al-
bania,
Corfu Island.

The 18. by means of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle of fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I haue seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner ward two strong castles situated on the top of two high craggies of a rocke, a bowe shoot distant one from the other: the rocke is unassailable, for the second ward it hath strong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can deuise. For the third ward and better, it hath very strong walles with rampiers of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenchen about with the sea. The bulwarkes of the uttermost ward are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seven hundred souldiours. Also it hath considerable store of armes, and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitful and plentiful of wine and corne very good, and olives great store. This Island is partes from Albania with a channell, some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is under the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the hoysmen of Corfu are Albanefes; the Island is not above 80. or 90. miles in compass.

The description
of the fortresse
of Corfu.

The Island of
Corfu is very
plentiful.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day we went aboard and set saile, the wind being very calme we toed the ship all day, and toward sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta vnto vs, to giue vs warning of threepikes coming after vs, for whose coming we were prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, we toed out of the Streight, vntill we came to the towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Grekes called Santa Maria di Casopo, and the towne name is called Casopo. It is about 10. miles. About noone we passed the Streight, and went toward the end of the Island, and almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was on board, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an uprore of weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisdom and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put under hatches, and with the next his face very soye. All this night the wind blew at South-east, and sent vs forward.

Casopo,

A dangerous
tumult in the
ship.

The 24. in the morning we found our selues before an Island called Safeno, which is in the bay of Valona, and the wind prosperous.

Safeno.
Valona.

The 25. day we were before the hills of Antueri, and about sunne set we passed Ragusa, and

Milela,

and three houres within night we anchored within Meleda, hauing Delauonia of Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde South-west.

Curzola a fruitful Island.

The 26 in the morning we set saile, and passed the channell between Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the most. This Island is vnder the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betwene the Island Curzola and the hills of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rocks, and the channell not past 3 miles ouer, and we anchored befoze the towne of Curzola. This is a pretty towne walled about and built vpon the sea side, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Island is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and habited, especially for wines. In the said Island we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, some gallies, and three foyless. All that night we remained there.

In the Island of Lefina, are taken Roys of Sardinas.

The 27 we set saile and passed along the Island, and towards afternoone we passed in befoze the Island of Augusta, and about sunne set befoze the towne of Lefina, where as I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at South-east. The Island of Lefina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitful Island adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

The gulfe of Quernero, Rouignio.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were befoze the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afoze Rouignio which is also in Istria and vnder the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by West.

Parenzo.

The 29 we set saile and went as farre as Parenzo, and anchored there that day, and were no further.

S. Nicolo an Island.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to San: Nicolo a litle Island hard by vninhabited, but only hath a Monastery, & is full of Olive trees, after masse wee returned and went aboard. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretty handsome towne, vnder the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selues againe, and that night wee sailed towards Venice.

Caorle standing at the entrie of the marches of Venice.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entrie to the Palade of marches of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driven thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remained that night.

Our arrivall at Venice.

The second two houres befoze day, with the winde at South-east, we sailed towards Venice, where we arrived (God be prayed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land untill we had presented to the Prouisor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Ienkinson, present at that time.



Here marched befoze the Grand Signior, otherwile called the Great Turke, two spheres, otherwile called light horsemen very braue, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 20000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, the foote long, with a great roale of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniques, clothed in foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes armed with their morions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a spoze between their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Janizaries, called the slaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one using his harquebush, who be his gard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparell vpon their bodies with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this soze: the entering in of the forepart like a skull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a fether boote, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the said skull, iust in the middes of his foreheade there is standing bolt upright like a trunke of a foote long of silver, garnished most richly.

Soliman the great Turke, which waueth by and by. After this, there come long harquebushes, and good order.

Then came three thousand, or a thousand skinner, their hatts hard by the sides, they be the chalmers of the army. After them came fowre thousand, which were covered with scales, diamonds, and rubies.

After them also came a woman in his hand, and by the side.

Immediately after him in his countenance, some one page clothed in a robe of gold, vpon his head a goodly crown of silke and finnen wouen, and rich, and in the top of his head richly appareled in all gold.

After him followed a woman, which were of precious stones, and had a white, hanging out on each side, every of them had a white fashion.

After marched a great number of crimson, and vpon their heads, of his owne gold, and silver.

Then after ensued three thousand men.

After came a companion of four thousand.

All this afore sayd army, within the towne, in a goodly river, which is called the Grand Signior, with the great Sophie, do the which the mountaine, as also the men, and the conductors of the camels which carry.

A note of the presence to the grand Signior.

The Bashas of Aleppo and 25,000.

The Bashas of Damascus, and 10,000.

The Bashas of Aman, and 10,000.

The Saniques of Tripoli, and 10,000.

The Saniques of Aleppo, and 10,000.

Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunk a great bun of feathers, which wauch up and bowne most haucily when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carrying barquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their crullers of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armed well armed, and vpon their harnesse coates of the Turke fashion, or Libard Skinnies, and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of they be the challengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen whyte hozes, which beyng were covered with cloth of siluer, all embzodered and garnished with pprecious stones, emeralds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe moze pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his falworhine of the Turke fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, sitting in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull maiestie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly whyte hozie, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embzodered most richly with the most pprecious stones, and vpon his head a goodly whyte turke, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much moze fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of whyte ostrich feathers, and his hozie most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed sixe goodly pong labies, mounted vpon fine whyte hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embzodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, dyed as red as blood, and the nailles of their fingers dyed of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuchen on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marcheth the great Basha chiefe conductoz of the whole army, clothed with a robe of crimson, and vpon the same another shozt garment very rich, and about him fiftie Tanizaries aboute, of his owne garb, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the great Turke owne Janizaries.

Then after ensued thye other Bashes, with slaues about them, being afoote, so the number of thre thousand men.

After came a companie of hozemen very bzaue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the cite of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote wherof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grant Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with hozemen & footemen, and the conductozs of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vituals for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

The Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. hozes.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie hozes, with many boxes of comites, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. hozes, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented sixe camels, charged all with silkes, 20. hozes, and a litle box of gold, garnished with pprecious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priuiledge giuen by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master *Anthony Ienkinson* at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553.



Vltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Sanaquies, Cadies, and other our Officers, Officers, and subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Egypt, and of all other towne and cities vnder our dominion and iurisdiction: We will and commaund you, that when you shall see *Anthony Ienkinson*, or bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arrive in our portes and hauens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoever, that you suffer him to lade or unlade his merchandise wheresoever it shall seeme good vnto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindring or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoever, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoever they be, save onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paid, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoever: and in so doing that he may traffike, bargain, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like gaine, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vse, and enjoy, and moze if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And therefore, we charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or pounce soever they be, not to contraine, or cause to contraine by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoever they be, the sayd *Anthony Ienkinson*, or his factor, or his seruantes, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoever, or to intermeddle of his merchandise, or to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoever, or to intermeddle of his merchandise, and not to molest nor trouble him any manner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, above, and besides these our present letters, we charge you most expressly to defend and assist him against the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandment, that you aduertise vs thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreover, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Gallies or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd *Ienkinson*, or his factor, his ship or ships, with his seruantes and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him against all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vittalles, according to his want, and that whosoever shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will avoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppoo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Iesus, 1553. Signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A discourse of the trade to *Chio*, in the yeere 1569. made by *Gasper Campion*, vnto master *Michael Locke*, and vnto master *William Winter*, as by his letters vnto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

1569.



Worthfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake vnto you about the payment of a safeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to *Chio*: The way and manner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall vnderstand that the Island of *Chio* in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong vnto the Genowales. There were 24. of the that governed the island which were called Maunces. But in continuance of time the Turke was so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, vntill they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no coyne, nor any kind of vittalles to sustaine themselves, but onely that which must of necessity come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd Island being inclosed with the Turke round about, and but 23. miles from the Turke Coast, therefore the said Genowales did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay them 14000. thousand ducats yearly. Alwayes provided, that they should keep their lawes and

spirituall and temporall their priuiledge. English men did trade time, the prince Pedro 30 or 40 gallies against Genoa haue bene in Turke made out any who were his tributaries great while, with loss of force, as one Iuanette tributaries. At which of his gallies to the Island with their wifes and children should not be there: whereby now it is. For if the towne past) they themselves, (some) would be the small matter: for we cannot. In summe, that 4000 ducats at least, burgesses, and the countrey more by our countrey many of their like quill towne, more then any countrey would be twofold gournour, by their persons in the world we do have those commodities which that we should carry out we can afford them better of mine own experience marion in the towne of thing but truth. How many were about *Chio* due shillings deere then hives in the haire, waage, shimmers tanned white, robes. The naturall commodities these commodities there that do belong to the Island what the Maunces lost, by reason whereof in times past. But yet who less then three kindes of the hundred. And where three pound terme shillings wooll for a carle, and sold now the Italians sell the manner chambers, where a could not sell them about shillings the piece. Also grow sell them for foure shillings which terme for cupboord but for 20 shillings the price that the Venetians sell in those dayes that from Candia, we neuer was for 50 shillings &

Gaffar Campion. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Island was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuledge, which they intored for many yeeres. so that all strangers, and also many English men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a capitaine to serue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time diuers other capitaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the seruice of king Philip against the Turke. Moreover, whensoever the Turke made out any army, he perceived that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Like wise at the Turkes siege of Malca, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Island of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Island, for to seise vpon all the goods of the 24 Mauncles, and to turne them with their wives and children out of the Island, but they would let none other depart, because the Island should not be vncopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for vs to obtaine our safeconduct then euer it was before. For if the towne men of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselves, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customers) would be the chiefe procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gain: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse then ten in the hundred thowout the Turks whole dominion. Inasmuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burghesses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Commonalty do get more by our countreymen then they do by any other nation whatsoeuer: for we do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamaco and Dimite, that the pooze people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselves would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to hying this trade to passe: giuing him to vnderstand that of all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. If furthermore, it were farre more requisite that we should carpy our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to carpy them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine owne experience, for I haue traded in the countrey about this 30 yeeres, and haue bene master in the towne of Chio full 24 yeeres, so that you may assure your selfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreys neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England for shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also coeten wooll, canned hides, hides in the baire, ware, chamlets, mocapares, grogerams, silke of diuers countreys, cozbouan shimmes canned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Island it selfe are like rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ships of Genoa, besides six or fixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are traugted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And notwithstanding the Mauncles and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are baulghed, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they haue bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, & also our ships, we neuer barrell less then three kindals of galles for a carlie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venerians, they sell them vnto vs for three pound tenne shillings, and four pound the hundred. Also we had three kindals of coeten wooll for a carlie, and solde the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the same to vs for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like manner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carlie, and could not sell them about 20 shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best two pieces and a halfe for a carlie, they sell them for four shillings and four shillings and six pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serue for cupboards, we had three for a carlie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the piece. And so all other commodities that the Venerians do hying, they sell them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our selves in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Like wise the barrells of oile that they hying from Candia, we neuer could sell them about four nobles the barrell, where they sell them al- wayes for 50 shillings & 3 pound the barrell. What great ptey is this, that we should lose so good

The picture
Pedro Doria is
captaine of 40
gallies vnder
the Emperour.

Iuanette Doria.

The Mauncles
put out of the
Island of Chio
by the Turke.

The custome
thowout the all
Turke is ten
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English men
do buy more
commodities
of Chio then a-
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Great store of
finest com-
modities to be
had in Chio.

a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their most trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carles, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir Iohn Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I haue sayd to be true.

Miners places
where we may
haue sweete
oiles for our
clothing farre
cheaper then
out of Spaine.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they haue bene sold for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are miners places in his dominions, where we may haue 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelve miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may viter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better used then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very euill increased many wayes, as to you is not unknowne. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and haue such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that we would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to vs a safeconduct, without any penny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will undertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M^r. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your answer herein as soon as conveniently you may, for that the time of the yeere beareth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your seruant *Gaspar Campion.*

To the worshipfull M. William Winter.



It may please your worship to vnderstand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well known in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauour of Bristol, with diuers other shippes which traded thither perely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M^r. Francis Lambert, M^r. Iohn Brooke,

and M^r. Drauer can truly informe you heereof at large. And by reason that we haue not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our shippes doe not trade as they were wont, I finde that the Venetians doe bying those commodities thither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selues were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of convenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is warden strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subjects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither: as we were wont: therefore I dare undertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M^r. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreover, I can informe you may of the trade of that countrey then any other, for that I haue bene in those parts these thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeeres. Furthermore, when one of our shippes cometh thither, they bying at the least five or eight thousand carles, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then five shippes of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their perely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must obserue this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be well intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both custome & exchange are reasonable: and not as the M^r. Gonson & other shippes did in time past, who made sale of their

Gaspar Campion
married in Chio
24 yeeres.

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their wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into gold after four and five in the hundred, and also did hazard the losse of shippes and goods by carrying away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subject to these dangers. Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for every thousand of hoopes you shall haue a but of Spaine cleare of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will carry four hundred thousand hoopes, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an usual trade to Candia, as Mr. Michael Locke can testifie, furthermore, it is not unknown to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our carch, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot sell them under 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may haue good oile, and better cheape in diuers places within the streights. Therefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worshipps to command.

Shore of
hoopes laden
at Castilla de la
mar for Can-
dia.

Yours at your pleasure Jasper Campion.

The true report of the siege and taking of *Famagusta*, of the antique writers called *Tamassus*, a city in *Cyprus* 1571.

In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults giuen to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by *William Malim*.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of *Leicester*, Baron of *Denbigh*, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honourable priuy Councell &c. *William Malim* wisheth long health with increase of honour.



I have bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingrafted in noble personages hearts, much approued and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time past of noble personages (hauing had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the *Pyramides* made at *Mompbis*, or neere the famous riuer of *Nilus*, by the great expenses of the kings of *Egypt*: the tower called *Pharia*, made in the Iland of *Pharos* by king *Pulmo*: the walles of *Babylon*, made or at the least reedified by queene *Semiramis*: *Dianas* church at *Ephesus* builded by all the noble persons of *Asia*: *Mausolus* tooome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of *Caria*: *Colossus Solis* placed at *Rhodes*, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of *Cares Lindius* scholar to *Lyfippus*: and the image of *Imper*, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilfull workman *Phydias*. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselves from obliuion deserued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seven woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first inuented by the *Caldies* and *Egyptians*, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to haue bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same: men being first infected to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barks of trees, or otherwise perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to liue for ever by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two worthy and valiant capitaines *Scipio* and *Hannibal* had bene long before

before this present quite forgotten, except *Titus Livius*, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And *Alexander Magnus* himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not *Q. Curtius*, or some other like by his learned stile reuined the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning *Aristotle* to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowned Monarch *Alexander*: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master *Aristotle*, then to king *Philip* his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other one ly his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. *Craffus* sayth in *Tullies* first booke, *De Oratore*: that a Lawyers house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iustly waxesse, that for these five yeeres last past, since my returne from my trauell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vnderferued goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* (of the which Vniuersity your lordship is Chancellor) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their sues. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you haue bene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselves, if by all meanes possible they should not heereafter (as at this present to their final powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in the shewing of themselves thankfull, to reuerence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies certainly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by such noble proppes, and had not some sure anchorholds in their distresse to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long bene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world knowing already the same. But whosoever they be, that in all their life time haue an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon *Strabo* affirmeth this most truly to be spoken of them: *Mortales tum deum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint*. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiue of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad vpon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as *Tully* writeth in his booke *De Amicitia*, to be loued & honored of those persons, which neuer saw them. Whereof I neuer had better prooffe (I take God & mine owne conscience to witnesse, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends as soon as I returned) then at my last being at *Constantinople*, in the yere of our Lord 1564, wherein I oft resorting (as occasion serued) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto *Monsieur Antonio Perrenot*, lieger there for the French king, *Sig. M. Viller Bragadino*, for the signiory of *Venice*, *Sig. Lorenzo Gimutini*, for the state of *Seu*, or *Chios*, and *Sig. Albertaccio deli Alberti*, for the duke of *Florence*) heard them often report and speake very honorably of your lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of diuers of their friends & countrymen, which vpon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iustly fauour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the same euermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to haue had some iust occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will neuer suffer me fully to discharge. For vnto whom should I sooner present any thing any way especially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my trauell, and mainteined since my returne here at home: For the which cause I haue enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships fauour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first moued thereunto by the right worshipfull M.

at Constantinople 1564.

D. Wilson

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D. Wilson

The losse of Famag. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

119

D. Wilson Master of her Maicities Requeits, your honours assured trusty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers respects ought to reuerence: who remembering that I had bene at *Cyprus*, was willing that my pen should trauell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately haue happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our native country. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusal should seeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be known for diuers of our captaines and other our countrey men, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordships protection. Certainly it moueth me much to remember the losse of those three notable llands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: namely *Rhodes* besieged on *S. John Baptists* day, and taken on *Johns* day the *Euangelist*, being the 27 of December 1522. *Scio* or *Chios* being lost since my being there, taken of *Piali* *Begum* with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of all not only *Famagusta* the chiefe holdie & fortresse in *Cyprus* to haue bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe gouernors & captaines of the being hewen in sunder by the commandement of that tyrant *Muslinsa Basta*) but all the whole lland also to be conquered by those cruell Turkes, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which euill successe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely perswaded to vnderstand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of *Venice*, *Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo*, and *Sig. M. Giovanni Antonio Querini*: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteously vied, the former of them being then (as now also he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of *Baffo* in *Cyprus*, the other captaine of one of the castles at *Corcyra* in Greece, now called *Corfu*. But things past are past amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their country. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turkes haue receiued since this their fury, in token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort euery Christian heart. Moreouer, this vniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turkey amongst them more then eight moneths together. Whose vnfaithfulness also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselves, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaues, I hauing set downe also a short description of the lland of *Cyprus*, for the better vnderstanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely most humbly beiech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse towards me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull trauels, perswading themselves to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and ouerdaintie sisting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I assuredly trust of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for euer) I, craving pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leaue. From *Lambith* the 23 of March. *Ann. 1572.*

Rhodes lost.

Scio lost.

Cyprus lost.

Your honours most humble and faithfull seruant
for euer, *William Malm.*

A briefe description of the lland of *Cyprus*: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue so long enioyed it, but also the Turkes, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.



The lland of *Cyprus* is inuironed with diuers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called *Pamphilium*: Southward, with the sea *Egyptium*: on the East part, with the sea *Syrinum*: and Northward, with the sea called *Cilicium*. The which lland in time past had diuers names: called once *Scamantis*, as *Sabelicum* which I

seth.

sech. *Philonides* maketh mention, that it was called sometime *Cerasta*. *Xenogoras* writeth, that it was named *Aspelia*, *Amathusa*, & *Macaria*. There were in times past fiftene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which *Famagusta* is the chiefest & strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also *Nicosia*, which was wont, by the traffike of Marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of *Baffo*, *Arnica*, *Saline*, *Limisso*, *Melipotamo*, & *Epi scopia*. *Timosthenes* affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and *Arthemidorus* writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named *Dinareta* and *Acamanta*. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans vse, and much frequented of Marchants of *Syria*, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as *Plinie* writeth, ioyned sometime with *Syria*, as *Sicilia* hath bene also with *Italy*. It was a long time subiect vnto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of *Egypt*. The selfesame Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king *Richard* the first, in his voyage to *Hiernusalem* in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as *Polydore* writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriotes from arriuall there, inuaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behinde him sufficient garisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to *Ptolemyda*: who afterward exchanged the same with *Guy of Lusignan*, that was the last christened king of *Hiernusalem*, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of *England* were long time after called kings of *Hiernusalem*. And last of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1479, *Iohn* king of the sayd Iland, sonne to *Ianus of Lusignan*, had by *Helen* his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of *Paleologus*, one daughter only called *Charlotta*, and a bastard called *James*: the which *James* was afterward consecrated Bishop of *Nicosia*. This *Charlotta* was married first to the king of *Portingall*, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, *Lewis* Duke of *Sauoy* (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to *Lewis* the second of that name (vnto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife *Charlotta* did appertain) had the possession of the same. *James* the bastard as soone as his father was dead, of a Bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of *Sauoy* hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arriued shortly after in *Cyprus*, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie forthwith ouer to the Soldan of *Egypt*. Who making himselfe his subiect, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed ouer into *Cyprus*, besieged Duke *Lewis* in the castle of *Nicosia*, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one *Catherina* the daughter of *Marco Cornaro*, which *Catherina* the Senate of *Venice* adopted vnto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which means the Venetians making themselves the next heires to *Catherina* by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the possession of this kingdome, and haue kept and enioyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called *Sultan Selim* in the right of the Soldan of *Egypt*, whom his grandfather (called also *Sultan Selim*) conquered, pretendeth a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderstand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence,

To the Reader.



I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe *Tully* affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne iudgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein besides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfesame matter out of the Italian language into our country speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my selfe) haue accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required

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required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this example. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade myselfe that I have reaped sufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires,

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

Summe Deus, succurre tuis, miseresce tuorum,
Et subeat gentis te noma christiana.
Quem das tuncorum suum, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quousque Sabeau?
Ante Rhodum, mox inde Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa sedis fragus partes grassatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cyprum strage cruentas humum.
Nec finem imponis sceleri, mollesce furorem,
Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abis.
Quas, qua nunquam nisi plena tumensque cruore
Sanguisuga obsessam mittis hirundo cutem.
Tortura sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et eadem admissam cecidi alius amor.
Sani inops animi, nec velle temperas ipse,
Vel manus inclementis nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
Nec sine maculare semper vultu tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redondet.
Excitantque nouum Cyprum regna iugum.
Et quod Christicola fœdus pepigere Memarcha,
Id fastum nobis omnibus esse volis.
Tapugna illorum pugnas, & bella secundes,
Captiuosque tibi subde per arma Scytbas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Vnus sic Christus fiet, & una fides.

Guilielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor Martinigo, vnto the renowned Prince the Duke of Venice.

The sixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayne vnto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arrival of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all that it did before, the whole garrison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the souldiers and Captaines not withholding themselves from any kinde of labour, for the better encouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the end which more careful they taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no fallie out of the City to skirmish but very selborne, especially to vnderstand when they might perceiue the intent of the enemies. Whilist we made this diligent poynt within the City the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, as to batter the fortress withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many woodpacks, great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engine and other things expedient for their purpose.

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallies or thereabout in his

* In Italy and other places the date of the year of 1571 is always changed the first of January, on New years day, and from that day reckoned byson: although here in England, especially the romish lawyers for certain causes are wont to obserue the same until the annunciation of our Lady.

gainst our Ordnance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, as well our souldiours, as the Grecians, as soone as the batterry began, withstanding themselves, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martinengo was appointed chiefe over the Ordnance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage divided the charge thereof vnto six other inferiour capitaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the provision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate the citie for to attend vpon the seruice of the artillery. The valiant capitaine Francesco Bago was warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Capitaine Pietro Conte attended vpon the Coztaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. If so much part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Coztaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martinengo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Coztaine, vnto the gate of Limisso. Horacio Capitaine of Veletri attended vpon the Biez and Coztaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Capitaine Roberto Maluzzi. At the same time, when the batterry began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the souldiers, as well Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Portage, Cheese, and Bacon: all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread then two soules a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great encouragement of our souldiours. And wee made a counter batterry against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed sixtene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their batterry in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we foreseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece euery day, and that in the presence of the Capitaines, who were still present, because the souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fleet of Pinnaque, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, increased maruellously euery mans courage. The Turks with great traull and slaughter of both sides, had woonne at the last the counterscarpe from vs, with great resistance and mortalicie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other side of the fifth batterry to fill vp the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterscarpe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was caried away of vs within the city, all our company labouring continually as well by night as day, vntill our enemies had made certaine loope-holes in the wall, thow the which they flanking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebusses, kept our former course of carping, or going that way any more, without certaine and expresse danger. But M. Giouanni Marmorì, a fortifier, had deuised a certaine kinde of ioynd boords, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the Harquebuzers, so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done especiall good seruice in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies hauing cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a same way to the wall of the counterscarpe, and casting before them the earth by little and little, they made one trauesse euen vnto the wall on two sides in all their batterries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselves the better of our slanders.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they began to digge out vndermines to vndermine the Biez, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Coztaine, and the Turret of the Arsenall: so that being able no longer to serue our turne and inioy those fewe flankers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very soye, because it fired their woolpacks, & also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the souldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery souldier one duckat, by which could gaine or re-

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* Albanos souldiers, souldiers of Albania, otherwise called Epiros, who commonly serve the Venetians both on land & sea, very full of a painful.

cover any of the former woolpackes, making countermine in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our business served with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermine met not, saving those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceive better the way of the mines, and to see the fagots and wood. For we crested at any time through the unspeakable travail of the Lord Baglione (who had the oversight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intent, by all manner of wit and policie, dividing the companies for the batteries, laying and planting in all places a garrison of the * Albanos souldiers, who as well on foot as on horsebacke, shewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

The first assault.

The one and twentieth day of June they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenal, whereas Giambela Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to byholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes shipping upon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, euen to the topp of the same. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and although they refreshed themselves with new supplies fire of six times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiers, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted upon the Batteries, destroyed many of our enemies, when they gaue y assault, the which endured five houres together: for that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betwene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wildfire, the which being vnadvisedly and negligently handled, burnt up many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Bernardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerbearers, were very sore hurt.

The night following arrived in Cyprus a Vmalle from Candia, which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of vs all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine recontres flanked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged by any mines, with Hogheads, Chests, Cikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed hauing already brought almost all that which they had) because they hauing dispatched their Canuels about necessary uses, they brought their hangings, carpets, carpets, euen to their very sheets, to make and stuffe by their foresaid sacks, a very good and ready way to make by againe their vaimures, the which were thowen downe with the top of the artillery, which neuer flinted, so that we made by againe still that in the night, the which was thowen downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldom: all the souldiers standing alwayes upon the walles, visited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreme heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their rest, because the enemy was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not suffering vs long to breath.

The second assault.

The nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Try on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault vs, who with an outrageous fury came to the topp, whereas Mustafa their Generall was altogether present, which assault was received, and stayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Mariningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any advantage of success, the vaimure being thowen downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Permo: and Captaine Soldarello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captaine Gio. d'Isria, Standerbearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenal they were beaten backe with greater damage of our enemies, and small hurt to vs.

28 small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, yet very much.

Proident a carefull gouernour or magistrat should sleepe at any time, much less in dangerous seasons.

Inter: reminds me haue no regard to spare trifles.

Of this noble a painful Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwards between in sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my travel at Corcyra, now called Corfu, being then there Mag. Castellano of Captaine of one of the castles.

fine one of our part too, and I was wounded in five houres, the Dais were found prefe help the Souldiers these two assaults, before accustomed to the spee of y then euer they artillery from them with fourty, they battie same night also were the ground the battim gaine, because our m and by reason of the en to decrease. For the Terry and mining, in cuse we making our v selyentely we of necessi haue more elbow room the intent, that we bet to their great hinderanc

The sayd Bey of Nappa, to that of faint heart continued left the Try to their ge ing not able to manag ing where they were, I into them, and could n ing mingled amongst the ride light to behold) fle yon of vs. There was grievously wounded. A the Campe, & I my selfe houres, and the Citizens men also, and poong str chat a. how any more at ing to lay upon. The The gate of Limisso wa wayes open, hauing m Percollos by the cutting ours gate their attendan from the rampaire: and they beganne to entrench to pull out of the gate, t were often times assailed

Wherefore they e laying their batt for the gate, whereas t on them to defend that g ours, killing swiftly too ing fire to the mine of the time woun an Ensigne of hand. The day followin

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Five onely of our part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued five houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing by there, encouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present about women, who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderstanding how great hinderance they had receiued at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then euer they had before accustomed to lay battery to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring moze speedily then euer they did, made seuen other forts moze, vnder the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of foure score, they battered the holoe with great rage, that on the eight day of Iuly, with the same night also were numbred five thousand Canon shot, and after that fort they ouerthrew to the ground the baimures, that scarcely with great trauell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their mortuance, by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Parquebuzers. And our men beganne to dig and mine, in such sort, that there being no moze standing left for our Souldiours, hereby we making our baimures moze thicke, our standing began to waxe narrower, the which by reason of necessity enlarged with boordz as a scaffold to the baimure, whereby we might haue moze elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio also made one mine vnder the sayd Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

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conuincing.

The third assault.

To the sayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third assault, to the Currelon of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Coztaine, to the Kepe of the Arsenal: the which assaults having continued moze then five houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to manage their pikes in good order, by reason of the narrowness of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baghione had prescribed vnto them, and could not, cast themselves at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turkes: so that five being giuen to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to behold) slew presently of our enemies moze then one thousand, and about one hundred of vs. There was slaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Ferro was grievously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenal was slaine Captaine David Noce master of the Campe, & I my selfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon shot. This assault continued five houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in every place, with their women also, and poore striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that we any moze attempted to recouer the same: because there was no apt place remaining to lay vpon. The left flanker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made, the gate of Limisso was ouer against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was always open, hauing made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to lying in the battered earth, which fell in the ditch from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench about the Brey, and by the flankers about they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspicion vnto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The fourth assault.

Wherefore they came the fouretenth day of Iuly to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baghione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken by them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who as soone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, falling swiftly foot, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giuing fire to the mine of the flanker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baghione at the same time woun an Ensigne of our enemies, wassing it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the Coztaine, the which thing not falling out

The shew-
ness of the cap-
taine at dan-
gerous times
not only much
conforted the
common soldi-
er, but also
increased
greatly his
credit & con-
sideration w
all men.

out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to forside, and aduance higher their traueses in the ditch, for their better assurance against the counter charge: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counter charge, where they lodged in their pavillions, so that we could not descric them. They shot twen pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counter charge so couertly, that they were not seen: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Coztaine. And they came with certaine boordes covered with raine and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde of forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue forth of our talles called Poldermes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we likewise paired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe Skins, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, grenades, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselves together into companies in euery street (being guided of one of their Bonkes called Caloiero) resorted daily to a certaine place appointed, in labour, gathering and pouling for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept by all assaults in halfe burs to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Hauing had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a netre way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which easily burnes, and smelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeared with pitch, kindled suddenly to great a fire, as was not possible for vs to quench the same, although we threw vpon it whole Burs of water, which were thrown downe from an high Commander, which Burs presently brake in sundre.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were enforced by reason of the extreme heat and stinch, to withdraw our selues further inwards, and they descending towards their lower flanchers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut vp, because it could be no longer kept open, and suddenly (a thing marvellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer against the gate, the which of vs with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried vp. By this time we were vniuen to an extream, all our prouision within the Citie sleeping very lowe, fasting onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours and Capitaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as unpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but vpon an unreasonable price, our company hauing eaten vp their Poses, Alces, and Cats, for lacke of other victuals: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beans, and we dranke water and Clineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceived that our enemies had digged and cast by three munes in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer against the battery of the Coztaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall about the Counter charge ouer against the Turrion of the Arsenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like unto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Within the Citie were remaining but sixe hundred Italian Souldiours, who were neere hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those seruents and burning heates, which are in those parts. And the greater and better part also of the Spaniards were by this time slaine, whereas the chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolve themselves (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and fortress was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance of sustenance, hauing no hope of succour, or any new supply, they hauing spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their liues for the defence of the same, and in testifying of their dutifull seruice towards the noble and royal all State of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might now please him, and the rest of the honourable Gouernours, that were present, and put in trust, hauing a carefull eye vnto some honourable conditions, to haue now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long travelled winces, and the safeguard of their poore children, which otherwise were shortly like to be a pray to their bloudthirsting and rauening enemies. To the which letter of supplication speedy answer was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no means abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceived in their hearts,

Teglia in Italian called Teda is a certain wood which burneth easily, and is much vnto the use of the which there is great store in Sicilia: sometimes it is used for a torch.

No necessarie thing to be done was left in either part.

Spain courage oft abatteth, but hope is a thing which is not so easily spent.

In July the heat is so extreme in this Island, that the inhabitants thereof are not wont to travel, but by night onely. A letter of supplication was directed by the Segniorie vnto Sig. Bragadino.

The answer of the Segniorie letter.

hearts, dispaire the duke and go down their munes they were woun name, and hau which the noble mage to vs, hau dachi was slain ned and choked

The enemies by the other night, where, and como Strambali, Lucia.

The next morning fault continued fought more coldly their Gallies, thoo the Citie, as neere no things brought whole Citie but few by themselves and after noone, they to whom they concluded as both armies were (gadin) were sent of Famagusta, and of the Giannizaries one with two hundred men and harque of them.

The Lord Baglioni the articles of peace, pieces of discipline, panded with their Cal there still quietly, and thereafter, as they had and subscribe vnto els into the haven, Co the greater part were likewise very well knowne. The 15. of August the which hee signed the Citie, and that he therefore, that while it was at home, and in with vs all familiarly, much courtesy booke turned me to this letter Bragadino, who had been very desirous both to see he in him, and in the would honourably repel, that hee should n

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we being nothing
joy of our latters
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and were, thow
r with copies: all
very free being
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ch was kept for all
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we were woy, neuer
ed Tegliu, which
e gate of the Citie,
kindled suddenly
et upon it whole
ch thus presently

of the extreme heat
wards they lower
d be no longer hope
ey being repaired,
of us with stones,
then to an engine,
the noble courage of
our wine, and first
gotten, but upon
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zeal, and Zeal,
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to the ditch, over a
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forying them, the
succour from the
conceded in their
ferris.

hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Minelle to certifie the Duke and gouernours there, in what extreme they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of July: in the which space our men, according as they were wont to doe, renewed and made by againe the battlements ruined before by the Ottomanes, and hauing no other stiffe left to aduance them with, made sacker of Kertie, unto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randaichi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall ouerthrew all the rest of the Curtion, hauing smothered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flankers onely still remaining.

It standeth
with reason, that
hope of having
the greater, to
let the lesser go.

The first Assault.

The enemies trauesled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to fall upon foot by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from three of the clocke in the after noone vntill night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Sirambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done before in other combats.

The sixth and last assault.

The next morning following, at the break of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued more then five houres, with very heauie hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more colidly then they were wont to doe, annoyng of vs continually on the Sea side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceived things brought to a narrower strait then they were wont to be at, we hauing left in all the whole Citie but seven barrels of powder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to peelee by themselves and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the first of August in the after noone, they took a truce, one being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hostages a peece, untill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent for by the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Coli a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Agut of the Giannizzers, the which were met, euen unto the gate of the Citie, of Signior Baglione with two hundred barquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with souldiers and barquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

Necessitie oft
times is pressed
to the end
to that, which
our will contin
ually spurs
on against.

Gunneries be
the gard of the
great Turke,
so that Aga de
Gunneries is
the captaine of
the Turkes
gard.

The Lord Baglione imparted with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requirng by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, fine peeces of Ordnance, three of the best horses, and safe passage from thence unto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enjoy peacefully their owne goods and possessions, liuing still Christians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requests and articles were agreed vpon, granted into the haven, so that our souldiers immediately began to imbarke themselves, of the which the greater part were already gone aboard, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

Just Turkish
boating, to
speak, and not
to mean, is
dramatic
and not
to perform
the game.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter unto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come unto him to deliuer by the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holoe the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, paying him for that, that whilst hee should haue iust cause to be abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practised with vs all familiarly, and without any suspicion of sinister or double dealing, they hauing shewed vs much courtesie both in word and deed. Mustafa himselfe by word of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should retorne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent me, that he should come ouer to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee had tried in him, and in the order of his Captaines and souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soeuer he came, as occasion should serue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no manner of condition hee would suffer

suffer any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning, made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the capitaine Carlo Ragonasco, with capitaine Francesco Straco, with capitaine Hector of Brescia, with capitaine Girolamo di Sacle, and with other gentlemen and stie souldiours, the Gouvernours and Noble men with three twojers, and the souldiours with their batquebuzes came forth of their hold, and went unto the pavillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were courteously receiued, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and discoursing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and dawning them from one matter to another, at the last upon a sudden picked a quarrell with them especially burdning that noble Bragadino with an vntruth, laying to his charge he had caused certaine of his slaues in the time that the truce continued betwene thes, to be put to death. The which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly strep forth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being dnammed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pavillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pavillion, being presently cut and hewen in lumber in his presence, and last of all from that worship and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twice of thsile to stretch forth his necke, as though hee should haue bene betweene, the which most boldy hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vilsly vpon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blaspheemed the holy name of our Saviour, demanding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no answer at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercule Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches vneill such time as his furie was past, afterwards his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slaue. Thre Grecians which were bound in his pavillion were left vnouched. All the souldiours which were found in the campe, and all hopes of Christians to the number of thre hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or treachery. The Christian souldiours which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaues, all things being taken from them, and shipped into their shippes.

The second day after this murder was committed, which was the 17 of August, Mustafa entered the first time into the Citie, and caused the valliant and wise gouernour Trepolo to be hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countrymen were thus miserably slaine and made slaues, by my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of five dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in conet any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed against such transgressors and concalets, I offered, and gaue my selfe slaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him five hundred * Zechins for my rancome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday following (being the Turkes sabbath day) this worshipfull and patient gentleman Bragadino was led still in the presence of that vnfaithfull tyrant Mustafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand slaue-like, to carry sundry batterie, being enforced also to kille the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought vnto the sea shoare, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and slepe vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and fastened vnto the mampers of a galley, and hoisted by with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiours and slaues (which were in the haven already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormentersooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was most cruelly flayed quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he neuer lost or abated any tot of his steadfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traitorous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, hee recommending his soule vnto almighty God, gaue vp the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with straw, was commaunded forthwith to be hanged vpon the towspit of a * Fount, and to be caried along the coast of Syria by the sea shoare, that all the poore townes might see, and understand who he was.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember whilist that I was in the Fortresse: that also which by true relation of others I haue heard vnderstand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilist I was slaue, I will likewise briefly

The properties
of true fort-
itude is, not to
be broken with
adversities.
Mustafa, comma-
nding him to
his life, which
hung on the
life line of our
honour at
his passion.

* Zechini, be-
cause pieces
of fine gold
coined in Je-
rusalem, every one
of the which
is worth five
pennings right
now, a some-
what better
equal alow-
ther to a Tur-
kish Dyalcon.

His death was
flourable to
his former life
* A Fount is as
it were a whi-
gandine, being
somewhat lar-
ger then half
a galley, much
bigger of the
Turkish Cur-
sars, as we
call them the
races of Ko-
nara.

utter vnto you. The
and qualities. Of fou-
there were 14. thou-
cola, and part of the
with the sword were
was because Mustafa
was much more weal-
commodious and easi-
ced to come thither. I
and iron pellets were
armie nere vnto Mu-
Mustafa Bassa of Nic-
* Bey, the Sangiaccho
ralco, Ferca Frambur-
bin, Mustafa Bey gene-
Dueric, the Sangiaccho
fourteene thousand pe-
geant.

The Framburato v-
and the report was that
some, with two thousan
Explicite. It seemed
speciall grace of God,
doyes (all the which cin-
somer I was, by the mea-
who a litle before came
that I had paid this sum-
up still with faire word
name, which abutter by
The which malice and fa-
ship, and to flir: so I was
small of this boate, of e-
night with two onely oar-
Tipols, being in very
of certaine Christians,
presence in a litle French
came, were touched at a p-
on land, and talking with
a speaking, demanded
the Island was called: a
quicke then they were at
made villaines and slaues
they knew by trial
was, withing and praying
the Island they made an
very that mountaine tobi-
with the crueltie of the T-
small seabe sower thereon,
and litle shoare of cattell the
my part being clothed
honourable Signior Laine
and my necessitie relieued,
to almighty God) artie
able sette of your highnesse

inter unto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and qualities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Nicosia, and part of them also which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand in number. The reason why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria over into Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were in their armie nere unto Mustafa, were these following: the Bassa of Aleppo, the Bassa of Nicosia, *Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the *Begliarbei of Greece, the Bassa of Scivasi and of Malatino, Ferca Framburaro, the *Sangiaccho of Antiochia, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouverneur of Malathia, the Framburaro of Ducrie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credit, with the number of fourescore thousand persons besides, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appear.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouverneur at Famagusta, and the report was that there should be left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons for service. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was delivered out of their cruel hands, I having paid within two or thre dayes (all the which time I was slave) five hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the means of the Consul for the French merchants, a lighter then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria unto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paid this summe of money to him, hee would not so let me at libertie, but fed mee up still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee unto his government, which abutted upon a piece of the famous river of Euphrates, and afterward dismiss me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiving, determined with my selfe to give him the slip, and to flie: so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small Fisher boate, of the which a pooze Grecian was Owner and master, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a small saile made of two shiers, I passed over from Cyprus unto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in covert in the house of certain Christians, untill the five and twentieth of September, at what time I departed from thence in a litle French Shippe called Santa Victor, which came into these partes, and as we were on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chance a speaking, demanded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was rilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possible be in worse pichle then they were at that present, not enjoying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and slaves, and almost alwayes carrying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable government of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might shortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answer moreover, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, saving only that mountain: which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the platne and East part of the Island, there was small sene sown therein, but became in a manner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and litle sort of castell there. Afterward we reparting from thence arrived in * Candia, I my part being clothe in sackcloth, whereas soone after by the great crueltie of the right honorable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparellled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieved. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriottes Ship (shankes to almightie God) arrived in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

* The gate of the great Turke, as much to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language Stanbul. * The venturers, da fida, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who commonly are wont to follow the Army in hope of the spoile. Aleppo, a famous citie nere unto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greece, Alep.

* Begliarbei, the chiefest lord amongst all. * Sangiaccho, is that person in the Turkes, that governeth a province or countrey.

God sufficiently much to be done as his servants, but never forsake them.

Necessitie oft times changes mens minds, causeth boldnes,

The nature of every common bird is to be under foot by lacking, then by continual enjoying of the same.

* Candia, of the old writers called Creta in Latin, Emvros in Greek, because it had once a 100 Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. This commonly named, Candia, is Candia, and Seythia.

☛ The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

The lord Estor Baglione,
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asia Alcegovernoy.
The capitaine Dauid Noce Master of the
Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Sericant
Datoz.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The capitaine Francesco Troncauilla.
The capitaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The capitaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The capitaine Charles Ragonasco of Cre-
mona.
The capitaine Francesco Siraco.

The capitaine Roberto Maluezzo.
The capitaine Caesar of Aduersa.
The capitaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The capitaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The capitaine Iames of Fabiano.
The capitaine Sebastian del Sole of Flo-
rence.
The capitaine Hector of Brescia, the suc-
cessour to the capitaine Caesar of Aduersa.
The capitaine Flaminio of Florence, suc-
cessour unto Sebastian del Sole.
The capitaine Erasmus of Fermo, successour
to the capitaine of Cernole.
The capitaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The capitaine Iohn Battista of Riuarole.
The capitaine Iohn Francesco of Venice.

☛ The names of Christians made slaues.

The Earle Heracles Martinengo, with
Julius Caesar Ghelfo a Souldiour of
Bressia.
The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
The capitaine Marco Criuellatore.
The lord Heracles Malatesta.
The capitaine Peter Conte of Montalber-
to.
The capitaine Horatio of Veletti.
The capitaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte Iames of Corbara.
The capitaine Iohn of Istria.
The capitaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The capitaine Iohn of Ascoli.
The capitaine Antonie of the same towne.
The capitaine Sebastian of the same towne.
The capitaine Salgano of the citie of Castel-
lo.
The capitaine Marcheso of Fermo.
The capitaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
The capitaine Carletto Naldo.
The capitaine Lorenzo Fernaretti.
The capitaine Barnardo of Brescia.

The capitaine Barnardino Coco.
The capitaine Simon Bagnese, successour to
the capitaine Dauid Noce.
The capitaine Tiberio Ceruso, successour unto
Conte Sigismond.
The capitaine Ioseph of Lanciano, suc-
cessour unto capitaine Francesco Tronca-
uilla.
The capitaine Morgante, successour to capitaine
Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, successour unto the capitaine
Scipio.
The Standerdbearer, successour to capitaine
Roberto.
The capitaine Ottauio of Rimini, successour
to the capitaine Francesco Bugon.
The capitaine Mario de Fabiano, successour
to capitaine Iacomo.
The capitaine Francesco of Venice, successour
unto capitaine Antonio.
The capitaine Matteo of Capua.
The capitaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
The capitaine Mancino.

☛ The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, slaine.

The knight Maggio, slaine.

☛ Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

Mustafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Nartolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.

The Bassa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizera.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.

John Foxe

The Begliarbei of
The Bassa of Scius
Perca Framburar
The Sangiaccho of
Soliman Bey, slaine

The wood
ring 20
the 3. of



was no way for the
the owner perceiving
manhood, shewing
not to faint in seeing
also, that if it were
to show one displeasur
for a day and time
more his me r.e.p. And
if their enemies were
likewise in mind of the
enemies haue alway
almost impossible. So
how the mightie wo
With other like inc
on their knees making
their enemies by their
or his, upon eu
of up one C
of defiance agai
Dontelaine, Purser,
trumpets and flutes, in
rage in him.

Then take him to
the best effort, and send
thule as fast toward the
charge in sending forth
to lay upon the gallies,
Christians were in all, 2
that the ship was very
the more haste to come
herely with the losse of
to see a skirmish, that it
threw themselves men
where the owner, master,
were halfe vsmained. But
amongst the Turkes
and in his face, till at the
er, and throw him on the
not, encouraging them
and thome. Which they be
at the people and those of
were so overpelled, that it

The Begliarbei of Greece.
The Balia of Sciuaſſi and Maraſco.
Perca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, ſlaime.
Soliman Bey, ſlaime.

Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, ſlaime,
Muſtafa Bey, General of the Venturers, ſlaime,
Fergar, ruler of Malathia, ſlaime.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, ſlaime.

The woorthy enterpriſe of John Foxe an English man in deliue-
ring 266. Chriſtians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at Alexandria,
the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.



Among our merchants here in England it is a common volage to traffike in-
to Spaine: whereunto a ſhip, being called The three halfe Moones, man-
ned with 38. men, and well ſenſed with munitions, the better to encounter
their enemies withall, and hauing wind & tide, ſet from Portſmouth, 1563.
and bended her iourney toward Siuill a citie in Spaine, intending there to tra-
ffique with them. And falling nere the Streights, they perceiued theſe ſelves
to be ſet round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in ſuch wiſe, that there
the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to ſhew their
manhood, ſhewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requaiſing them alſo
not to ſaue in ſeeking ſuch a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind
alſo, that if it were Gods pleaſure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they yought
to thinke one diſpleaſant looke or countenance thereagainſt; but to take it patiently, & not to pre-
ſcribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themſelves
in their enemies were ten times ſo many, they were not able to ſtand in their hands; putting them
in mind of the old and ancient woorthineſſe of their countreymen, who in the hardeſt ex-
tremities haue alwayes moſt preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene
harder, the mightie power of our God.

With other like encouragements, exhorting them to be haue themſelves manfully, they fell all
on their knees making their prayers hieſly vnto God: who being all riſen vp againe perceiued
their enemies by their ſignes and deſiances bent to the ſhippe, whoſe mercy was nothing els but
to ſlaye vpon every man tooke him to his weapon.

Then ſtood vp one Groue the maſter, being a comely man, with his ſwoyrd and target, holding
his defiance agaynſt his enemies. So like wiſe ſtood vp the Owner, the Paſſers mate,
Boateſwaine, Purſer, and every man well appointed. Nowe like wiſe ſounded vp the drums,
trumpets and ſutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer ſo litle heart of cou-
rage in him.

Then took he him to his charge John Foxe the gunner in the diſpoſing of his pieces in order to
the beſt effect, and ſending his bullets towards the Turkes, who like wiſe beſtowed their pieces
theſe as ſaſt toward the Chriſtians. But ſhortly they dyed neere, ſo that the botmen ſet to their
charge in ſending forth their arrowes ſo thicke amongſt the Gallies, & alſo in doubling their ſhot
to ſaye vpon the gallies, that there were twice ſo many of the Turkes ſlaime, as the number of the
Chriſtians were in all. But the Turkes diſcharged theſe as ſaſt againſt the Chriſtians, ſo long,
that the ſhip was very ſore ſtricken & buiſſed vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made
the more haſte to come aboard the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it
dearely with the loſſe of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and booyed they were, where they found
to here a ſkirmiſh, that it had bene better they had not medled with the ſeaſt. For the Engliſhmen
threw themſelves men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bills and halbardes:
where the owner, maſter, boateſwaine, and their company ſtoode to it ſo luſtily, that the Turkes
were halfe diſmailed. But chiefly the boateſwaine ſhewed himſelf valiant about the reſt: ſo he ſa-
ved amongſt the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durſt
and in his face, till at the laſt there came a ſhot from the Turkes, which brake his whilke ſhoul-
der, and ſmote him on the breaſt, ſo that he fell downe, bleeding them farewell, & to be of good com-
fort, encouraging them like wiſe to winne praife by death, rather then to liue captiues in miſery
and ſhame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their ſkirmiſh:
but the preſent and ſoye of the Turkes was ſo great, that they were not able long to endure, but
were ſo overpreſſed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reaſon whereof, they muſt needs
be

John Foxe the
Bey 1563.

The valour &
death of the
Boateſwaine.

to: who making due more priue to this their deuise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same John Fox, and Peter Vnicaro, and the other five appointed to meet all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same John Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a foyle of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meane of Peter Vnicaro, charging them that euery man should be ready with charge of his pions by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

On the next day at night, this said John Fox, and his five other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnicaro, passing the time away in much for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practice their deuise, sent Peter Vnicaro to the keeper of the roade, in the name of one of the Wardens of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the wardens not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speed.

In the meane season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John Fox took him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pommel, the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noise, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth vnto him: who perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserued at my hand: where with he lift up his bright shining sword of tenne peeces rust, and strooke him so mane a blowe, as there withall his head claued a sunder: so that he fell stark dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnicaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently forth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues beate him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discern what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, where into they entered softly, where were six wardens, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friends. Let them they were all within, proued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my matters, here is not to cury a man, where for e looke you play your parts. Who behaved themselves in deede, that they did as much as they durst. Then John Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and intending to walke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Cannon against it.

Then entered they into the Gailes long, where they found the keyes of the fortreffe & prison by his two keyes, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was much treasure, and all in buckers, which this Peter Vnicaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could, betwene their shirts and their skinne: which John Fox would not see much, and sayde, that it was his and their liberte which he sought for: to the honour of his name, he made a murre of the wicked creature of the Infidels. Perdid these two more like nothing vnto their stomachs, thus was it for a good intent: so did Saul save the fattest Dren, to offer to the Lord, and they to craue their time turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God hereby, neither had these that thing which they desired to, and did thus after. Such is Gods iudgement, that they put their trust in, to deliue them from the cruell hands of their enemies, (I say) should supply their want of necessities.

Now these being armed with such weapons as they thought meet of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and comming vnto the prison, Fox barred the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he led, some to ramme up the gate, some to the dwelling of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and some called the captain of Alexandria, whereunto some carried mares, asses, and other creatures as both belong vnto a gallie. At the prison were certaine wardens, whom John Fox with his company slawe: in the killing whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the topp of the prison: into whom John Fox and his company, were come to come by ladders, where they

The last of Dec
ember.

January.

they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slain, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thus shot through his apparel, and not hurt, Peter Vnion, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckens, were slain, as was able to witte themselves, being so pestered with the weight and beaule carping of the wicked and prophane crew: and also diuerse Christians were small hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slain.

Amongst the Turkes was one Ihusi thopowe, who (let vs not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereof (as here and there scattering doo be a house or two) came and saw him, so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: where with they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the East side of the roade: so that now they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so upon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the rescue impossible for the helices to passe through, the hills and rocks lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the walls of Iericho should fall downe, being neither determined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisdome, pollicie, or helpe lay put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. We that helde the Lyons lawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not be hold the roring canons of this hellish force? We that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Quen, from the three chilozen, that passed his name, can not be keepe the fiers flaming blades from among vs elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie soldiers, labozers, and mariners, who are come to haue to their earking, in setting to euery man his hand, some to the carping in of victuals. Some to the mending of the oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the roade. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Wherein euery man leaped in all haste, hopping up the sayles lustily, yet doing themselves to his merrie and grace, in whose hands are both winne and losse.

Now is this gally on shore, and out of the safety of the roade: now haue the two Castles full power upon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sink: how can it be auoided? The canons let flye from both sides, and the gally in turn in the midst, and betwene them both. What man can deuise to saue it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needs be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with flue & forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold forth his buckler, he sheldeth now this gally, and hath tried our faith to the uttermost. Now cometh his speciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks that he hath all helpe, then cometh he himselfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his present remedy most ready pte. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them coming downe by the water side, in companies like unto swarmes of bees, making them to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselves to dyse by the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, masts, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carping them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amazement amongst them. And verily I thinke that God was amazed therat: it could not be but he must blasphe to blame, he can speake neuer a word for vaine, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremite. Well, how soeuer it is, he is much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But how soeuer it is, God behoued himselfe our God shewed himselfe a God in deed, and that he was the onely living God: for the sea was swift under his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a Christaller pilot led them, and their mariners beset them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, nor any faithfull Pilot, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almighty God for their deliuerie, and most humbly to fall downe at their knees, beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into another danger, as hee had most mightily deliuered them from so great a chalydome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with

oares, in helping one some Christian land, one while bytting the chalydome that God had there no victuals now (themselves) to haue murthered them out of A: them to be comforted they sustained, they kn there farther miserie) they no victuals in the due to be briefe, the fa there were eight persons. So it fell out, that Candie, and landed at who called them to sta where with lo: ung it up for a monu

When they thought they arrived at Tarente thereof. The Turkes were the seas, when they departed from thence higher that might, as it they should haue bene in any, every man eaking by some, where he was in the ship, who rewarded he was very well enter for twentie pence a day: higher at such time as he who being come into E: all: who considering of such in chalydome and rage, to their right hon

The copie of the by the Prior, and

W^h the Prior, a of the order o ere came into the said ere hundred fiftie and an, a gunner, and one Christians haue reco most request to the fan keeper of the prison eads, hang up in the are such as we will edite, that so much as is of Fathers aforesaid, the end of Februarie 1577

Prior Vincent Barba, Prior Albert Damara, Prior Anthony Colles, Prior Bartolomew of G, Prior Francis of Gall

and come but few
Peter Vnion
le to weld them
and prophane
takes flaine.

as ill Fortune) fell
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earns, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour driving to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the winds were so diuers, that while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And so much as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue bene a cause to them (if they had bene the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had delivered them out of Egypt, was such a louing and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be conformed, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie sooner they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their further miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore. Hauing (as it may be bryefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewel, and using it up for a monument.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sailed along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they solde their gally, and deubted it, curcy man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes recruiting to shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen gallyes of the Turkes came after that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sun-ry, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gaue him a hundred pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countie, he came vnto such time as he conveniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. When being come into England, went vnto the Court, and shewed all his trauell vnto the Countail: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his money in chynalome and bondage, extended to him their liberallitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the encouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for John Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

Where the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that vpon the 29 of January last past, 1577, there came into the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundred fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master John Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians haue recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our request to the same John Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slew the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy deede, hang vpon in the chiefe place of our Couent house. And for because all things afore- said, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and haue therefore good fame, that so much as is aboue exprest is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaid, haue ratified and subscribed these presents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the 10 of Februarie 1577.

Prior Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirms the premises, as they are aboue written.

Prior Albert Damere, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirms as aforesaid.

Prior Anthony Colloer of Gallipoly, confirms as aforesaid.

Prior Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirms as aforesaid.

Prior Francis of Gallipoly, confirms as much.

M

The

Extermitie of
famine.

John Fox his
sword kept as
a monument
in Gallipoli.

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of
John Foxe.

BE it knowne vnto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof John Foxe Englishman, a Gunner, after he had serued captiue in the Turkes galleies, by the space of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good opportunitie, the thud of Ianuarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwarde at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credit of which things, as also of others, the same John Foxe hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Easter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captiuitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receiue, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commend vnto you. At Rome, the 30 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grols Englishman Bishop of Straphen.

Richard Sileham Prior Anglia.

Andreas Ludonius Register to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, haue set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere abovesaid.

Mauricius Clemente gouernour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing
of John Foxe in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Capaine General of our Realme of Valentia. Having consideration, that John Foxe Englishman hath serued vs, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine galleie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captiues: we licence him to practise, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serue in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serue in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise prouide for him, the saide eight ducats monethly of the treasury which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regards of those which come with him. From Escoriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Council.

The renewing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerse places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefe partes of all the great Turke dominions, by the meanes of the Right worship, citizens Sir Edward Osborne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

This trade into the Leuant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this present booke: wherunto I referre the Reader) was very vsuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1512, till the yeere 1534, and after wards also, though not so commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grante Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony Lenkenion 1553, and

strong and weighty reason in matter quite forgotten, the discreete and working what benefite receiue, to the enlarging were generall committ to some effectuall. Therefore about the sent John Wight and Ioseph remained William Harborne, and others, and obtained. Which businesse at Harborne the first of accompanied with Ioseph and then apparelling himselfe observed the king of Persia's next vnto the ambassador then in his companie and carried Acemet from Leopoli in Romania, gratifying the king of October next instant from moneths after he departed, and the two word letters vnto her Majesty.

The letters sent
of Zuldan
Qu



and curtesies as are wont to be done by our former ambassadors. In most friendly manner the name of your most excellent and friendly office would vouchsafe to giue some, to repose hither and make hither with their goods and their returne.

Our haughty Court and firm. But because we will, humanitie, & of our Countrey be alwayes better: and we will neuer in friendship, fauour, & as good meanes. And for as much as the Regall Princes will commandment to a mercarie seafaring men, al larging and commanding

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The Turks Letters. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was verely discontinued, and in manner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Where the difference and worship citizens Sir Edward Osborne and Sir Richard Staper seriously consid-
ering what benefite might grow to the common wealch by renewing of the foresaid discontinued trade, so the enlarging of her Maiesties customes, the furthering of navigation, the venting of di-
uerse generall commodities of this Realme, and the enriching of the cite of London, determined
to use some effectuall meanes for the reestablisshing and augmenting thereof.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchantes at their charges and expen-
ses sent Iohn Wighe and Ioseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the
said Ioseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for Sir
William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free access into his Highnes
dominions, and obtained the same.

The voyage of
Iohn Wighe and
Ioseph Clements
to Constantinop-
le.

Which businesse after two yerres chargeable trauell and suit being accomplished, the said Sir
Harborne the first of July 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburg, and thence
accompanied with Ioseph Clements his guide and a seruant, he traualled to Leopols in Poland,
and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his seruant after the Turkish fashion (having first
obtained the king of Poland his safe conduct to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for Sir
William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free access into his Highnes
dominions next vnto Turkey) by good means he obtained fauour of one Acmet: Chaus the Turks
ambassador then in Poland, and ready to returne to Constantinople, to bee receiued into
his companie and carouan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said
Acmet from Leopols in Poland, and traueilling through Moldavia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and
Romania, gratifying the Voiaodes with certaine courtesies, he arrived at Constantinople the
23 of October next ensuing. Where he behaued himselfe so wisely and discretely, that within
few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuilege for him-
selfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly
letters vnto her Maiestie in manner following.

The first vnto
age of Sir Wil-
liam Harborne
to Constantino-
ple.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse
of Zulfan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Maiestie of Elizabeth
Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, con-
teyning the grant of the first priuileges.



In greatnes and glory most renowned Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and
noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Iesus, most wise gouernor
of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most
pleasane raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie a heire
of the perpetuall happinesse & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom
all loyes seeke vnto and submit themselves) we with most prosperous suc-
cesse and happy ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you such pleasures
and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best becom-
meth vs) our former salutations.

In most friendly manner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in
the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending vnto vs from you all kindnesse,
curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse
would vouchsafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto two other marchantes of your king-
dome, to resorte hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to
trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to
take their returne.

These two
were Sir Ed-
ward Osborne
and Sir Richard
Staper.

Our sacred Court and Countrey hath bene euer open for the accesse both of our enemies and
friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth abound with
good will, humanitie, & all kind of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same
our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiecs, as by way of merchandize shall trade hi-
ther: and we will neuer faile to aide & succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of
our friendship, fauour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to graunt them by all
good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to vnderstand that your most
excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore haue sent out our Impe-
riall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauelers by sea, to all our Captaynes and vo-
catorie seafaring men, all conuened persons, and officers of portes and customes, straightly
charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resorte hither by sea from the

Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our Imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our military and conferrers, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the King of Germany, sundry others our neighbours about vs, have libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Maiestie Kingdome shall haue safe conduct and leaue to repaiee hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their owne Countrey: straightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Maiestie, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanity and friendship towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nourish by all good means this kinde and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subjects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your humanity, good will, and friendship towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the doie thereof vnto vs.

Given at our cite of Constantinople the sixteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our holy Prophet Mahomet 1087.

The answere of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.



ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnicū celi terrarū: Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idolatrias inuictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, inuictissimoque principi Sulean Murad Can, Turci regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperijq; orientis Monarchæ supra omnes soli & supremo, salutē, & multos cum rerum optimarū affluentia felices, & fortunatos annos. Augustissime & inuictissime Cæsar, accepimus inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quā benigne quāq; clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilhelmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ ciuitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ promotionis pro se & socijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditioneq; Imperio vestro subiectas tam per mare quā per terras, indeq; reuersionis veniē potestatiq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id solum, sed quā mira cum facultate, dignaq; augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei socijsq; suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, solum opinione, quā de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratē tamq; beneuolē accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proq; ea quā nobis insecutur maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auspicijs regnauimus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorretes ob ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, viliā nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaq; animum nostrum in præsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emetitur, benē sentiēdo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficij huius in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriā sempiternā: longē vberioiem, & ampliorē gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora inciderent vt posuimus, & a nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eandem ipsorum precibus, sine vlla intercessione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquē libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditioneq; Imperio vestro subiectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quā per terras eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis cōcedatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita vnquam aut do-

The letters etc
of the Emperor
of Germany,
to the King
of Germany.

The Turke be-
maneth like
pauitudo for
his subiects in
the Christian
dominions.

With vs the
yeere 1579.

nata fuit, celsitudinis terminis duorum aut propagataque, celsitudinis parebūt. & ad plures diuī vestræ minis per nos principū ditionem quæ eis carere quædam memet gaudeat. Celsitudinis vestræ subditis prefectione: onus minus accedet præterea quæ unexercendarum libertas gratia accedere. quā est vlla a consecratorum, Gallorum quā tempore concepit vestra celsitudo digna nē habitura sit quod a subditos nostros quosq; tutos & securos reddat Deus opt. max. in regnum vt principum animi bificium contrahendam, bus carere nequeunt) nō fluere tamque cum ui faciat. Facit præterea beneuolentiæ signum, qui captiui trirēni celsitudinem vestram pium se gerendo in suos donat, nobis pro sua fide dms in nos humanitate acerrimus idololatriæ vna, præcibimur, vt vestrum fortunet, quæ solam Dux ē Regia nostra si Octobris, Anno Iesu

ELiberty by the grace of England, France and Christian faith against all the Name of Christ Can, the most mightie & Donat of the East En of the best thing.

Post Imperiall and magnificence to write to us for we understand how graciously a subject of ours, the for the obtaining of a to also, to come with me to your government, were accepted of your most diuine (Ipeo and worthy to to him, and his companion of us and our am humbly, and in to good

nata fuit, celsitudinem vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniuersos subditos nostros diffusa, propagataque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò eiusdem donatio latius patebit. & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celsitudinis vestræ minus penitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & alioquin eis carere queat, proptereaq; longissimis, difficillimiq; iunibus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Carius autem ditrahunt alijs, quo ex labore suo quisq; victum & quæstum celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras protectione: onus minuetur, protectionis quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscitur, par, æquaque mercatorum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiæ; nostra mercaturam gratia accedere. Quam celsitudinis vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latæque patentem fore, quam est vlla à confederatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis vllò vñ vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciétque vt acceptis nostris literis intelligissimâ Cæsarea nē habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstitaque securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscunque ad dominiâ suâ, terra, marique proficiscentes, indèq; reuertentes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcunque subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiæ; nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium vt principum animos pellicant ad amicitiam, summeq; necessitudinis coniunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendamque quo liberius tantis summi Dei beneficij fruamur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiæ; celsitudinis vestræ aduehant tam affluenter tamque cumulate, vt vtrique incommodo prædicto necessitatis & oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit præterea singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentemque nostram summæ beneuolentiæ significatio ac fides, vt eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captiui irremissibilibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemusque, vt quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, siue arma in eam ferendo, siue iniquis præter fas & ius gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, & liberate donati, nobis pro sua fide & obsequio inservientes, causam vberiore præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandis & Deum illum, qui solus, & supra omnia & omnes est æcerimus idololatriæ vindicator, siueque honoris nostri contra Gentium & aliorum falsos Deos Zelo- rum fortunet, quæ sola & summè iure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri vicesimo primo.

The same in English.

Elished by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creator of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible & most mightie defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Christians, and fully profess the Name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and aboue all, and most souereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate peeres, with abundance of the best things,

Most Imperiall and most inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highnesse written to vs from Constantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, where- by we vnderstand how gratiouly, and how fauorably the humble petitions of one William Harborne a subiect of ours, resident in the Imperiall citie of your highnesse presented vnto your highnesse for the obtaining of ascelle for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subiects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreys and territories subiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinary speed and wofely your Imperiall grace, that which was craved by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that opinion which your highnesse receiued of vs and our amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subiects, wee take so thankfully, and in so good part (receiving for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) thence

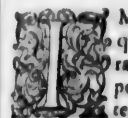
We will neuer geue occasion to your highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our fautes will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed vpon an vngreatfull person. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in vs the goodnesse of nature, that wee reiect and abhorre the least suspicion of ingratitude, and hath taught vs to suffer our fautes to bee overmatched with the good demerits of other Princes, and therefore at this time wee doe extend our good will vnto your highnesse, by well concealing, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an euertlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subjects, meaning to veebe a much more large and plentiful satisfaction of our thankfulness, when time convenient shall fall out, and the same that wee looke for at our hands.

But whereas that graunte which was giuen to a fewe of our Subjects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of coming and going to and from all the lands and kingdomes subiect to your Maiestie, both by land & sea with marchantes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subjects of the king of the Romanes, wee desired your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtisie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be enlarged to the moze notable, by reason of the granneting of the Comite your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the moze notable, by reason of the granneting of the Comite a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefice your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the moze fit and necessary for the vse of manerly commodities are, where with our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult traucts: and when they haue them, they sell them much cheaper to others, because euery man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profite, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subjects of your highnesse by this free access of a fewe of our subjects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden will be eased, by the permission of generall access to all our people. And furthermoze we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subjects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shall be as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subjects by the aforesaide princes your confederates, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter if your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it will be granted, with sufficient security for our subjects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other side will giue order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are bounden to enter, and continue leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enioy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no safe want) our subjects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the scarcities and necessities of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Whereouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subjects, who are detained as slaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that so far as much as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselves contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towards vs, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much moze abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is about all things, and all men, and is a most true reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adoe your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those grifts, which may and deservedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the five and twentieth day of October, in the reere of Iesus Christ our Sauour one thousand, five hundred, sixe, seuen, and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter
of the g
ied in Tur



nos prouinciarum
Muzulmanicu
lem, Aegypti ferri
Patria Zerub &
phica Arabia, Eu
ran Mari albi & n
dentis, sele & Aff
lum per mulcorum
Zelian Can, qui fuit
med Can, &c.

Nos princeps po
nos manifestamus,
zabetha in Christian
nostram excellam, &
di est refugium & re
muelhas significauit
excellam, & suam
nostram diuones me
quod in locis & hosp
locum, mandatum C
nobis sine maiestatis
quomodo modum cum
nos erga nostram
rm, Veneti, & rex Po
cum praefata Regina
mines, & vniuersi me
ad nostram ditiones Ca
ant in suis statibus, & s
ex hominibus suis aliq
terentur prebat, & qui
Caesares super sanctus
mandum Caesares v
beneuolentiam & grat
principium tulticij ple
pri, & Kazije, id est, iud
no firmiter mandam
tricalique (vt conueni
sea fimo 17)

- 1 Vt praefata Regi
allectibus per mare in
reconibus, securis & pa
ne & sine aliquo impe
2 Item, si praefati ho
perentur, sine aliquo
3 Item, si naues eor
one, & sine impedimen
4 Item, si in tempe
nos praefata Caesares
villium & opem ferant

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

Inmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilissimisque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabilis clementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & purissime celsitudinis tremendissimi; vniuersitatum creatoris, principum potentibus sceptris diuindere potens, clementie, gratiaque diuine vmbra, regnotur Muzulmanicus, Mecha, id est domus diuina, Medina, gloriosissima & beatissima Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissima, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami pacifera & Hebes, Iabza & Paza Zerubab & Halepia, Caramania & Diabekiruan & Dulkauria, Babylonia, & totus trian Maris albi & nigri, Gracia & Mesopotamia, Africa & Coletia, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, scilicet singulaque Europa, Buda, & Temeswar, & regnorum transalpinorum, & his similia per mulcorum princeps Cesarue sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis med Can, qui fuit Zoleman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezad Can, qui fuit Mehe-

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostrae Caesaris amicitiae significamus manifestamus, quod in temporibus modernis Regina Angliae, Franciae & Hiberniae Elisabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit foelicitissimus) ad nosram excellam, & iustitiam plenam, fulgidissimamque portam, quae omnibus principibus munetibus significat, quod tempore praeterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venientes, & redire voluerunt, venia & potestas illis quoque ad quod in locis & hospitij eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cesarum si illis daretur quod hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus sua maiestatis demonstrare, vnde illi suis subditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, ob id erga nostram portam excellam, & principibus confederatis (ut sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & ceteri) pacem & foedus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam minime, & vniuersi mercatores, sine aliquo impedimento eum suis mercibus & oneribus conuenientibus nostras ditiones Caesaris pacifice & secure veniant, & suam exercant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, & secundum suos mores negociantur. Et adhuc, sua maiestas significabat terrore prebat, & quod sicut alij principibus nobiscum confederatis priuilegia & mandata Caesaris super foedus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic praefata quoque Reginae priuilegium & beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optatae suae maiestatis apud nos grata fuere: hi hoc nostrum priuilegium iustitiam plenam dedimus maiestati suae: Et Beglerbegis, Zanaiaebegis famula nominis, & Kazija, id est, iudicibus, & omnibus telonariis omnium locorum, portuum, & vadiorum similiter mandamus, ut donec ex parte praefatae reginae foedus, & pax, & eorum conditiones, & cunctaeque (ut conuenit) custodiuntur & seruantur, nostrae quoque Caesaris celsitudinis mandata serventur.

Foedus Turcic
Imperatoris cum
Regina nostra.

Articuli huius
priuilegij.

1. Vt praefatae Reginae homines, & subditi eius quibuscumque rebus & mercibus, oneribus & suppellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & securis, secure & pacifice ad nostras ditiones Caesaris veniant, & nemo illis nocere, sed foedus & sine aliquo impedimento negociantur, & in suis statibus & conditionibus permaneant.
2. Item, si praefati homines & mercatores in suis rebus vijs & negotiationibus aliquo modo impediuntur, sine aliquo tergiversatione dimittantur liberique.
3. Item, si naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacifice cum in remeant, & sine impedimento veniant, & discedant in sua loca.
4. Item, si in tempestatibus maris naues eorum essent in periculo & auxilio opus esset illis, nosrae Caesaris celsitudinis, earumque homines, & aliorum naues hominesque statim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emanent.

6 Item, si infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi & iudices, & ceteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum que remanserint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si prefata regina homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, siue per terram, siue per mare mercandi gratia ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vestigali reddito, pacifice vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, & rebus eorum, pecoribusque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut pro alieno esset obstrictus, inueniri que non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fideiussor capiat, aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, & sua bona cuiusque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuiusque sociorum mortui hominis ducere debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiussionibus & rebus aliquid negotij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, & in librum inscribi faciant negotium, & si voluerint, literas quoque accipiant a iudice, propterea quod si aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & secundum tenorem eorum perficiantur negotia eorum suspecta: si autem neque in librum inscriberentur, neque literas haberent, iudex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundum iustitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis diceret, quod isti Christiani nostrae fidei Muzulmanice maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecterint, in hoc negotio etiam & alij, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquid facinus pararet, & fugiens non possit inueniri, nullus nisi esset fideiussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquid mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & consul eorum peteret illud, examine dignenter mancipium, & si inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiat, & reddatur Angli.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habendi aut mercandi gratia, siue sit vxoratus, siue sit sine vxore, non soluat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunia, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in alijs omnibus locis, ubicunque voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorum consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpretes in arduis negotijs occupatus abesset, donec veniret interpret, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, ut secundum mores eorum finiatur litis.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum huius privilegij, piratae, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundum iustitiam examinetur: & si Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, a quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostrae Caesaris Celsitudinis naues armatae exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inueniant naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amice tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quomodo modum Gallie, Veneris, & ceteris nobiscum confederatis rebus, & principibus privilegium, & articulos privilegij dedimus, & concessimus, simili modo his quoque Anglis privilegium & articulos privilegij dedimus & concessimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc privilegium, nemo unquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naues magnae, & paruae in itinere & loco ubi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potius auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones & fures vi rapere aut naues illorum, nauiumque merces, magna diligentia querantur latrones & fures, & fuerint puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Begi, Begij, & Zanzibar begi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes serui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatore, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes isti prefati, secundum tenorem huius privilegij, tenoremque articulorum eius, optima fide teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in privilegio descriptum fuerit, & per illius Maiestatis ex parte sanctae seruabitur, & custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Caesaris custodiri, & obseruari mandamus.

Datum constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetae Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Iulij anno autem Iesu 1580.

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Turkie privileges. Traffiques and Discoueries.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the most mightie and Musulmanlike Emperour *Zuldan Murad Can*, granted at the request of *Elizabeth* by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and only Creator of heauen and earth, the said Princes and their subiects.



V Most sacred Musulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the everlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the unspeakable helpe feared with all pureness of minde, and reuerence of speech, The prince of these times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to give scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the distributor of many kingdoms, provinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Meccas, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Ierusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Paza, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

The most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable chy seruant William Hareborne vnto our statelie and most magnificent Poych replenished with isthe signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subiects had repaired to our said statelie herne might also be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperiall commandement might be given, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas they requested that we would graunt to all her subiects in generall, this our fauour, which before we had extended onely to a few of her people: therefore as we haue entered into amitie, and most holy league of friendship with our statelie Poych (as namely the French king, the Venecians, the king of Poland Queene). Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchantes, peaceable and safely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any imposition, to exercise their traffique, to vske their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her saidtie signifie vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee released heretofore, and that as we had graunted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuileges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inuolable league with them, so it would please our Imperiall Majesty to graunt and confirme the like priuileges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Therefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingratitude to distinction, the request of her saidtie were accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her saidtie this priuilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly commaund all our Beglerbegs, and Zaziebegs our seruants, and our Reyz, that is to say, our Judges, and all our customers in all places, houses and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obserued on the behalfs of the aforesaid Queene, Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subiects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to vs, in greeves and final vessels, and by land with their carriages and catteris, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and obserue the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any tyme in the course of their iourneys and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be deliuered and enlarged, without any excuse or caualtion.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arriue in any of our portes and hauens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall be in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaunde that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtye their shippes shall bee dyuyn or shoure in perill of shipwacke, our Begs and Iudges, and other our Subiects shall succour them, and such waies, and goods of theirs as shall bee recovered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesaid Quene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trique sake, either by lands or by sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall haue quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and Shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall richer in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absente himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soeuer by the same he shall giue his goods, the partie shall haue them accordingly, and if hee bee intestate, hee to whom the Consull or gouernour of the Societe shall say the goods of the deaw are to be giuen, hee shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let them go to the Iudge, and cause the matter to be entered into a booke, and if they will, let them also take letters of the Iudge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entered in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he shall admit no false witness, but shall excuse the Law according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians haue spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witness be in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and dying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his surety.

13 Item, if any slave shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slave be diligently examined, and if hee be found in need to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwelt or trade, whether hee be married or unmarried, he shall pay no posse or bread money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in the west, the port townes of Egypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choosethemselues Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any tyme, and in the choice of the fourest suitable place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restrainge them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any tyme absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let charging then in question bee stayed and deferred till his coming, and in the meane tyme no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them see the iustice, that the controuersie begonne may be finished according to their owne custome.

18 Item, if after the time and waies of their privilege, any shippes or other free gouernours of ships coming the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make law of him, either by force or by wrong, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to iustice, and if the parties shalbe found to be English, and shall excuse the help religion, then shall they freely be discharged, but if he will still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall

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19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall use them friendly, and doe them no wrong, even as wee have given and granted articles, and p^{ro}visions the like to the English: and contray to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man pre-

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyege, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theues and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

22 Last of all the Begleibegs, and Zanziabegs, our Capetaines, our Slaves and seruants of Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, shall be bound to doe according to holy peace, expressed in this priuilege, we also for our Imperiall part, do charge and command the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Given at Constantinople, in the 988. yere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the month of Iune, And in the yere of 1580.

Her Maiesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Raiscliffe, committed in the Levant.



Lizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophane of his most holy Maie the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and Emperious Caesar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Honorable chiefe aboue all others whosoever, most fortunate petres with the successe of all true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the loue and assistance to be had by al good vertues and meanes we seeke to be confirmed: through the default of our Subjects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspicion: although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misadventure be abused, where the doings of the Subjects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But such matters of importance and so well approued we may not omit: such is to vs the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare as well in the fulfilling of our promises and agreements, as in the faithful performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most inuious and grievous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderstanding, that should be done vnto certaine of your Subjects by certaine of our Subjects, as yet not apprehended: but with all seueritie vpon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the wrong in it selfe is most wicked, so is the manner thereof intolerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our asseurance, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully given vnto your Imperiall Maie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred to wardes so wicked and ill disposed persons, we might not onely most iustly be repposed in the iudgement of all such truly fauour. Justice, but also of all princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be concerned. It was therefore considered, which of our partes is ordained in this cause which may to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Maie, that though the default and disorder of a sort of euill and wicked disposed persons, you should not withhold your gracious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the traffique of our Subjects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade in your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be persecuted in their trading by land or by water, promising vnto your highnesse most faithfully, that the goods of your Subjects by great wrong and violence haue bene spoiled, shall wholly againe be restored, if either by the liues or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that

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that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue speciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

Neither they which haue committed these euill parts had any power vnder your highnesse licence graunted vnto our Subjects, but from some other safeconduct, whether it were true or faigned, we knowe not, or whether they boughte it of any person within the gouernment of Mariage, but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the truer of our dealing doeth vnto your honore. Notwithstanding howsoeuer it be, wee will surely measure their euill proceedings with most sharpe and iust correction, and that I shall repens them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shall be an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this unfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the singular affection of our Subjects towards your Imperiall Maiestie, both, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserved and defended, we therunto do make our humble suite vnto your greatnesse: And so for great goodnesse towards vs and our people graunted, doe most humbly pray vnto the Almighty creatour of heauen and earth, euer to continue and keepe your most renowned Maiestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenwich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maieftie to Sr

Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subjects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obedience, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whom these our letters shall be serued, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subjects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde Citie Merchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauides, and caused trauides to be taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandise and traffique into the Lands, Islands, regions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man now liuing knowne to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of Marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subjects of vs, or our progenitors; and also hence by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedom, for trade and traffique of Marchandise to be vsed, and continued by our Subjects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelihood both that many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in that parte of necessitie vnder the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or Subjects, and also good and profitabill use and vnterface may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefits to the advancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the encouragement of our Subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of the Common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowlege and incere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie, and welbeloued Subjects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executors and administrators of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons English men borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be partners, aduenturers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their Societie by themselves, their seruants, or agents or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patentes: shall and may during the terme of seven yeeres from the date of these presents freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition as of intents and purposes as shall be betweene them limited and agreed, and not otherwise, vnto our any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, Statute, Usage, custom, or right

Turkie patents

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And that it shall be lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be partners and adventurers with them the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelve (as aforesaid) to traffique and use the said trade & seate of merchandise according to our said grant, and that all and every such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to be appointed or admitted as partners in the said trade or traffique according to these our letters patents, shall and of the said trade and traffique, during the residue of the said terme of seven yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaid, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, servants, factors, adventurers in the said trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or business of the said trade in any place or places for the same convenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordaine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good government of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in use, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall scter footman and provider by these patents, that the said Edward Osborne shall be gouernour of all such as by virtue of these our letters patents, shall be partners, adventurers, or traffiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seven yeeres, if hee so long live: And that if the said Edward shall happen to decease during the said terme, the said Richard Scaper then liuing, then the said Richard Scaper shall likewise be gouernour during the residue of the said terme (if hee so long live) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or adventurers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessity shall require, choose and elect a gouernour of the said Company.

And provided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or vident occasion to remooue or displace any person that shall be gouernour of the said fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for us, our heires and successours, to remooue, and displace euery such gouernour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should haue enjoyed the same, according to this our graunte, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for us, our heires, and successours, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, doe graunte to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Scaper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall be done to be of force or validity touching the said trade or traffique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall be Gouernour as aforesaid is said. And after that time without the consent of the Gouernour for the time being, and the moze part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our moze ample and abundant grace, merite motion and certaine knowledge, doe graunte, and by these patents for us, our heires and successours, doe graunte to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the said persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as aforesaid is said, either, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successours from time to time during the said terme shall nominate, shall haue the whole trade and traffique, and the whole entire onely sole, vse and priuilege of trading, and traffiquing, and using seate of merchandise, into, and from our dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them, And when there shall be no such person so nominated or appointed by us, our heires or successours, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Scaper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, such persons by them so to be appointed, shall haue the said whole trade and traffique, and the sole enterie, and vntier libertie, vse, and priuilege of trading and traffiquing aforesaid. And that if the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors or administrators, and any such as shall be nominated or appointed to be partners or adventurers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is aforesaid, and euery of them, their seruantes, factors and deputies, haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and traffique into and

summe of 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or ships be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the sayde trade or traffique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or be spoiled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaid to be of their sayde trade or Company, shall give notice unto the Lorde Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or ships as they shall set forth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or ships, by the space of fiftene dayes before the setting or going forth of the same ship or ships. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the said Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the request of us, our heires and successors, or some other, our or their principall officers of the Admiraltie, to take a view of the number and quantite of such Ordnance, powder, and munition, as shall be carried in the said ship, or ships, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or ships, suffer a view to be taken, and upon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordnance, of the expenses, and waxes of the said Ordnance, powder, and munition, so to bee carried in the same ship, or ships.

Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their seruantes, factors, or sailors, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage upon the seas, and that, if the said Company or Societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice given to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailors, in the said ships, or shall not do their endeour to the uttermost of their reasonable power, to haue the parties so offended punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thenceforth, these present letters patents shall be utterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thenceforth, upon, and after our full peeres warning, to be given unto the said Company, or to the Gouverneur thereof, by us, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, conclusions, and purposes.

Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorize two persons, bring six men, to be of the same company, and for want of lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to be nominated, or authorized, shall be contributours to all charges of the said trade & adventure indifferently, according to their stocks: and as other aduenturers of the said trade & adventure indifferently, according to their stocks: and so that likewise they doe observe the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our grant, and that such persons so to be appointed by us, our heires or successors, shall, and may, with the said Company, and without, use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaid, and all the liberties and privileges therein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended, and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant unto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seven yeeres, it shall seeme meete, to committ unto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall seeme unto us, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, so to be made to us, our heires, or successors, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuer of them, and to such other persons, as so shall be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, under the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like covenantes, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these in some part, for

and during the full terme of seven yeres then next following. Killing, and straightly commencing, and charging all and singular our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Iustices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Escheaters, Constables, Balliues, and all and singular our other officers, ministers, liue men, and subiects whatsoever, to be aiding, sauiouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Countenour, and company, and their successours, and to their Deputies, officers, seruants, assignes, and ministers, and every of them, in executing, and enioying the premises, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any Statute, act, ordinance, p'poule, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, or vained, or p'poules, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witness whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yere of our reigne.

The first voyage or iourney, made by Master Lawrence Aldersey,
Marchant of London, to the Cities of *Ierusalem*, and *Tripolis*, &c. In the
yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

Al departed from London the first day of April, in the yere of our Lord 1581, sailing through the Nether-land and by the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And upon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Master Ienise, and Master Casler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demand. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then took me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to eare there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the State-house, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that euer I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, crimmed with twie both above and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooues: also there were two pigeon houses adjoining to them, hauing in them stoe of Turtle dooues, and pigeons. In the same garden also were firs of French fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seven or eight fine fountains, of sweet springes, of diuers fashions: as for fruites, there wanted none of all sorts, as Apples, figges, pears, wallowes, grapes, bestes apples, peares, filbirds, small nuts, and such other fruites, as we haue in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and device hath the water brought up as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange deuises of all, it passeth my capacite. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hooie, where are bushes for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for viuers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broad, and deepe ditch, vpon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as euer I sawe any pond in my life: no it is reserved only for the Statues of the Citie. And vpon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all green, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the Statues to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and haue their courses with greyhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The first of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Wednesday, the thirtieth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the heighe of the mountains that I passed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is so well knowne already to the world: the highest of them is marvellous, and I was the space of fixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted fouretene daies, wherein I sawe many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too soone for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seventh or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, whose shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, (using thierie) or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of great shon, in which was shewed the place and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth millions of pounds, but I do not account it worth halfe a quarter of that money, except they be more then I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copers, and Ornaments of the Church, I leaue, but the truth is, they be very sumptuous, many of them set all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Iesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

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The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Iewes Synagogue. They all, and their offspring vse to weare red caps, (so) so they are commaunded) because they may there be knowne from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Synagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their seruice of prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the true bookes of Moses, and honour them by carping them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white laine ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any manner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to be commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Signiory: there is one chosen that euer beareth the name of a duke, but in truth hee is but seruant to the Signiory, for of himselfe hee can doe little: it is no other wise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse vpon a festiual day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I can not pleasure you, other wise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Signiory, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Signiory, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, presently. Of the Signiory there be about thre hundred, and about fourtie of the priue Council of Venice, who usually are arrayed in gownes of crimsen Watten, or crimsen Damask, when they sit in Councell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Signiory, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not so that without licence.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Curry Shoemakers or Capes wifes will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vpper traine, wearing their shoes very nere vnto a pado high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the face that he goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Whitsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of June, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a thiptwoy all night, and we were made beleue from time to time, that we shoulde this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde wee set sayle, and sailed that day and that night, not about fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceived it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to looke hie of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dumps, God sent vs a merrey gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in fixe dayes after we were seven leagues past Zante. And vpon Sunday morning, being the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts, and stormes, vntill the eight and twentieth of the same moneth: in which time, the Partners cried out vpon me, because I was an Englishman, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middelt of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truly it may well be, for my selfe, and then vsd your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demanded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, that you said in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indero

The number of Iewes in Venice.

The receipt of the women of Venice.

His embarkment for Ierusalem.

all good Christians, for there are in the ship some that hold very unchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Maria*, as they did: I tolde them, that they that praised so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Iesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wiong way to worke, and robbe God of his honour, and wraught their owne destructions.

All this was tolde the friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at evening proper, they sent the porter about with the image of our Lady to euery one to kisse, & I perceiving it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euery one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare mee better good will then the rest, and counselled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The next day the eight of August we arrived in Cyprus, at a towne called *Missagh*: the people there be very rude and idle beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting upon the ground, with three legges a cross like talloz, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them have some mattresses to lie vpon.

Upon Thursday the eight of August we came to *Ioppa* in a small barke, which we hired betwixt *Missagh* and *Salina*, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great *Basha*, who late vpon the top of a hill to see vs sent away. When we came on land, we might see many houses for victuals, but were to content our selves with our owne provision, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a pair of stirrups, which I bought at Venice to serue me in my Iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the *Basha* saw me vpon the rell of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the *Basha*, and made a long legges, saying, *Grand merci Signior*: and after a while we were hoysed vpon little asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wilderness, called *Deserta foelix*, who made vs good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

That day being *S. Laurence* day, we came to *Rama*, which is tenne Italian miles from *Ioppa*, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the capitaine of the castle, euery man a chekin, which is seven shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of soldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at *Rama* had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, within it are three roomes for longe travellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the provision, without stools or benches to sit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as herbes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomegranates, figges, grapes, oranges, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to have gone away, but we could not be permitted that: so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of soldiers we departed toward *Ierusalem*. We had not ridde fise English miles, but we were encountered with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed vs, and would not suffer vs to passe till they had somewhat, so to toll vs for about our gard about twentie shillings a man betwixt *Ioppa* and *Ierusalem*. These Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our Turkishman that payed the money for vs was striken downe, and had his head broken because he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that should haue rescued both him and vs, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

Being come within sight of *Ierusalem*, the manner is to kneele downe, and giue God thanks, that it hath pleased him to bring vs to that holy place: where he himselfe had bene: and there we leave our horses, and go on foot to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they call our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The governor of the towne met vs a mile out of the towne, and very courteously haue vs all welcome, and brought vs to the castle. The gates of the citie are all covered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: where we lay, & victualled for our selfe, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chamber cleane, & all

Cyprus,
Midagha.

Ioppa.

The Basha
of Ioppa.

Rama.

Troops of
the Turkish Ara-
bians.

His arrival
in the sight of
Ierusalem.

Laur. Aldersey.

the meat well serued.

We lay at the most
two or three of the fr.

The mountaine is
in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of

The place where
tame of stone.

Being come to Be
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the virgin Mary was b
There is also the pi

of Ierusalem. But the
The mount of Calu

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that are appointed to r

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against the church doo

marble over it, and rap
man escapes his name a

Which the sepulch
they lay malle, and at

Marie, He is risen, whic
The stone which

persons, right ouer the
on art in England in an

cherof is a canopy as i
collets of stike and lamp

Before the sepulch
From the right hand c

me: and in the st
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place where Christ was
the high altar in the p

and the depth of it is
fence in the creuis, where

Upon the other side of
his sonne. Where al

There is also the house
when he was whisp

which is but the roome of
Without Ierusalem in

Pauls, where the sepulch
being downe are two sepul

ochien and Anna, the sa
Going out of the valley

where he laye his death: and

the meat well served in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monastierie two dayes, Friday and Saturday, and then we went to Iherusalem with two of the freres of the house with vs: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as: The mountaine where the Angellooke by Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountain of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was bozne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marbie, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Ierome, and of Eusebius.

Also a litle from this monastierie is a place under the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ierusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monastierie. In the mid way from the monastierie to Ierusalem is the place where Iohn Baptist was bozne, being now an olde monastierie, and castell kept in it. Also a mile from Ierusalem is a place called Iouentio sancte crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Ierusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sat in iudgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the house where the virgine Mary was bozne.

There is also the piscina of Asaph where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the walls of Ierusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluarie is a great church, and within the dooze thereof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and has great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doozes in London, they say that are appointed to receive our money with a carpet under them upon a banke of stone, & their legs a crosse like tailors: having put our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church dooze is the graue where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marbie over it, and rapled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that every man scrapes his name and marke vpon it, and so it is kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the dooze thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sat when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rolled to the dooze of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marbie, the place able to contene but foure persons, right ouer the sepulchre is a deuise of lantern for light, and ouer that a great tower, such as men in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the midst thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Chiridge egges hanging at it, with cables of silke and lampes.

Before the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Then the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwin king of France, and of Helene: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go up to the place where Christ was crucified: the staires are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: being the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is crummed about with silver, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the crosse, wherein a man may put his arme.

Upon the other side of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue sacrificed his sonne. There also is a chappell, and the place paved with stones of sundry colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Olive tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphaz, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the dooze.

Without Ierusalem in the valley of Iosaphaz is a church vnder the ground, like to the Sepulchres of Paul, where the sepulchre of the virgine Mary is: the staires are very broad, and upon the staires being holene are two sepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Iosaphaz, and vpon the right hand lieth Iachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgine Mary.

Going out of the valley of Iosaphaz we came to mount Oliuet, where Christ prayed vnto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from

The monastierie in and about Ierusalem

S. Helen the pen.

the eyes of Christ. A little higher upon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.
Upon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept over Ierusalem, and where he ascended into heauen.

This departure
from Ierusalem
was.

Now hauing seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Ierusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Ioppa the 22 of the same month, where we tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the shipps lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The cite of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine dayes for passage, and at last we imbarke our selues in a good ship of Venice called the new Naue Ragafona. We entered the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seventh we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recovered againe, I praise God.

Salina.

Salina is a ruined cite, and was destroyed by the Turke ten peeres past: there are in it now but seauenteene persons, women and children. A little from this cite of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth upon it.

Mislagh a towne
in Cyprus.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Mislagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Mislagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anchor, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to booke us, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our capitaine would not suffer any of them to come in to vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at head, whereupon our capitaine sent the boat to them with twelve men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maisters: so then the maisters came to us, sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needs speake with our capitaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very bzane apparell, and five or sixe other gentlemen richly apparellled also. They hauing the Turke safe conduct, they led it to the capitaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much abode, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as afore said, we came to Mislagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

Candie.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a steruile arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our capitaines passport, and the gift of 100 shekings discharged all.

Zante.

Zante.

The 17 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the thirti of November we arrived at Ithia, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boats to Iying to Venice.

The 9 of November I arrived again at Venice in good health, where I staid nine dayes, and the 25 of the same month I came to Augusta, and staid there but one day.

The 27 of November I set towards Nuremberg, where I came the 29, and there Raicord the 9 of December, and was very well intertained of the English marchants there: and the puerboys of the towne sent me and my company sixteen gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnem, from Arnem to Vreight, from Vreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arrived upon Twelue cue in Iulie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finished my journey to Ierusalem and home againe, in the space of nine monthes and five dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the Englishmen in the barke *Raynolds.* 1582.



Reue Hugo de Loubeu Verdala, Dei gratia sacre domus hospitalis sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis, pauperumq; Iesu Christi cultor, vniuersis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicecomitibus, praefectis, castellanis, admiralibus, & quibuscunq; titulum vel aliorum nobilitatium patronis, ac clauitatum rectoribus, possessoribus ac magistratibus, ceterisque

ceterisque officialibus fuerint, vbi

Notum facimus

nostro galere veniens

de Christianis que ha-

puente trouarons v-

patrons, volendo la r-

tendo che detto nostro

detti magnifico Gi-

galere, & che non se-

nami Reale & Don-

cendo l'ordine del ven-

dus quella per conto

Ala fin fu licenziata

co Giovanni Reale &

chardo Staper mora b-

pisti, uocheri, & mar-

rimo andare & rima-

fi come noi, offendo co-

loro de le presenti fo g-

Che ogni volta che

contra bando & che co-

uoluntario fo de intro-

& seguire suo viaggio

de France & altri ma-

tem che potera porre

ne in rame, stegno, ac-

ferro calibro, petre de

baumla uisto che loro

che sua sanclita habbia

ornata Turkesca & d-

che hauera de andare &

porti di ponente & in al-

suora nostra, accio pos-

detta mano o con alire, a

uonno pregamo che per

& David Filly a nome q-

gare, passare, & remire

& facciano lasciare stare

conseruazione nostra il

mercantia non habbi diff-

degnadi voi, giustia, &

dall'occasione ne faranno

& frati de nostra religio-

procuratori nostri in tutti

derania, & a tutti nostri ex-

tegnano & repouino il de-

tra, senza permissio, che

manera impedita, anzi cu-

la causa rei testimonium

da in commenta nostro die

Reue Hugo de Loube

& S. John at Ierusalem,

ectle siatical & secular, re-

Biolo, Castellanes, An-

and gouernors of cities, p

exterique officialibus, & quibuscunque personis cuiusvis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis fuerint, vbi libet locorum & terrarum constitutis, saluem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamus, come nel mese di Maggio proximo passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, dove hauendo mandato per soccorrere a un galionetto de Christiani che hanea dato tranverso in quelle parti, essendo arrivati sopra quella isola alla parte de ponente trouarono una nave Inglese, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & Daniel Filly patrono, volendo la riconoscere che nuno fosse, non visto, che se mettona in ordine per defenderli, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che vn uiminaro rinolose contra la volunta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Daniel Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, & che non se amangnana la vela de la Maestra secondo la volunta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Daniel Filly patrono, fu rimessa a detta nave nel presente general porto di Malta, seduta quella per conto del sancto officio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiiij. Alia sua licentia per andar loro al suo viaggio. Han donq, humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Daniel Filly per nome & parte detti magnifico Edoardo Oslon senatore & Rileto, nocchieri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & saluo condutto, accio che potessero andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodum con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro beniuista: come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che resturnera a commodum a nostra religione & a questi terrestri, per tanto de la presente se gli habbiamo concessi con le conditioni pero infra scritte. videlicet:

Ch'ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta nave o con altra non porteranno mercantia de contrabando, che consista per fede autentica & con lettere patente de sancta pateran liberamente, & conualidato da tutte le vicinariae necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & domini, & poi partirsi, & seguire suo viaggio per doue volessero in lenante o altrove, come tutti altri vasselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di veruero & comparo qual si voglia mercantia a loro beniuista.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuzo, salnitro, carboni di pietra, resina, platina de rame, stagno, acciaio ferro, carissimo commune, & tela grossa bianca per far tende de galera, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & aucune de galere, bastardi & altri. Et in conclusione, haueua visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua sanctita habbia trouato bono il saluo condutto del gran Turco a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vasselli de inimici, inuolando alla volunta di sua sanctita, & massime per che haueua de andare & passare per diuersi loci & tanto lontani come Inghilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altrove, a noi ha parso farlo le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conuincione nostra, accio piu sicuramente & senza obliuio possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta nave o con altre, a loro beniuista. Per tanto dunque tutti & ciaschi di voi sudetti asselmosi, & per qual si voglia de vostra iurisdictione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouanni Keale & Daniel Filly a nome suo supra con la nave & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschiera nauigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, senza alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, saluamente che per amore & conuincione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome suo supra con le nave, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta fastidio & retentione alcuna, pena se gli dia ogni aiuto & favore, cosa degni di voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima, de recompensarla con uguale & maggior seruitio, quando dall'occasione ne faremo reuocisti. Et finalmente comandammo a tutti & qual si voglia religiofi & fidi de nostra religione di qual si voglia conditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti ricorsi & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priuati nostri deputati & deputandi in vno di sancta obedientia, & a tutti nostri vasselli & alla giurisdictione di nostra religione soggetti, che in tale & per tale termine & repaiano il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome suo supra, nave, marinari, & mercantia, senza permettere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia maniera impedito, anzi in tutte le cose sue & negotij loro siano da voi agiutati & continuamente favoriti. In cuius rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra a presentibus est impressa. Data Melitae in conuentu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Iulij, 1582.

The same in English.

Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospitall of S. John at Ierusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Iesus Christ, to all & euery prince ecclesiastical & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Captaines, Viceroys, Counts, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoever patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and persons whatsoever,

of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and lanes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driven ouer into that part, being arrived upon this Island on the West part they found one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and David Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and David Fillie master, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her saile, according to the will of the saide worshipfull Iohn Keele and David Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe againe vnto the present poye of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in bring there, master Inghilgho had it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holiness of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licensed to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and David Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alberman, and Richard Seaper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, have humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinon the purser, pilots, master and mariners that we would giue our letters patentes, and safe conductes, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs iust, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of their strangers, by the reioy of these presents we haue granted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written, viz.

That every time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandise as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proole and letters is testimoniall it appeared that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessaries victualls, and traffike with vs, and in this Island and dominion, and afterwards may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer marchandise they shall thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and barquebush, Calpeeter, cole of Newcastle, pieces of latten, tinne, Steele, pyon, common harties white, course canuoe to make saile for the gallies, ballen of pyon for shot, fine millstone, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seen that they for the time of their abode here, do behaue themselves like true full and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safe conduct of the great Turke to them granted for seare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemy, submitting our letters to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patentes, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and euery of your subjects effectually that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and David Fillie by name abovesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue access, saile, & passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leave, and cause leave to be given that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they shall depart, in such sort, that for our loue & contentation the said worshipfull Iohn Keele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and sauaour, a thing woorthy of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater louice, when upon occasion it shall be required.

And finally, we commaund all, and whatsoeuer religious persons, and brothers of our religion of whatsoeuer condition, degree, and state they be, and all other rectours and procurators, in all and whatsoeuer our priories depuies, and to be depuied by be: due of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subject to the iurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abovesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandise, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and business they be of you holpen and furthered continually. In witness whereof, our seale of government is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Given at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of Iuly, in the yere 1583.



temporibus quantum
illustrandamque conce
ces encercendi ratione
legiorum concessione,
rum privilegiorum dor
dne colere certum hab
erga nos principum ani
not de singulari erga ne
molum nobis chari G
fidentes, cum Oratore
cum ordinamus, facim
et autoritate, nomina
entum concessione in
nostris, Musulmanicis
endi, mandandique, vt
fretum, dictorum privile
quanta amicitia dign
quant. Potestatem, &
busque & locis, & pa
fluendi emporiorum si
di, in constitutis autem
condendique, quarum
tin gerant, eorum violen
impediendique, quod ad dic
ejusmodi in illis parti
non rati, gratum, & fir
nostris non abhorrentia
hac littera nostras fieri fe
castro nostro Windefor
nasti, nescimo quarto,

Elizabeth, by the cle
Enuoy of all things, &
transfer of the true faith,
guire persons, to whose fi
the most renowned, and m
of the kingdom of Turke,
they with vs, which we ha
no helps in all times to c
same, the sayd ship rema
in all the partes of th
men in other good wh
we coming very thankfull
and ministering, which the li
in honorable respect to m
e: Kianja, the trees

The Queenes Commission vnder her great seale, to her seruante
 master William Harborne, to be her maiesties Ambassadour or Agent,
 in the partes of Turkie. 1582.



ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vniuersi clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idoletrās falsi Christi nomen profitemens inuicta & potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis, & singulis præsentibus has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem. Cum augustissimus, & inuictissimus princeps, Zuldān Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentissimus, impetique Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiamque nobiscum percussisset, iurauitque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuicelate seruare destinamus) ad eamque magis ornandam, illustrandamque concessisset idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suam mercatorum concessionem in omnibus Musulmanici imperij sui partibus, cum tam ampla privilegiorum concessione, quam alijs bonis principibus, socijs, & fœderatis nostris largitus est, quoniam colere certum habemus, deliberatūque, nihil in votis habentes potius, quam bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima mente fouere, prometerique: Scias, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiūque nostrum, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, & dextera confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum certum & indubitatum ordinatum, fecimus, & constituimus, per presentes dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, & auctoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædicti amicitia fœdus confirmandi, privilegiorum concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratamque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oriturisque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis nostræ auctoritate præcipiendi, mandandique, ut sint in suis commercijs, quamdiu, quouiesquecum Musulmanis verentur, dictorum privilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum iustitiam exequantur. Potestatem, & auctoritatem ei datus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscumque locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperij dominationi subiectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes, in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandis, in constituendis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionesque ferendi, condendique, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publice, & priuately gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandique, omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendique, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, & conmercijs conduci in illis partibus rationem pertinenti promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, non recam, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcumque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrens in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione iussimus muniti. Datum è castro nostro Windesore, 30. die Mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi 1582. regni vero nostri, tertio quarto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all such persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowned, and most inuincible Prince Zuldān Murad Can, the most mightie gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with vs, (which we do) our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpose solemnly, and inuicelably to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better counteruailing and authorizing of the same, the sayd most renowned Emperour hath granted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with an ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is shewen in other good writings our neighbours and confederates, the grace of which priuileges, we being very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainly, and thoroughly determined to keepe and maintain, with the like goodwille and curtelie of minde, as being nothing more, then with a humble respect to ourself, and deserue the beneuolent affections of good neighbours toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the singular clemencie, and obedience,

obedience, wisdom, and disposition of our wellbelovd servant William Harborne, one of the Souldiers of our happy soveraigne, and our service, doe by these presents, make, ordaine, and constitute him our true and veridoubt (Deputie, Messenger, Depuete, and Agent. Giving and granting unto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for us, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to raise the grante of the privileges, and to communicate, and enjoyne by the authoritie of our Maestie, all and singular our Subjects trading and travelling in any of the counties and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his Subjects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the sayd privileges, applying themselves in all things, and through all things, to such duties and services, as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders against that our League to rectifie, punish, and punishment accordingly. We further give unto him power and authoritie over all and singular our Subjects, dealing, and using traffique in any place or part whatsoever, subject to the government of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Towne or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibit them from all other places, and where soever their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Courtours, to enacte lawes and statutes, by the vertue and force whereof all our foresayd Subjects, and every one of them, shall both publicly and privately use and behave themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of these lawes: and last of all, to use and fulfill all and singular things whatsoever, which shall seeme requisite and convenient for the better and orderly government of our sayd Subjects, and of the manner of their traffique in those parts, promising ourselves, and in the words of a Prince, that whatsoever shall be done of our sayd Deputie and Agent, in all, or in any of the premises, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by us. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and our seale thereunto to be appended. Given at our Castle of Windsor, the 20. day of November, in the tenth year 1583. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. Written in commendation of Master *Harcborne*, when he was sent Ambassadour.



ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo inuicibilissimoque principi, &c. Cum ad postulatam nostram Cæsarea vestra Maiestas, anno salutatoris nostri Iesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum: cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate iustissimè liberrimèque ad viuituræ & singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra marique proficisci, iustisq; commerciis exercendi gratia, negociari, habitare, manere, exindeque ire & redire cum viderent oportere, ad ipsi sub Cæsarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt ubique locorum protegendi defendendique sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum lesione: nos eam concessioni beneficium gratum accepimusque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamusque: pollicentes ut verbo rogo, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione fœtam velscimus confestim iusticiamque: vt subditi nostri priuilegiorum sibi indutorum concessione ita vtiuntur, vt Cæsarem vestram Maiestatem magnificentiassimè sub liberalissimis nunquam poenitere queat. Quoniam autem concessio huius virtus in vfu potius quam verbis, Maiestas vestrius nostrum fœderat, ponenda videtur, volumus hunc mandatarium virum Guillelmum Hareborne, ex iustibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vimus vnum, vrum compluribus virtutibus ornum, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias agere, cum vt eius opera uteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercionum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quam alijs imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ nos prescripto priuilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestre Maiestatis benignitate concessit, & ex vbi subditorum vestrius nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit. Cæsareæ vestre Maiestatis auctoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, vti illi agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, vt quibuscumque poterunt melioribus modis huius nostri mandatarium Cæsareæ vestre Maiestatis placito exsequendo, adiutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hancorundem demandauimus, in qua quam fidem suam sit honestè liberumque erga Maiestatem vestrius nostrum neuriquam dubitauerit: cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obsequentes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestre Maiestatis concessio potuit, volumus. Præterea, cum prædatus vir Maiestatis Cæsareæ vestre Maiestatis Musulmanorum Interpretes egregie nauarit opem, ut hoc iuger nos fœdus foret, rogamus summo per te in nostram gratiam in Musulmanorum

Diagnosis inter- pus

The Q. letters.

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Elizabeth by the grace
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A Letter of the Qu
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um ordinem Cæsares vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditq; nostri Imperatoris vestra sublimitatis æquanimiorem sententiam forebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic vestre Maiestati suavi & benevolentie (si vlla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper parati erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries, of all that live among the Christians and faithfully profess the name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turke, sole above all, and most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Saviour Iesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with us, whereunto was united a most large & beautiful grant of certaine privileges, by benefit whereof our subjects may with all securitie most safely and conveniently by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of booties and goods, by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thank you and confirme the same, promising in the wordes of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subjects so to vse the grant of the privileges granted unto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer have occasion to repent you of your most princely liberallitie. And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maiesties, much rather to consist in the vse thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send unto your Imperiall maiestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, to commend for the establishing of such order in our subjects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as touching the prescrip of the privileges is granted by your princely maiesties goodnesse, and will be for the benefite of both our subjects. For performance whereof, because wee standeth in great of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would direct all those which bee in authoritie vnder your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and adde this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him we have committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite towards us our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subjects shall be obedient, as farr as the grant of your Imperiall maiestie doth pertain. Moreover, we earnestly beseech you that for as much as your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Ambassador of christe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent our subjects shall finde your Imperiall Highnesse fauour, a noble traffique will flourish betwene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your Service in trade) will alwayes most willingly be ready to requite this your Maiesties fauour and good will with all our good offices. Almighty God the maker of the world preserue and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

W. Hareborne
sent ambassador
to the
Turke.

At request for
the preserving
of Mustafa Beg.

A Letter of the Queenes Maiestie to *Alli Bassa* the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. *William Hareborne*, and deliuered vnto him aboard his gallie in the *Arsenal*.



LIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiratio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentie vestre arbi. amur, privilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, ve illis liceat in omnibus imperij Musulmanici provincijs tuto & secure manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonijs, Venerijs, Germanijs

Germanis antea indultum est. Quae ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, et corporis custodibus vni, ac multis & minibus ornatum ad inclitum Constantinopolis praesentem pro agente misimus: qui ex priuilegiis praedictorum praescripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non posuimus, quin Excellentiae vestrae Gulielmum hunc, pro ea quae apud magnum Caesarem polles autoritate, commendatorem petentes summopere vt tuto in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securis in portibus absque minillrorum rapinis & iniuria, tam ipse quam omnes Angli subditi nostri possent versari: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Caesare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectu perspicuum esse potest. Grauisimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra scietis, si portuum omnium, aliorumque locorum, qui vestrae iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, non classium & nauium praefectis omnibus mandare vellet, vt Gulielmus iste, alique Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amice & humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Caesaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceanum maria, aliaue loca venerint, quae nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendere fauore ijs omnibus officiis prosequemur, quae à gratissima praecipue in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Bene & feliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesori die vicissimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1581. Regni vero nostri vicissimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawn by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.



1. **A**sketh wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed of roote.
2. Also the Arte of compounding of the same.
3. And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.
4. And all Trees, whose Leauens, Seedes, or Barkes, or Cloothes serve to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed of Roote.
5. All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.
6. To learne to know all earths and minerals foyren used in dying, and th. it naturall places for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.
7. Also with the materials vsed in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.
8. To procure from Muhassira a citie in Egypte to Constantinople, the seed of Selam the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betwene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and mynistris set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhassira, and if this seed may prosper in England, infinite benefites to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate by Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to euery other Citie of Italy, and Anwerpe.
9. To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.
10. To endeavour rather the vent of Kettles, then of other Clothes as a thing more hurtfull to our people.
11. To endeavour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours: much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with foyren colours.
12. To seeke out a vent for our Bonettes, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people escape great profit by the trade.
13. To endeavour vent of knis & cothes made of Norwich parne, & of other parne, which by great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, before the vent of the foyren our colours, and of our diuers labour.
14. To encrease a vent of our Shalloon for the benefite of our poore people: for a large vent it serueth many on worke.

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Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England,

and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the fore-

sayd master *Richard Hakluyt*, for a principall English Factor at *Constantinople* 1582.



Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously byed) that men are bozne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point of summe of the matter, since euery good man is ready to employ his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe way of education moze fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that thing after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fierer of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some inuowour you may chance to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite sort of the poore people occasion to pay for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Clothing.

First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yieldeth the most fine Wooll, the most flock, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloath, and most apte of nature of all other to receiue Dye, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeild so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subiect to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doth bying in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Hauke of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this Realme doeth require.

Whence none aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and hath diuers prouinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 Where may bee added to the same, excellent skill, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall haue vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much moze with Wooll then it doeth, although their workmanship and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, unless the labour of our people employed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by reason.

But if foreyn nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and moze excellent cloth, and shall dye the same in truer, surer, and moze excellent and moze delectable colours, so shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall be sold for the space of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people employed in clothing in diuers degrees of labour in England.

Which things I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in the 20 the next time, as your leisure map permit the same,

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne :

1 To know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or foreyn, be þ same in Felt clothes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbary, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoeuer, &c.

All the deceits in Cloothmaking; as the soying together of Woolls of seuerall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie vneuen.

The euill soying of cheere of good or bad wooll, some tooo hard spun, some tooo soft spun deliuered to be wouen.

The fautes in Measuring.

The fautes in Walking, Rowing, and Barking, and in Racking the Clothes about meales upon the Ceinops: all which fautes may be learned of honest men, which fautes are to be knowne to the merchant, so be shunned and not to be vsed.

2 Then to learne of the Dyers to discern all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the Substances be deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be dyed, be cheape colours.

Then to take the names of all the materials and Substances used in this Citty of this realme, in dying of cloth or Silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they be.

And what places they be of.

And of them which be the Naturalls of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the foreyn materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plenty or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in foreyn parts to serue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I bid you to trauell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 Forasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes dyed in Turkie be most excellently dyed, you shall send home into this realme certaine Powders or pieces of Silke to be brought to the Dyers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoune out of their heads, the tooo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to mouue them for shame to endeavour to learne moze knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuersall benefite of the realme.

2 You shall deuise to amend the Dying of England, by carrying hence an apte young man brought up in the Arte, or by byting one of other from thence of Skill, or rather to deuise to bying one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot by this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne craft there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the help of the French ambassado; there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leaue no meane vnfought that cometh to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and Substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soeuer. But before all other, such things as be of those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Spectants may by them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vse of those, and where the naturall place of them and of each of them. I mean the place where each of them groweth or is had.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, as if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barreled earth, with alle the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Wooll is, to the intent that the high price of foreyne Wooll (which vniuersally is greatly great treasure) may be brought

downe, So shall the stocke, be able to afford himselfe, and all things.

6 To do the like the same by seed, being which hath set man mark, the place where and out of the Islands brought into this realme. And it doth things as be speciall in are of greater vse, and brought into this realme.

7 And because y the Olde and Germane bying our clothes for and other poore Subiects not our treasure in foreyn.

8 The woollen v here also naturall, in this to temperate a climate the wooll they cannot come colde a good partance of victuall are the Cluipers in Flanders but are forced to thicke by their clothes are raised upon falling riuers, which brought and heat as all the riuers be in all times, and by these clothes, as Woollens clapping. Then also haue wo are like to haue increase to spin and to doe the rest be brought in and made supply at the full with a were that could bying it such a deuise was offered with a certaine liberty.

that effect by Lawdly see to make that Oile in plenty shall the deuise in dea As wherein by one of my millen employed in my Physicians, by the in our plenty of this seed brought into this realme, our marchant.

9 Having heerein changes, it shall not be in the degrees of labour in that profession: our people.

10 And if you shall find the more of great vse, then may fall into the trade, may to make, the more labour of our poore Subiects be use, and hurtfull to man capturing to the desire of

downe. So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shall be able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afford cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe of plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vse, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c. for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Summark, the plant where with the most excellent blacks be dyed in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Islands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Cloas brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest vse, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Wille or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellows and greens are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenwode where with they be dyed be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes to sale to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in foreign colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woollen being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becoming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labour the yere throughtout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afford their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flammels of their rivers cannot make Walkmills for their clothes, we are forced to thicken and dyeste all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, where by their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires stoe of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dyeste clothes cheaply. Then we haue also for scowling our clothes earths and clays, as Clothiers clay, and the clay of Dyoine little inferior to those in scowling and in thickening. Then also haue we some reasonable stoe of Alum and Coppas here made for dying, and are like to haue increase of the same. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Dile: the want whereof if any man could deuise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about, might deserue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a deuise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others hauing obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Rosh seed, which onely made a trial of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Dile in plenty: and now he that offered this deuise was a marchant, and is dead, and hath all the deuise in dead with him.

Supply of the want of dyle.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisra there be many milles employed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oyle seed, and that there is plenty of this seed brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchantes may easily bring of it, &c.

Leo Africum lib. 8.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turkey, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession: our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is of great vse, then to bring of the same into this realme some Potmasters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can deuise to make, the more ample vent of our commodities we shall haue, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdensome to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selues according to the desire of foreign nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narrow, long

long of thox, white of blake. 11 But with this promise alwayes, that our cloth passe over with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for if we might so do it (as it were the greatest madness in the world for us to vent our wooll into cloths, so were it madness in Kierles: for there is great difference in profit to our people betwene the cloth of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I with the merchant of England to haue as great care as he may for the vniuersall benefite of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both etc. And also not to carpe out of the realme any cloth white, but dyed if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefite as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes dyed with the naturall colours of England, then such as be dyed with foreign colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receiue certayne colours from foreign parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I with that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climates where now it growes, in diuers other places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand etc. If it is a commodity that is to be had of mere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearly purchased.

13 How many several colours be dyed is to be learned of our Dyers before you depart.

14 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

15 Then to bring into this realme herbes and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet see, and this from all foreign places.

16 There is a wood called Logwood of Palo Campechio, it is cheape and prelothea glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke dyers of Wool dyers in Turkey can doe it, with this one you may enrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeouored earnestly by you. It may bring down the price of Wool and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

If you can stee out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red shortish cap as it were without hime, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire hilles doth see many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser thim, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth see many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kierles, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can inueiour that, you maye great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into A strike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwell thence.

17 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woolsted yarne, and of Linen then, great benefite to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kierles and in those knit wares may be couched in a small room in the ship. And for these things our people are grown up, and by inueiour may be brought to great trade.

18 Saffron the best of the vniuersall world groweth in this realme, and so far as much as it is a thing that requirerh much labour in diuers soyes, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I with you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of grace here in those parts. It is a spice that is coyall, and may be dyed in meates, and that is excellent in vying of fellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoly in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoly the true blue of the pound, the goodness of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth perely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions not without hindring lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge hire reuue the trade for the benefite of the setting of the more on worke. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile peedes the wilde Saffron commonly, which the way is the naturall climation of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

19 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telenin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Dyers.

Dyers. And it is sayd that they dye there in their ports of the dyer thence home ward passing to do good to which he had more measure of his life: for he had dyed for the farre travellers, many known into this realme that from all coasts of the and all herbe, trees, b lie. And if this care be for them we had not had Cline nor many other nor Mare, Cothe nor were to be sayd barba of this land found no here before, as the D the right a Whidiam, of king Henry the eighth plumme called the Per and the Abicot by a within the se foure pee hands of flowers called Staminope by an exco to Zante that the plant although it bring not flowers doe, which we good wines of them. Q son of the colde climat bishop of Canterburie realme the plant of T thousands of them: and brought in such care had bene brought hith bene eased of the reum ny to be made into Sp and to diuers other pla not able, and for that such as repaire to fore before their eyes the as their speciall busines remembrance, to ha to such good, do more g realme by building of Thus may you helpe to you perperuall fame, and and of all the Welt In

The voyage of worshipfull
M. Ric. Hakluyt
most five years



De 14 of M
Constantine
man Richard
son of court

Diets. And it is sayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, & that they occupy ther, and also that they vse there in their dyings, of the Saffron also sayd. The truth whereof, in the Southerly parts of the Mediteranean sea, to easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from Tripoli to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and his the same in his Valuers Rasse, which he had made hollow befoze of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with the measure of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the lawe of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great trauctlers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all artes and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbes, trees, bushes and plants that might peele profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancestery, then had our life bene sauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rye, Weaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Weare nor Apple, Chlor nor many other pleasant and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Corke nor Oak, nor a number of other things that we misse, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we vse moze the first inhabitants of this Island found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eighth Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdiguena, and two kindes moze by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abycot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a litle before from Constantinople by an excellent man called Dr. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zaue that the plant that beareth the Cozen is also brought into this realme from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serue for pleasure and for some vse, like as our wines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in haue by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them: and many people haue receiued great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco had bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth here, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorth of a tourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet soasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich seled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to haue some care heerein, and to see before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giuing you occasion by way of a litle remembrance, to haue a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you haue any inclination to such good, do moze good to the poore ready to starue for reliefe, then euer any subject did in this realme by building of househouldes, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idleness the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetual fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is moze woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

This may be
learned at
Alyot.

The voyage of the *Susan* of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour vnto Sultan *Murad Can*, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maiesties Liger almost fixe yeres.

The 14 of November 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the call shippe called the *Susan* of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skillfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recouer the Rowes in

January the
fourteenth.

C. Vincente.
C. Santa Maria.
Tunis.
Velez Malaga.
C. de Taron.
C. de Palom.
Denia.
Formentera.
Cibora.
February the
first.
Mallorca.

The shippen
men were on
land at Porto
de Sant Pedro.

The Ambassa-
dour departed.

February the
third.

The English
men are har-
pished.

The Spania-
rds come to
the sea like to
speak with
the captain.

in the Isle of Wight. Whence the 14 of January following we took in the woyschipfull
William Hareborne her Spaieties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed
thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we
did see Cauo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Cauo Santa Maria. The 27
we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and
that night were thwart of Cauo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Cauo de Palom,
The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valencia, and the
night we had sight of the Island Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Island of Ca-
biera. The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where
they would have quill intended us for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might have
bene as welde there as in other places of Christendome, but it proved farre otherwise. The first
man we met on land was a simple shepheard, of whom we demanded whether he might have a
sheepe of such like to refresh our selves, who tolde us yea. As by such conference had with him,
at the last he came aboard once or twice, and had the best cheate that we could make him: and
our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made us faire promises, but nothing at
all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Ma-
seils, the Spander whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour
had conference, and with his Sparchanes also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which be-
longed to the government of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Apr,
wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboard. By them I suppose, he was
bewayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire woys of the ship-
heard alsofayd, and others. So that upon their woys, our Purser and another man went to the
Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had
of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten upon the sudden, and
so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well,
according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Emili-
men, with one of our Sparchanes, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the
Towne alsofayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it proved
contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire woys a while, and had bread and wine,
and such necessaries for their money, untill such time as they were beset with men, and the Ma-
iores neuer shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the manner of all the people in
the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be treacherous to vs, if they thinke they have any
advantage. For upon the sudden they laid hands on them, and put them in holte, as sure as
might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night,
and still deluded with faire woys, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy
of the Island would come aboard to see the shippe. But they secretly sent the Purser to the
Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe
and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane
time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers upon
their othen: who for their othen sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassa-
dours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but
he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboard the
shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning, for the Spar-
cellian Sparchanes were slayed in like manner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew unto vs.
But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men unto vs every day more
or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers,
being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all
things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine John Gray) for it was sayd by
vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Spaieties Shippes: wherefore all things passed in
his name: and the Ambassadour not seeing in any thing but rather concealed, and yet to all, be-
cause of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed
in Cleuet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelue lusty fellows well weaponed,
each one bearing a Boarespeare of a Caliner, the Captaine John Gray being one of them, and
our boat lying by very warily kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place
was more frequented with men then it was wont. The men on horsebacke were in double
come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they have him welcome, and gave him
great salutations in woys as their manner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd
he needed not to feare any man in the Island. Answer was made, that it was the manner of Eng-
lish Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassadour (thin-

him to be the Captaine, that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did
 lacke. For they promised him beere of mutton, or any thing that was in the Island to be had, but
 their purpose was to haue gotten moze of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should
 haue our men againe the next day with such mery delinquents they fed vs still. Then our Ambassa-
 dour wrote a letter to the Viceroy in her Spallish name, and in our Capitaine Iohn Grayes
 name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him
 in his voyage, for he had giuen him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with
 great courtesie in wayes on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and
 on foot in the woods and euen moze then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceiue no-
 thing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or five of the best of them as wee
 thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on
 horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Cap-
 taine, whom they thought to be Capitaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded, for
 they thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and moze of his company. But did send one of
 the principall of the Spaniards to talke with them. And the Capitaine Iohn Gray went also
 with him, not being knownen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they receiued
 those men the like wayes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should haue
 our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter,
 desiring by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no answer of
 them. In all this time they had puttly gathered together the principall men of the Island,
 and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordnance, not making any thew of their creeche
 towards vs. But the same night following, we sawe many lightes passe in the woods a-
 bout the crosse. And in the morning when the watch was broken up, being Saturday the ninth
 of February, at faire day light, one of our men looked out, and saw standing on land the east-
 end of a peece: then was one commanded to goe into the peece, and there he did descie two or
 three peeces, and also many men on the shoare, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then
 they tooke foure or five halfe peeces, and placed them on either side of the harborough
 where we should go out, and hit them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now
 I thinke the harborough not to be about the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their
 way which was most plaine; wee agreed to take up our anker and goe out, and leaue one
 on shore, holding none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Spallier of the
 vessel, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the truth: who satisfied his
 quest. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay haloe of vs if
 we could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the shippe for-
 ward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with moze then due hundred
 men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far
 as our ordnance, our Ambassadour and the Capitaine being in their armour, the Spallier com-
 manding of the company, and ordering of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending
 his charge, with other very well furnished, and euery man in order about their businesse very
 close, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire peece mounted on the South side
 only in all our sight, as the shippe passed by, they trauesed that peece right with the maine
 end of after-querter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a linstocke in his hand, about
 sixteen foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noise of
 musketts sounding on the poope with drumme and flue, and a Spinion of halfe on the sum-
 merbe, with two or three other peeces, all waies by our Gunners trauesed mouth to mouth
 their on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answer them againe.
 The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because
 of calmesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was,
 two times thus: I haue you waies with vs: If you haue, it is moze then we know; but by your
 saluacion I remember so: if you haue, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and
 dur. Then the Viceroy himselfe held up a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Capitaine,
 desired vs to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but tolled him to send
 the Spallier his boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flue found
 and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no haloe
 they presently sent to the Colone for our men, whom within lesse then three houres af-
 ter sent aboard with the said letter, wherein he desired our Capitaine and his company not
 to be in all part, for he meane them no harme, but would haue seene our shippe. His letter
 was these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations,
 saying

The Capaine
 did come as
 gains to parle.

The Ambassa-
 dour waited
 to the Viceroy.

The ninth of
 February.

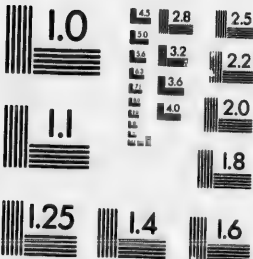
The shippe Susan
 prepared to
 defend herselfe.

The effect of
 the Viceroy
 letter to the
 Capaine of
 the Susan.



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The effect of
the Ambassadors
Boys answer.

Ostia.
Sardinia.
Faungniana.
Cilimbri.
Pantalasia.
Sicilia.
C. Passaro.
Porto de Conte
in Cephalonia.

Zante.

Prodeno.
Sapiencia.
Modon.

C. Marapan.
Cergo.

C. Malio.
Menelaus.

Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia, Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Pilara. Srafo.
Sagra, a port in
Metelin.

Porto Delfia.
The city of
Chio.

25th.

Ermine, or Ermine
House.

Baberno.
Tenedo.
Maure.
Galipoli.
Marmora.

Aracelia.
Silauria.

Ponte grande.

Ponte piccola.

Ponte S. Ste-
phano.

saying that he might boldly come into any port within his Island, and that he and his would then him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepherds and poor people of the country, for the more safeguard of their flocks, and because it was not a thing usual to have any such ship to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the said letter. Then our Ambassadors wrote unto him another letter to answer that, and gave him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoisted our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had borne in holde, tolde us that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Island, having their buckins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden provision. The 12 of February we saw an Island of Africa side called Galata, where they be to this day, out of the Sea much Copall, and the said likewise Sardinia, which is an Island subject to Spain, The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Island nere Sicilia, and an Island on Africa side called Cyfimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Island called Pantalasia, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Island called Cephalonia: it is an out Island in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present governed by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is under the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arrived at Zante which is also in Grecia; for at this present we entered the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Island called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Island called Sapiencia. There standeth faire Towne and a Castle 4 we were thwart of an Island called Sapiencia. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapiencia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapiencia againe. The tenth we were as farre as Caus Marapan; and that day we entered the Archipelago, and passed throught betwene Cerigo and Capuo Malio. This Cerigo is an Island where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whence was stolen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Records doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Island called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Islands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Island called Falconara, and the Island of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betwene Fermenia and Zea, being both Islands. That night we were betwene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Islands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Pilara and Srafo, being Islands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sagra, and about nine of the clocke at night we anchored there. The 15 we came from thence the thirteenth we put into Porto Delfia. This port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we stayed in the said port, being in the Island of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one of two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Island (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and understood of our arrivall within his dominion, the day following he armed his galleies, and came to welcome our Ambassadors accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer; and also the French Consill, two blazers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire for he did offer to attend upon us, and to be us if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sagra againe. This Island of Metelin is part of Asia and is nere to Nacolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Ile of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Island called Maure. And the same day we passed throught the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles called also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were sight of Marmora which is nere Nacolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Aracelia, and that night we anchored in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadors business, but they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they rowed in the skiffe until they came to a place called Ponte piccola, and there is a little bridge standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging unto it, nere which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the shippe anchored that day. The 26 the ship came to the seven Towers, and the 27 we came nere. The 29 there came the great

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officers of Janifaries there were with us, who kept very good order, for no Turke wharsoever might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambassadors entering they followed that bare his presence, to say, twelve fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of randle sticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high silver, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mapagrybonds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling: over it was a coprest with trees of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver, and the clocke was round set with jewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber, we dooze they were selling of weighing of money to send into Persia for his Doubtours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in every bagge, as it was tolde sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds, and in guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court offered resistance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like manner refused them: he was in cloth of silver, he went and came with two of three with him and Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode but he turned him continually, & cried though very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke bring him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him five or seven youths, running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried though very hollowly, as the Kings footmen.

The Turke is presented with a rich present.

A letter of *Mustapha Chaus* to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Serenissima, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Maiestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimamque commendationem. Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestrae sacrae Maiestatis venit ad portam excelssissimam potentissimi & inuictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Caesaris Sulran Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantaque humanitate aliorum confederatorum legati accipiuntur, praefatus quoque legatus vestrae reverentia, tantaque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelssissima, & posthac subditi & homines vestrae sacrae Maiestatis ad ditiones omnes Caesaris venire, & negotia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, ut in literis excelssissimi, potentissimi, & inuictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Caesaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Maiestatem dato facile patet, tranquille & pacifice possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam ad studio studium & nunc eodem confirmando nauavi, & in futurum quoque vique in vltimum spiritum in negotijs potentissimi & inuictissimi Caesaris, & vestrae sacrae Regiae Maiestatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & vtilitatem vtriusque Republicae secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maiestatem felicissimè valere exopto. Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maij.

Letter of the English Ambassadour to M. *Harrie Millers*, appointing him Consull for the English nation in *Alexandria*, *Cairo*, and other places of *Egypt*.

Aiming to appoint our Consull in *Cayro*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, and other parts adjacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Majesties subjects; being well persuaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Majesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend *Harrie Millers*, to execute the same with full office, as

shall be required for her *Spaetities* better service, the commodity of her subjects, and my contentation: having and inspying for merit of your travell in the premises the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other as-faires set aside) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend upon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we herewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of privilege with ours, and what els is needfull thereto, in so ample manner, as any other Consull whosoever doeth or may enjoy the same. In apd whereof, according to my bounden duty to her *Spaetity* our most gracious *Distresse*, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her *Spaetities* subjects, for your maintenance in all iust causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as above-sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission given by M. *William Hareborne* the English Ambassadour, to *Richard Forster*, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of *Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, &c.*



I William Harborne, her *Spaetities* Ambassadour, Liger with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Levant doe in her *Spaetities* name confirme and appoint *Richard Forster* Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of *Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem*, and all other partes whosoever in the pvinces of *Syria, Palestina*, and *Iurie*, to execute the office of Consull over all our Nation her *Spaetities* subjects, of what estate or quality soever: giving him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her *Spaetities* subjects: as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and iust causes whatsoever: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he, shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, even in such order as I my selfe might doe by vertue of her *Spaetities* Commission given me the 26 of November 1582, the copie whereof I have annexed to this present under her *Spaetities* Seale delivered me to that use. Straightly charging and commanding all her *Spaetities* subjects in those parts, as they will avoid her highness displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and have due respect unto the same, sitting and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisite to her *Spaetities* good service, and commodity of her dominions. In witness whereof I have confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansion house by Pera over against *Constantinople*, the 20 of June 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to M. *Richard Forster*, appointed the first English Consull at *Tripolis* in *Syria*.



William Forster, these few wordes are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arrivall in *Tripolis* of *Syria*. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at *Tripolis* of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may have their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparellled in the best manner. The next, second, or third day, after your coming, give it out that you are crazed and not well disposed, by means of your travell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what manner you are to present your selfe to the *Beglerbi, Cadi*, and other officers: who every of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of *Iohn Blanke*, late Vice-consull of *Tripolis* for the French, delivered me herewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can save any thing, I pray you doe as I doubt not but you will. They are to give you there also another *Janizarie* according as the French hath; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such as you see not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heretofore with him have bene can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will have an envious eye on you: whom they perceive wise and well advised, they will feare to offer you any insurie. But if they shall perceive any insufficiency in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtille, malicious, and dissembling people, wherefore you must alwayes have the

doings for successe, assistance, as he shall be glad to which if you shall fall, which nation, which chief officers you thinke in harme, during part out of the my, you are to hence, in the be and anger, after marchandise, y foresee the charge fit and pour owne provide things n harmeth his owne for the buying of you are to send the you are to cause tted in *Spices*, w are to be provided that this shippe lat Rapamat, the fir

A letter to Ambassa



upon the coast of *Barbary* in like case that the Grand Signior and by ting with any of his g who made me and we war not to meddle w account thereof. In in we answer, the best h Grand Signiors comm other prouoke them to and they be good prize they the to us, we will pmissiles considered, p tary directed to *Hazan* *Basha*, king of *Tripolis*, c bound into those parts of me at another: for where tans of *Carchagena, Flo* going out of the *G* *Alger* of *Tripolis*, thin them, which if therefor signior his league, all re comes ships laden with n them themselves from e

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M. Will. Harborne. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

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doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if you call for Gods divine assistance, as both become every faithful good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preferred, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrariwise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shall be sacrificed with your con- fusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to seeke, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subiects shippes, vessels, or whatsoever other, but quietly de- part out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the compa- ny, you are to defend them according to your priuledge & such commandements as you have had hence, in the best order you may. In all and every your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies pro- fit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to harmely his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdome to fore- see the buying of all things in their native soile, in due time, and at the first hand every yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expences. Touching your selfe, rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arrivall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the first of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable William Harborne her Maiesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

Right honorable, we haue receiued your honours letters dated in Constantinople the 5 of Nouember; and accordingly deliuered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maiesties name, that he would vouchsafe to giue order to all his Captaines & Raies that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they haue order not to passe by the Christian coast, but by the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maiesty, he would giue vs such or six safeconducts for our ships, that mee- ting with any of his galleys or gallies, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me and were he would neither giue me any safe conduct nor commission to his men of account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Janifers and the Leuents, who made me assure, the best hope they had this yeere was to take some of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefor: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are sure not for their safeconduct, for if we permit them to be considered, your honours is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his favorable let- ters directed to Hazan, the Cad, Captaines, Janifers, & Leuents, & another like to Romadan Bala, King of Tripolis, commanding them in no manner whatsoever to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot at us or another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honours is aduertised, the gal- lies of Carthage, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ships comming out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these galleys of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Har- borne ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honours do not

get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors servants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these of the Christianians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the hands of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will neuer be recovered. And if your honoz cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honoz in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to followe such order as your honoz should giue me) to certifie her separate, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I desist from troubling your honoz. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

Domine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vellem concessa perperam reddas, quae male scripta, plus damni, quam utilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summa aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobilium agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicæ scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita providere debes, ut non eveniant huiusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquid accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum inlequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ vestra est prudentiæ aduersari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Ut deinceps similes errores non eveniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regis Maiestatis negocia, uti decet vestra conditionis hominem, melius cures. Nam unicuique suo officio strenue est laborandum ut debito tra nite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

Noi Assan Bascha Vicere & lochotenente e capitane della iurisdizione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero salvo condotto a Thomas Shingleton mercante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negoziare, e contrattare liberamente in questa città de Algier & altri loci de la nostra iurisdizione così di ponente comi di Levante: & così anchora commandiamo al capitane di mare di Algier & a' altri lieutenanti & capitani de vasselli tanto grossi como piccoli, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trouando il sopradetto Thomas Shingleton homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna maniera: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone Soltan Murates Ottomano, lo lasciate andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario il dì 23 de Ianaro, 1583.

The same in English.

We Assan Bascha Vicereoy and lieutenant, and captaine of the iurisdiction of Algier, give and grant free safe conduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soever they be, & with his merchandize of what countrey soever, he may goe and come, and trade & traffike freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the capitaine of the Sea of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & capitaines of the Leuant, & other capitaines of vessels atwell great as small, who soever they be, we do command them, that finding the aforesayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the Seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria

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A letter written
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and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soever they be, that they molest nor, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, under paine and peril of loosing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our Lord Sultan Murates Hotoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any manner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our prince-ly Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of January, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of
Alger, the 20. of Iuly, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captiues
there detained.



Vy alto y poderoso Rey,
Sea seruida vossa alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Senor tiene hecho articulos de privilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d' Inglaterra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de cbe embiamos el tratado al Senor Iuan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le mostrar a vossa Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido bechado al fondo en la mar vn des nuestros nanios que venia de Parris, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el resto estan detenidos por esclauos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y privilegios. Que es ocasion, que por esto supplicamos a vossa Alteza muy humilmente, que pues que la potentissima magestad del Gran Senor es seruida nos favorecer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea seruida vossa Alteza asistimos en ellos, otorgandonos por vossa aueridad su ayuda y fauor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y boluer par a aca aquellos pobres hombres assi hechos esclauos, como dicho es. Tansi mismo, que mande vossa Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con y sin nos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del gran Senor a paz y a salvo, por no contrariar a los dichos nuestros privilegios. Lleuando cada vna de nuestras dichas naos por se conocer vn salvo conuinto de su alta y potentissima magestad, Y con esta vossa tan señalada merced y fauor que en esto recibiremos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligacion a vossa Alteza de servir la por el. segun que el dicho Senor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera vossa Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y acrezca con toda felicidad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Asentado de vossa Alteza por y en nombre de todos
los tratamos en Turquia, lo el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne

The same in English.

Right high and mightie king,
Say it please your highnesse to vnderstand, that the most high and most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the most excellent maiestie of our Queene of England, that her subiects may freely go and come, and traffike by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty maiesty, as appeareth more at large by y^e said articles, whereof we haue sent the copy vnto y^e Ioh. Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same vnto your highnesse. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Parris which is in Morea, laden with cozanets and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your cite of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and priuileges: which is the occasi that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the sayd priuileges, it would please your highnesse in like maner to assist vs in the same, granting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is, that these poore men so detained in captiuitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their country. And like wise that your highnesse would send to giue order to the capitaines, maisters and people of your gallies, that from hence forth they would suffer vs to vse our traffique with fire ships freely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they do not

In English
ship sunke by
two gallies of
Alger.

withstand those our said privileges, every one of our foresaid ships carrying with them a passe port of his most high and most mightie maiestie to be knownen by. And for that your so singular favour and currellie which in so doing we shall receive, we on our part with all bounden dutie unto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd master Iohn Tipton (to whom we referre our selues touching all other circumstances) shall moze at large enforce your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almighty God to preserve and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of July, 1584.

At the service of your highnesse, for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, I leave of London, Edward Othman.

Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

The money of Alger.



The money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called an Asiano, & Doubles, and two Doubles make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most used, for all things be sold by Doubles, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe & moze, as that in Constantinople: for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there. The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for moze, as men need them to carry up into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doubles are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coin them in Alger.

The custome.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Justice of the Chyrtians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, moze then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices, &c. which is here 120. li. subtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180. li. subtil of ours here.

The measures.

The measure of cozne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and cozne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yere.

The surest lodging for a Chyrtian there is in a Jewes house: for if he haue any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good, so the Jew taketh great care of the Chyrtian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

The surest lodging for a Chyrtian.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is John Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Jewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.



Alexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the castles, presently the Ermyne sends aboord to haue one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermyne you goe to the * Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians haue a Consul themselves. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will giue you a chamber for your selues apart, if you will so haue it.

This is another officer.

Other small customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for some tollage you pay two in the hundred.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for money, you pay no moze custome but the tax aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd money, for moze custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for money, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

The

with them a palle poye
your so singular fauour
inden buetie unto your
master John Tipton, to
at large entoyne your
mightie God to prosper
20. of July, 1584.

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reading into Turkish, I have
of 10 hours.

of Asiano, & Doubleas,
most used, for all things
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at in Constantinople:
Constantinople is at Alger
56 Aspers,

worth for 40. Aspers, but

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kinges custome.

commoditie that you doe lade,

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the "Bye, onely for that

Consuls house where you

goe to the French nations

to haue it.

e custome is paid in waers

M. Wil. Harborne. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

177

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Fortoreine, which is a kintal in that place, which ma-
keth as Marcells 109. li. of Marcells waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. oun-
ces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerin, which is 150. li. of Marcells waight, by
which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is thye daies journey, but you must take a Jandlarie with you: &
to go by thisher by water it is 8. dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are
the best money you can carry. And 4. roials are woorth 13. Pedins, and 3. Pedins, are 3. Aspers,
pistoles and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the
Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All loyes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale
withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & haue leaue to passe,
you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you
must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The buetie to the
Consul is 2. in the hundred, for his albe, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria
is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables, Silver is better currant then gold in
Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to
Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therfore the spices are brought most
to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the
christians go by to Cairo to buy byugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the com-
modities there vendible are all sorts of kernes, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours
except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for
14. ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for
spert is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good stoye of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

After Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copp thereof in Eng-
lish, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they shoul-
d shoote at the gallies of those of Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after
you haue shewed the Bassas, recelue againe into your hands, and see them registred, and
then deliver one of them to our friend Sp. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the priuilege which
you carry with you, and see them jointly registred in the Cadies booke, deliuering the copp of the
said priuilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend Sp. Tipton, taking a note of his hands
in the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our assignes. And require them in her
maiesties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ships passing too and fro vnder li-
cence and safecoourt for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tri-
polis with Romadan, as I haue not receiued any aduise thereof, since your departure, so must I
leave you to God and my former directio. The ship paromised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote
to be ours, prooued to be a Catalanian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Jewes in
his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to recelue there.
And hauing ended these affaires and registred our priuilege, and these thre commandements, in
Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recovered,
make ouer the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or other wise hither to Iohn
Dare in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your priuilege and these commande-
ments will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my Spanion Rapamat in
Pera this 24. of June 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Maie-
ties ambassador M. Will. Harborne, for the quiet passing of her subiects to and
fro his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Alger, Tunis & Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Alger.

Certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Harborne
ambassador to the Queenes maiestie of England hath signified vnto vs, that the ships
of that countrey in their conuining and returning to and from our Empire, on the one
part of the Seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteses, on the other
part our countreis committed to your charge: which about said Christians will not quietly suf-
fer their egress and regress, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men cap-
tured,

Cairo thre
daies journey
from Alexan-
dria by land.

times, and forset the whips and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and so that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand upon their guard, when they shall see any galleys farre off, where by if meeting with any of your galkies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shote any more, but quite to passe peaceably on their voyage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broke because you have shot at vs, and so make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and against reason for the preventing of which inconuenience the said ambassadoy hath required this our commandement, wherefore we command thee, that upon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter: in any sort whatsoeuer, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement given, without any disturbance or let by any means upon the way, although they meet with thy galkies, and not knowing them as farre off, they taking them for our enemies doo shoot at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore shooke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, & finding any that abuse their selfe, I will not obey this our commandement, presently certify vs to our port, that we may giue order for his punishment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou shalt againe returne it vnto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of June 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Will. Harborne her maiesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbary, the 10. of November 1584. by

Master Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 24. of June 1584. with the commandement which not being registered, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, & therefore be lawfully taken, you are deceived, for of those taken in the hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wm. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, wherefore they be, & that heretofore no violence shalbe the web, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voyage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew as far off whether they were friends or the Christians galkies in league against vs, of whom they most doubted, who not suffering our ships to come into these parts, will make prize of the goods & captiue the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: since ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the same priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed vs, as both by the originall now sent vs, & also by the copy now sent you frō London you may perceiue, they according to right are as aboute said to be let free, and their goods reddey, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our injuries reddey, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her maiesties subjects, to end their trade here, which in our countrey commodities is procured & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countrey as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors neuer had of friendship to so mighty a prince as is her maiesty, he will not but maintaine & faithfully promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say the grand Signior his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, shen of a man who tooke no plate, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another sort much more effectual, for our case & theirs be so far different, in y they be not onely now out of fauour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as sugar, paper, bracelets, ropes of best alindons, &c. all which may be here well spared, & we contrarily so well esteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing since our coming demanded, which neither their ambassadoy, nor the Venetian could haue here, & therefore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglerbeg, who is aduised by his friends from hence, of this our trade to his matter, he will so respect his commandments, as to accomplish y tanoy thereof according to our desire. And where you say y the Ianizers rule all there, I know right well y if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And wherefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be unpunished of y grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselves there, yet they be not so brutish, but they well consider that their master y grand Signior may not be galled or mocked of any. For upon his word dependeth the life of the chiefest, as I haue seene since my coming hither. So whatsoever these Ianizers say, they will be better aduised in their deeres then to withstand their Aliceroy, if he himselfe will be his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their euill plotted dings against the grand Signiors friends: for the seer may not rule the body, but contrarywise,

the head, the seer, and will you omit as a falseing here with charge y present, as becommeth assisting the Chaus to request for your good for the good opinion of your wisdom, by light Signiors & our patents, which authorize you in all things, to redresse all in lawes upon your commandment in all rightfull causes, and to giue our ships y and go aboard to them in much like case are to doubting but the Aliceroy the same your intention, but also cause y really, and rather with the copy in English, which our Chaus Ma homer, & honoy of her maiesties commandment so wel consider, according to it not onely a great sin, but chiefly to the dishonor of her maiesty, & the inconvenience to his matters commandment. I respect no refusal: for my her maiesty, be void of his galkies free of such dishonor to all the world, that therefore in that respect such a valiant prince as is our ruler and better esteeme must haue procured his honors will suffice. Thus I bid you mine of March 1585.

Series vel registrum
Argerienfes

Salomon de Plinim
Sonon, valore Floren
Elizabetha de Garnefe
norum 2000,
Maria Martin de Lond
trigina quinque homin
num 1400.
Elizabeth Stokes de L
dato Casareo: huius p
ben, qui adduxit etiam
quas in mercibus vna c
Nicolaus de London,
num 4800,

the head, the seete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection of other
 wife you omit as a faithfull true subject to her maiestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant go-
 me herewith charge you, & in her maiesties name, to the uttermost to use your good and faithful en-
 deavour, as becommeth a true subject, & in all things that may concerne her maiesties good seruice,
 assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, trauel, & what els shall be thought
 requisite for your good discharge of your dutie. And to þ end you may boldly proceed herein as also
 for the good opinion Sir Edward Osborne & the company haue of you, and I no lesse perswaded of
 your wisdom, uplight dealing, & good experience in chole parts, do send you herewith the grand
 Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of
 which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the r vice doeth challenge in defence of our py-
 leries vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertised, shal doe it here, and to the uttermost maintaine
 you in al rightfull causes what soeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduise, I wil
 and do giue our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoist out their skiffs and
 and go aboard to shew them their safeconduct, & to present the capitain with a garment, & you there
 in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing
 touching but the Ciceroy (whose friendship in her maiesties behalfe I desire) will not onely per-
 forme the same your iust request, & according to right, restore to libertie our me since the pynale
 taken, but also cause those yooke & sunke our ships to answer the value, which I haue set downe
 trally, and rather with the least in the Inuentorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is
 the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this
 our Chaus Ma homer, with whom in all things you are to confere of matters expedient, for the
 honoy of her maiesties countrie, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Vice-
 roy do wel consider, according to his wisdom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel per-
 forme it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her mai-
 estie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means shall
 be abundantly serued with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of moze
 importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the
 Ciceroyes experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to acceptith
 his masters commandement, & our earnest request in so final a matter as this we require, whereof
 I expect no refusal: for thereby he shall increafe his honoy with the grand Signior, be in credite
 with her maiestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and
 his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well
 knowen to all the world, haue so great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And
 that therefore in that respect (after the prouerbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the moze of
 such a valiant pynce as is their Ciceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship che-
 rished and better esteemed. If the capitaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like
 manner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Sig-
 niors will suffice. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merci-
 ful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Raparnat nigh Pera, this 30.
 of March 1585.

The Turnment
 of our ships
 and goods
 (like and ran-
 ken by the gal-
 lies of Alger.

Series vel registrum valoris nauium, honorum, & hominum per triremes

*Argerientes ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus,
 Beglerbego Argerienti Haslano.*

Salomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doli-
 orum, valore Florenorum 5600.
 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Flore-
 norum 2000.
 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliolorum, rector Thoma More cum
 triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patrasso cum mandato Czfareo, valore Floreno-
 rum 1400.
 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rector Dauid Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum ma-
 dato Czfareo: huius precipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gib-
 ben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ Reginez maiestatis literas Czfari & oratori. Valor reli-
 quis in mercibus vna cum superiori in talleris efficit Florenorum 21500.
 Nicolaus de London, rector Thoma Forster, onerata cum vuis siccis, valore Floreno-
 rum 4800.

In

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Argire spoliata & crepta
naues, merces, & homines.

- 1 Vidit de London, rectore Jacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.
2 Iesus de London, rectore Andra Dier, cum 21. hominibus, Valorem huius & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barton, valore Florenorum 5000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & uiuentium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chausseum Mahumetem miserunt Algram.

- 1 Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Briskow.

John Winter.
Robert Barton,

- 2 In naue Swallow de London.

Rich. Crawford,
Anthony Elwers,
Will. Rainolds,

Post fœdus initum in naue Britona.

James Poong,
Thomas Lisney,

- 1 In naue Rabnet de Hampton.

John Tracie,
Will. Griffith,
Will. Cocke,

- 2 In naue Salomon.

- 1 In naue Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Raper, Leonard James, Oliver Dallimore, and Richard Spaulsell.

- 2 In naue Maria Martin. Thomas Poore, Will. White, Will. Palmer, Rich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Halsewood, Will. Dewly, Will. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Barker, John Cautendish, Spoiles Robinson, James Sootherich, Henry Howel, Rich. Smith, Henry Bagster, Rich. Davison, Rich. Palmer.

- 3 In naue Elizabeth Stokes. David Fille, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Davis, John Quinte, Ambrose Parison, John Peterson, Cristram Clois, Roger Ribbe.

- 4 In naue Nicholas. Thomas Foster rector naui & eius nauæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Briskow merchant, taken in the Swallow.

Recieued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my seruant very thankfully, as wel for the seruent faith that by his report I heare you haue in your lord Iesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with vs and all other good Christians so truly beleueing, shalbe saued, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subject to her Maiestie, naturally loving your countrey & countreyemen, declared in your fauourable furtherance of the said Will. Hamor, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderstand, so wil I impart the same to your singular cōmendation, to boeth our mistresse her Maiestie, & her most honorable counsellors the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am informed by duetie to God & her maiestie, as also by the final regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most vniuersally answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he wil not contrary this second commandement, threatening him, not obseruing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her maiestie, & me her ambassadoz, your true christian mind & English heart, intenually bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be obtained another Ioseph to follow his example in true pietie, in such sort that not withstanding your body be subiect to Turkish bondage, yet your vertuous mind free fro those vices, next vnder God addit to good seruice of your liege Lord & oueraigne princes, her most excellent maiestie, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest & same in this & the like faithfull seruice to your singular cōmendation, to boeth my selfe & others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfull affectionate map in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may haue occasion to use me in which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfullly performe; so accordingly expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the diuine tutition and holy direction. From my house Rapamar, this 28. of June 1586.

Your loving and good friend her Maiesties Ambassadoz
with the Grand Signer, Will. Harborne.

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A mandate for Patrosso. Traffiques and Discoveries.

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A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in *Morea*, as also for sundry demandes needfull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

That our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Janifers of Patrosso haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be removed and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

That where heretofore the kings commandements haue bene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoeuer shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, other wise then paying them befoze the deliuerie thereof, for the same in reuerence whatsoeuer, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that country, other wise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renewed with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ou: by such Byes, Sanjacks, justices and Cadies, lanizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of paying forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obuent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be given, and their sunoy values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, securely prohibiting others but those ouely specified in that commaundement, doe forceibly require of them any thing whatsoeuer.

That the *Nadir* and *Custom* of the port, hauing permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demands of the merchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods, Arabing to lade, may by them and the *Cadie* with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first coming. After which the said ship to depart at the *Consuls* pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoeuer.

That *Mahomet Chaus*, sometime *Nadir* of *Lepanto*, and *Azon Agon* his sonne being with him may be severely punished to the example of others, for often and vniuilly molesting our nation, contrary to the kings commandement, which they disdainfully contemne, as also that the said *Mahomet* restore and pay vnto ours thirtie for 300 larkes of currants now taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of *Morea*, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said *Mahomet*, *Azon Agon*, nor any other officer or person whatsoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about these affaires.

That whereas certaine *Iewes* of *Lepanto* owing money to our merchants for commodities sold them, haue not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recovery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselves out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commandement may be graunted ours, that for nonpayment, whatsoeuer may be sold of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equite and reason.

A commandement to Patrosso in *Morea*.

When this commandement shall come vnto you, know you, that the *Consull* of the English Nation in our port of *Patrosso*, hath given vs to vnderstand, that formerly we graunted him a commandement that hauing paid once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bying it to the port of *Patrosso*, in payment thereof *Mahomet the Nadir* of *Lepanto*, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered vs, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Whereupon the said *Consull* certified vs how that the said *Nadir* contrary to so ancient custome doth not take the kings right as he ought currants, but will haue of the pooze men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currants at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to vs at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this means doth hurt the pooze men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that

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Turkes mandate. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Iudge of Alexandria.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Paletine of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing by his sondego and chamber, tooke vnder his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commaundement that all the goods might be restored againe according to iustice vnto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commaundement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed five yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now care fully looke to it, and if it be according to their Ar. or certificate presented vnto vs, the fore said French Consul Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant vnder his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to iustice, and credite this our seale.

A commaundement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Paletine of England by supplication certified vs, how that notwithstanding our priuilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and iniuries whatsoeuer; yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that at Bassa, that they were vnder his banner, and that he should gouerne them, and ouersee their businesse, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the English men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie dost maintaine the French Consull herein: whereupon the Embassadour required our commaundement, that they might haue iustice for these iniuries: wherefore we commaund thee that hauing receiued this our commaundement, you examine diligently that his priuilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the french Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid priuilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse, obey this our commaundement, and giue credite to the seale.

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

To the Saniackies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniackies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comning to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ships comning to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ships comning to any of the said places or portes with marchandise, if they themselves will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as little as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not wont to be taken, hauing taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee iniured, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie vs of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our seale. And hauing read this our commaundement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

When my letters shal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassadour by supplication certified how that before this time we had giuen our commaundement that the summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandise belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandise to our port into our treasure. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the said goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet,

and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse pertained to the Englishmen, who have in their hands our privilege, according to which privilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this privilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to every one his goods. And I command that when my commandment shall come unto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadors certifye, and that they have the privilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrary to it, restore them their goods according to iustice, and take heere diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chaulces called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant under the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasure, for as yet it will be hard to recover it.

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583, with a ship called the Iesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed. Written by Thomas Sanders.

This voyage was set forth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the chiefe merchant of all the hundred runnes, called the Iesus, she was builded ship being of the burden of one hundred runnes, she was builded at Farmne a river by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomlon, Nicholas Camaby, and John Cilmán. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Antho- nie lerado a Frenchman, of the province of Marceils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings, and Richard Skegs servaunt unto the said master Staper. The owners let be bound unto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolis, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne unto London. But here ought every man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master having some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by means of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saved himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in A. 1583. She made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arrived at Newhaven, where our said last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Aulfine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was chosen one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of November we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driven backe againe into Portsmouth, where we renewed our victuals and other necessities, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by means of a contrary winde, we were driven backe into Portsmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made forthward againe, & by force of weather we were driven to Falmouth, where we remained untill the first day of January: at which time the winde coming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arrived safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well entertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather willing to purchase himselfe before his commons requested our said factors to traffique with him: he promised them that if the

When both purpose, and God both will.

As unto master chosen.

The new master died.

The Iesus arrived in Tripolis.

would take his oiles certaine runnes of which standing the course of his commons but was rather concerning custome free,

In the mean time together with our said Sonnings desired to Dickenson to lend by reward the same Sonny bound up in a nap and so thanked him for his knowledge among marchant betweene Christians the money presently his hundred, which was English money, he called and asked him howe Dickenson said no: I might have his work hang like a dogge, Dickenson an hundred first and sweare, howe the work his mirror better you shall see.

There was a man being had done this Sonny into a Turke of that sent by him into Christians in Tripolis as pleasure arrived into ship and goods at dice.

The said Patrone which the said Sonning got, should call him in with this Patrone Ne.

The shippe being ready factors did take their they came aboard, the said Patrone answered and he required us by force. Then went into the, with three men in mind, the king demanded the said Patrone had promised to his said promise, and a his worship, albeit hee is most penie. And after the oyle aboard as

These Janizaries are kings. And so the said Patrone to come aboard and inquisitive to knowe passenger: I pray God Sonnings angrily while then well, I must knowe the Turke

would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no manner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine cunnies of oile: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, inasmuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

In the incane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Brissow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselves there. Our French factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the said Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes untill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterwards the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and deliuered him money bound up in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borrowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then faithfullness, which is seldom knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betwene Chistians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, untill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about thre pounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth seven shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him: Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they proceeded and swore on both parts. But in the end the sayd Romane Sonnings did sweare deeply with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that he might thewe his wozkes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer unto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it cometh to passe, that God thewe his miracles vpon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted unto a Turke of that towne, in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods lent by him into Chriftendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge untill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arrivall into Chriftendome, he came among letwde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and neuer returned unto him againe.

The said Patrone Norado being vayne of all hope, and finding now oppozmitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to continue a leaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the prouince of Marceilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and hauing her sayles all aboord, our sayde Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteously bidde them farewell, and when they came aboard, they commaunded the spallier and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the spallier answered that it was impossible, for that the winde was contrary and overblowed, and he required vs upon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our endeavour to get her forth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the said Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose commaunding, the king demanded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highness had promised to deliuer them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an indwell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his voyde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost pemie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the lanizaries would take the oyle ashore againe.

These lanizaries are souldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is about the kings. And so the sayde Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterfloe, and called by a boate to come aboard, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitive to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: If sayd God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine: if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answer for all.

Howe the Turke unto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, misting him (supposed

Another ship of Brissow came to Tripolis.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to decrease a Turke with marchant of 450 crowns

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

him to be aboard of our shippe) presently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Parrone Norado was aboard of the English ship, whercupon the King presently sent a boat aboard of vs, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that hee would come presently in his owne boate, but as soone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe forth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaues hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king saue that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to shoote thre shotes without ball. Then we came all to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captiues lay at night) the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke vs, or else cause vs to come in againe, and should haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. Which that came forth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old seruitor in Flanders, and he saide, that vpon the performance of that promise, hee would undertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and that he would gage his life, and at the first shoote he split our rudders dead in pieces, and the second shoote he strake vs vnder the water, and the third shoote he shotte vs through our foremast with a Coluering shot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and mast, and shot vs vnder water, we were enforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his libertie, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or inswell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with five of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shotes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be chained foure & foure, so a hundred weight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently aboue an hundred Turks aboard of vs, and they searched vs, and stript our very clothes from our backs, & brake open our chests, and made a spoile of all that we had: and the Christian catifes likewise that came aboard of vs and made spoile of our goods, and vfed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our matters mate hauing a Geneva Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant vs our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to do: and he graunted vs: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer by the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliuer it a gaine: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe: for he was a Rengado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despite of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Godmes I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, he shal haue an hundred bastonadoes. And forthwith he deliuered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoile of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter thou shalt heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a penworth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuenteen moneths following, as hereafter shall plainly appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I remembering the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those inswells, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a barre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer me the barre of oyle,

oyle, and when the any more.

But when I car chaines, and we all would hau: picke of this happened the st

And the second was. The first that w asked them wherefe chored, that though those that were bnd in no other. Then fo he hanged our the rido, and then he cal demned him to be h

Then fell our oth thesech your highi nant of this cause, sought the king to pa sate, I pardon the the Pastor from the the what had hap us, and our Pastor

But afterward ou was altered: for that time they could not king (me for our Sp which was that he 2 th man may put in an inf and within an houre al mize our Factors the multipite for the cultu

And when that Ro Turke, hoping there by speake the wordes that vie in the faith of a Tu the forenamed Parrone demned slau perpetua

Then the king com were hanged (as you h Almighty God: and th Turke, and the ship and some vpon our knees to help to the Almightye would bouchsafe to loo Here may all true C vils, blasphemers, who the booke, of the like v opinion of the said goods

But first to shewe ou where wee were tied but two pence Engli ouer vs, wee were a pes after, I and stre were sent forth in a G nes, and went out o ence, but wee were of the Boeswaine of t them a bulls pissell by

ople, and when thou comest to the Banio thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and saue our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chains, and we all ready to receive the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would haue pitied our cause, hearing of seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in iudgement vpon vs. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Passers, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were vnder him; and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholly in my selfe, and he hanged our the most heast bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the fornamed Sonnings should redo, and then he called for our Passer Andrew Dier, and vsed fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Westernmost bulwarke.

The Englishmen arraigned.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Passer, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey fauouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde, for thy Passer from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and told vs what had happened, and we all reioiced at the good hap of master Skegs, that hee was saved, and our Passer for his sake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had aduised him, that vlesse the Passer died also, by the same they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Passer againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man now, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oples custome free, and at their going away made them pay the better multitude for the custome thereof.

Passer Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue saved his life. Then saide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, I will speake the wordes that thou shalt belong: and hee did so. Then saide they vnto him, Now thou shalt be in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the fornamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned slau perpetuall, except there were payment made of the foresaid summe of money.

Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almighty God: and the other thre and twentie he condemned slaues perpetuall vnto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the vse of the great Turke: and then we all fell vnto our knees, giuing God thanks for this sorrowfull visitation, and giuing our selues wholly to the Almighty power of God, vnto whom all secrets are known, that he of his goodnesse would touchsafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed vpon such infidels, blasphemers, whoe masters, and renegade Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his childezen, and of as many asooke any opinion of the said goods.

Every five men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slauerie, and vnto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery five men had allowance but five aspers of bread in a day, which was but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boozes, with a very simple cape ouer vs, wee were also forceably and most violently shauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and sixe more of my fellowes, together with foure score Italians and Spaniards were sent forth in a Galee to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to scale Ne-
 ro, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues
 far, but wee were chained thre and thre to an oare, and wee rowed naked about the girdle,
 the Borelaine of the Galley walked abast the masse, and vs spate as the masse, and eche
 of them a buls pissell dyed in their handes, and when their diuellsish choller rose, they would strike
 the

the Christians for no cause: And they allowed us but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place where as we saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to have neither needles, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about us, nor at any other time in the night, upon paine of one hundred bastonados: we were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote alunder the one from the other, and every night they searchen our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riveted: We continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then we took it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes five, and foure of them were cruelly hurt, and they that were found, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then we were put to all manner of slaueerie. I was put to hew stones, and other to cary stones, and some were put to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make moze, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slaueerie that was to be done, And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched forth of the towne to haue toynd battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordnance, which were drawn by the captiues twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians moze were sent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes
builded a
church.

The Christi-
ans sent 3.
times a weeke
30. miles to
fetch wood.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way: he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other: and heere he said, East North east, and West South west. And at midnight of neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awoke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call no help, for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good service: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe forth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood of company, I should be most miserably vled: therefore of two euils, rather I had to goe forth to the looking of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to be vled as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gaue our camels prouender, and as soone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the land, it caused mee to marueile how so many camels should be laden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but plucked it vpon by strength of handes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and a little at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seven of the clocke that night following: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteen
captiues rim
away from
Tripolis.

The iudges
went of God
vpon blasphem-
ers.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seuenteen captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourette leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispecto deo adesse venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine, and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were enforced to beare vpon roome, and to cheare right afoze the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing by the downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were enforced through the want of food to come ashore, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiving their intent, gathered together at cheerefoze housemen, and hid themselves behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past the halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they

had before escaped more of his company presently done. An Englishman who hauing a very Turke should be returned Turke. A company, hee gre young men, therefore to his desire, saying ther the king sent please your highness that they might not yeoman of our Qu was Iohn Nelson: Will not you beare they went home to said young men with from us, they sent v within three dayes againe, if that they v so I will remaine. presently be made T and they did so, and belonged, but he an father of a Turke, pe me to doe other wise.

And then he called was very strong, for the ende they circume manner of our deliuer In May afoze said the dwelling in Eaux den: and I wrote al faithfully deliuered. A midnap, and the occasi mountable the earle of H came thereof, and herooke offer for our de directed his letters w our deliuer: and be o one Salter Edward H another Turke, and a Turkish, Italian, Span retained. And the fir were in Tripolis came them. Then master B was, and at our depa now I hope you shall be

The next day in the way to the keeper. Then he sent for Salter Barren his millage and by signifying th the late king confid were sent his especial goods, and also the free some taken and kept in

had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedicto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, wherunto who hauing a very unhappy boy in that shippe, and vnderstanding that whosoeuer would turne Turke should be well enterained of the kings sonne, this boy did turne a shoare, and voluntarily company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and James Smith: they were both young men, therefore he was very desirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not preel to his desire, saying: We are your fathers slaues, and as slaues wee will serue him. Then his sapleaze your highnesse, Christians we were boyne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a woman of our Quenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these young men, and then said vnto them: Will not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not preel to thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being fife score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foze from vs, they sent vs a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed vnto them as yet, but againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and presently be made Turke. Then called he fo: his men, and commaunded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would haue had him speake the wordes that therunto belongeth of a Turke, per sayd he, A Christian I was boyne, and so I will remaine, though you foze me to doe otherwise.

The Greene Dragon.

The Kings sonne had a captiue that was some to one of the Quenes Maistres guard, that was foized to turne Turke.

And then he called fo: the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, fo: it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe ouer a litle, and so to shewe the manner of our deliuerance out of that miserable captiuitie.

In May afoze saide, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Eawstoke in Deuonshire, signifying vnto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderstood the truer of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honorable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in those space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Maestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her Subiects, presently tooke order fo: our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our deliuerie: and he obtained the great Turkes Commission, and sent it forthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Justice of the great Turkes, and one souldour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well intertained. And the first night they did lie in a Capitaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night fo: to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said vnto vs, welcome my good countreyman, and louingly intertained vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two shillings, and said, Serue God, fo: to morrow I hope you shall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thanks and so departed.

The first motion fo: those Englishmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their coming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent fo: Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demanded of the saide Master Barton his message: the Justice answered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had sent them word in signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Iesus, was by the saide king confiscated, about twelue moneths since, and now my saide Soueraigne hath sent his especiall commission by vs vnto you, fo: the deliuerance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliuerance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you have taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the same Justice saide, I am authorized by my

saide

The Englishmen
released.

said Sovereigne the great Turke to see it done : And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premises of the value thereof, and so did the Turkes deliver unto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaid, which commission the King with all obedience received : and after the perusing of the same, he forthwith commaunded all the English captives to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our ypons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefoze some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captives during your lives : notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my Sovereigne the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedom and libertie, behold, here I make delivery of you to this English Gentleman : to see he delivereth vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliver them, for that they were turned Turkes : and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Jew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most traffique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plague
and punish-
ments that
happened to
the King and
his people.

As we to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sencerly upon men in the sight of the world, and like wise of the plagues that befall his childezen and others aforesaid. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captives, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaves : that yeres moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed : and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores : and on the 28. day of the same month of June, one Geoffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelve Christians more which were the kings captives. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king roode forth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be scene, as white as any swanne : hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe under him had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe under him stark dead, and I with fire more were commaunded to hurie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about thre moneths after our delivrie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arrivall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboode our vessell, before wee coulde have Platego (that is, leave to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came : and about thre dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marceils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shipp themselves as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about thre moneths after, shipt our selves in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which thre moneths, the soldiers of Tripolie killed the said king, and then the Kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender up all his fathers treasure, goods, captives, and concubines, unto the great Turke, and took with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and James Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had enforced to become Turkes, as is aforesaid. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboode of the Galley, and presently the said Englishmen conveyed unto the saide Christian captives, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, toward Constantinople (upon the faithfull promise of the Turkes Christian captives) these foure Englishmen leapt suddenly into the Crosia, that is, into the midst of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captives, who fally brake their promises, the said Master Blunkers boy was killed, and the saide James Smith, and our Purser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chains, to be hanged at

Two English-
men shipped to
Constantinople
with M. Barton.

The soldiers
of Tripolis kill
the King.

their arrivall in
through the gulf
Venice his Gallie
the Turkes that
have killed the
other Christian
sonne, and so we
and that thre tw
with all the resid
bouts, and the sa
Venice, And from
time we had one
themselves at Zan
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don in Cephaloni
Darchants of our
don, who took
our arrivall at Lon
which we are bound
for the preservation
her poore Subiecte
honorable private Co
ceased, the right h
ly at the suite of my
was to him, whose fo
which place he bound
upon the Crosse, the

The Queen
the shippe
in Barbarie.



lices & fortunatos an
Augustissime & po
statem scripsimus, ve
gato nostro Const
tate recipere tur: simu
provincijs exerceant,
considerati qui var
conjugatur Oriens
Que priuilegia, cu
suo liberalissime indu
posse gratias, eo nom
mas vultates, & com
tas secum adferat.
Id v planè fiat, cum
pocolis voluistam vest
ram vestram Maiesta
tas, & postremo earu
eris, sine vi auctiuria
Et nos omni opera
tati vilo pacto graza f

their arrival in Constantinople: and as the *Lobes* will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfes of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Gallie, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saved the Christian captives, and would have killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying, that they were enforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turkes, with all the residue of the said captives, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the use of the State of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen travelled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and after ward the other eight shipped themselves at Zante, in a shippe of the said *Arcus Segorus*, which was bound to England: and before we departed thence, there arrived the *Assension*, and the *George Bonaventure* of London in Cephalonia, in a harbor there, called *Arrogostoria*, whose *Parchantes* agreed with the don, who tooke us eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arrival at London, our said Purser *Richard Burges*, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almighty God, during our lives, and as duetie bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Maestie had over us, her poore Subjects, in seeking and procuring of our deliverance aforesaid: and also for her honorable private Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late King, whose father now departed, travelled heerein for the which I rest continually bound to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almighty, unto which place he vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death upon the Trolle, there to live perpetually without ende, Amen.

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the King of Tripoli his galley, and killed the Kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the *Iesus*, and the English captives detained in Tripolis in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.



LIZABETHA, Deiter maximi & vnicui cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christiænæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christi que nomen falsis profitentium idololatrias, inuictissima & potentissima defensorix: augustissimo, inuictissimoque principi, Sultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, supra cunctas soli & supremo salutem, & multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fecerit & fortunatos annos.

Augustissime & potentissime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem scripsimus, ut dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatusissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, aliisque Musulmanici imperij ditionibus, sublimi vestra autoritate reciperetur: simul etiam Anglii subditi nostri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis provinciis exerceant, non minus liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæterique vestri confederati qui varias Orientis partes peragant, operam nauantes, ut mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Que privilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis inuictissima vestra Maiestas literis & diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, ut hæc instituta commerciorum ratio maximas utilitates, & commodas utrinque, tam in imperij vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri provincias secum adferat.

Id ut planè fiat, cum nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis voluntatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem benevolè rogamus, ut per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, & postremo earum provincialiarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, ut nostri liberè in illis eris, sine vi aut iniuria deinceps versari, & negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoris vestræ Maiestati vilo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus

lishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and five and twenty Englishmen cast into prison, of whom though famine, choler, and stinke of the prison, eleuen died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Maestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. ducets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and given by our Maestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandise, and whatsoever else taken away bee wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commandement shall come vnto thee, wee dringely commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked vnto, and discharged. And if so the Englishmen, and as author of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen com- mitted nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against law, custome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to binder or hurt them. And wherefore, that the English shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withhelden. And be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie vs at our most famous portche. Dued in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the month of October; and in the yeere of 1283 vs 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Ielus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaves, Anno 1585.



Oltu magnifico Signor,

Nos ha stato significato per diverse lettere di quanto ha passato circa di vnanano nostra chiamata Iesus, sopra il quale in aginto di Ricciardo Skegs, uno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, venina un certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings; il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che doueua, volendo importar seco vn altra Francese debitore a certi vostri senza pagarce- ne, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come sim- pia credendo al detto Francese, senza auercedene de la sua ria malitia, non retornaua, quando la vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandata. La morte del d. vostro Francese apprimiamo co- mo cosa brutta. Ma al contrario, done lei ha confiscato la detta nave e mercantia in essa, e fatto sciam li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li priuilegi dal Gran Signor quattro ani passati concessi, e da noi confirmati: di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d'Inghilterra nostra patria, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopradetto a pieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, e Mahumed Beg, dogmanno di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, e inuicissimo capitano di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta de V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglij, nave col fornimento, danari, e tutti altri beni qualunque, da lei. e per vostro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi a questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, spocialmente per esser dotti oglij compra- ti per ordine di sua Serenissima Magesta, per promissione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, pro- uiammo per questa nostra al incontro di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa ca- gione, como autore de quelli, contrario a la Santa liga giurata da li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li priuilegi, che lei mostrerà il nostro, consta: per obseruatione de gli quali noi stiamo di fermo in questa excelsa Porta. Es cossi responderete nel altramando al solo Iddio, e quā al Gran Signor nostro, e al vostro peccato: omneffoda lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per questa crudelta sono morti, in parte retenuati da esso in duro cattiuero. Al contrario, piacendo lei emtar questo mandamento e restarcene in gratia del Signor Iddio, e li nostri patroni, amichenolmente, (como mouen a par vostro di mostrarsi prudente governatore, e fidel seruitor al patrono) adimpirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter resularni a grand honore e commodo per la tratta di mar- chantia, che faranno a laaduente li nostri in quella vostra provincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto uelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vo- stra Signoria magnifica amichenolmente recolti e recemuti: Et noi non mancheremo al debito ottimo amico in qualconche occorrenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il

R

Signor

Edoardo Barton
e Mahumed
Beg.

M. Hen. Austell. Traffiques and Discoveries.

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maine sea; And the next day we entred into the river of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anchor in the same river before a towne of the bishop of Breime called Straden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Ham-
Hamburg.

The 24. we departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Merchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and tra-
uailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders vpon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenburg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within
an English mile of Brunswig.

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subiect to the bishop of that towne.

Brunswig.
Halberstat.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey:
and the same night we lay at a towne called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was bozne.

Eisleben.

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went
to Neuburg vpon the river of Sala; and at that time there was a great faile.

Coppre
mines.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the same river, and the same night wee
lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

Iena.

The first of July we baited at Salsfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods
of fire trees, and that night to Greuandal; The second to dinner to Neustat.

Great wood
of fire trees.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the river of
Mayne that runneth towards Arnfur, and that night to Forchaim.

Bamberg.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

Nurenberg.

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the ri-
uer of Danubius at Tonerwerd, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, vpon the river of Lech.

Augspurg.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the said riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Suaneo, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the
small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner at Parckerk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is
the place where Charles the fifth and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of byasse
with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prifena, and so that night to Clusen,

The 14. to dinner at Bolfan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous
place, where so many murderers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The borders
of Italy.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chur-
sa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is byawne vp by a cord into his holde. And
that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castile Franco: by the way we stayed at Taruiso, and there tooke coche, and
that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the
duke of Venice called Nicolas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were conti-
nually shut vp together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when
we departed from thence.

Venice.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an hauen
neere Ragusa.

The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citra noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rouigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Gallies of the Venetians: we
passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians; and so that
night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marueilous goodly hauen, with a strong castile at the en-
trie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated town called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that
name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three dayes, where
we found many friendly gentlemen.

Ragusa.

The 11. being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a do-
zen Merchant of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So
trauailing

Seruia.

Chierisfa.

travelling in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chierisfa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Merchantes.

Dj, Fochia.

The 16. we dined in a Cauasara in a Towne called Focsa, being then greatly infected with the plague.

Nouibazar.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Tallizea.

Dj, Nissa.

The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted from thence, travelling still in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in 8 fields.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea.

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leave the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worse.

Sophia.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Merchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with vs from Noui bazar; and also wee had in company, euer since wee came from Focsa, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very nere Constantinople.

Philippopoli.

The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient town, and standeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.

Andrinopolis.

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient town, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turkes mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauazaras, that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Silueri.

The 8. we came to Silueri, which by report was the last town that remained Christian.

Constantinople.

The 9. of September we arrived at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and prouide seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marvellous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compass, and the chiefe parts thereof ioyne vpon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water ouer against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Gallies are built and doe remaine: And on the South side is all the Ordnance, artillery, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefeest feastes.

The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we sawe Pompeys pillar, a pillar of white Marble that was set by Pompeius: and from thence wee passed to the other side of the water, vpon the shoer of Asia and there we dined.

The 15. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.

Prouaz.

The 1. of October we came to Prouaz, one dayes journey distant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the saide riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entered in to the countrey of *Bogdania: they are Christians but subiects to the Turke.

Dj, Moldania.
Palsin vpon the
riuer of Prut,
Yas.

The 12. we came to Palsin vpon the riuer Prut.

The 14. we came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayvoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee receiued great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused vs to be safe conducted through his saide Countrey, and conveyed without cosse.

The 17. we came to Scepanitze.

Sotchen.

The 19. we came to Zotchen, which is the last town of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Nielsti, that parteth the saide countrey from Podolia.

Nyester a riuer.
Camynetz.

The 20. we passed the riuer of Nyester and came to Camynetz in the countrey of Podolia.

subject to the king of Poland can be scene.

The 21. we came to

The 22. to Slothon

The 24. to Leopold

Camynetz and it.

The first of Nouem

The 30. we baited

The 31. we dined at

rollaw, where they say

night to Rosdoska.

The second to dinner

The thirde to Send

Laski.

The fourth to Vonn

The fifth to Kuhn

The 6. to Cracouia

Lituania: for he doeth

in Randeth on the riuer

The 9. we departed

called Ilkuch, where ch

The 10. we passed

that day at Bendzin

Note that all the

Countreys adioyning

mountaine nere to Cr

then any other salt.

The 12. we passed

riuer of Odera.

The 13. we passed

could not bee in there

Townes.

The 14. we passed

traine, great, well bui

The 16. we baited a

The 17. we passed

The 18. we passed

without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed

The 20. we passed

beate was not there, so

The 21. we passed

in Breisch.

The 22. we passed

Amwestlicke: and that

The 23. we passed

strong Towne, and we

we were come one day

to Saxen.

The 24. we passed

night we lay at Carle

The 25. we lay at S

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited

The 28. we came to

The 5. of Decembre

rosen, and from the ri

we lay; and from thence

Subiect

subject to the king of Poland : this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene.

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopold which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenez and it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of trafique and plenty of all: and there we stayed five dayes.

Leopold, or
Leupnig.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz,
Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of November in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Iaroslau, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska.

Iaroslau.

The second to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Reesbou.

Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendzizow, at night to Farnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fifth to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland : at which time the King was gone to Lithuania : for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lithuania. Cracouia standeth on the river of Vistula.

Cracouia.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Likulch, where the leade Mines are.

Leade Mines.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow : where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the last towne of Poland towards Silecia ; and there is a toll.

Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and divers other Countreys adioyning unto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any stone ; it is very good, and goeth further than any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silecia.

Salt digged
out of mount-
aines in
Poland,
Bitom.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen upon the river of Odera.

Oppelen.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigg : for wee could not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in divers Townes.

Schurgasse,
Brigg.

The 14. wee passed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built, and well seated upon the river of Odera.

Breslaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee passed by Lignitz : and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlicz upon the river of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we should haue passed the river of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said river, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumich, and at night to Briesch.

The 22. we passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Churche : and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well governed as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after we were come one dayes journey on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxen.

Magdeburg.

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstar, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. we lay at Soltwedel,

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenburg, that night we lay at Winsen.

Lunenburg.

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke.

Hamborg.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much laden, and from the river went on foote to Boxtehoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay ; and from thence passed over land to Emden.

Thence hauing passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Grauesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almighty God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Iacomo Manuchio.



Know thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England hauing two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austell, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one seruante to attende on them. Therefore wee straightly charge you and all other our seruants by whom they shall passe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue provided for them in this their tourney (for their money) all such necessary provision as shalbe necessary for themselves and their horses, in such sort as they may haue no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of our seruiceable horses. Beye our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Forster gentleman traouiling to Constantinople.



Obertus Comes Leicesteriz, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissime Regine Angliæ a Secretariis consilij, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus eiusdem Regiæ maiestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & prouinciarum vnitærum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ perueniant, salutem. Cum lator præsentium Thomas Forster nobilis Anglus necessarius de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reuersurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & alijs, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum petitorum diuisionis & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento iniusto, & prouidei sibi de necessarijs iustum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter & humaniter tractari, vt occasione eius eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Maiestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestras paratos inuenietis, vt vestris in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus. Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. Hyllo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahometans, Turkes and Moores vnto Mecca in Arabia.

Of the Citie of Alexandria.



Alexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the sea side containeth seven miles in circuit, and is enuironed with two walles one neerer to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruined. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truly said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, because vnder the foundations of the saide Citie are great habitations, and incredible huge pillars. True it is, that this part underneath remaineth of the

way inhabitable, be it is greatly ruined, encerrypses, so like some name. This of that hollownesse apper without doch waters hereof be fountains, at such time as of extendeth into the Alexandria, and soernes of Alexandria, the citie is a Pyram, citie is La colonna, that it is supposed thing of importance, three portes, one called Babelbar, which is not wholly therefore may be called houses of the Jewes, portes, one of them be the vessels of Barbaria andria doe enter. A site of small importanc this Island is the other all mens iudgement port, where the water buildings, out of the value, of the which Turkish Temples, vessels as traffique isula is called Faraon for direction of the the other side is but a is one of the chiefest h and all sort of vessel chments, and Christian citie are true Fontech the fairest and most tians, one to the Rag traffique there, except that all the Christian of the sunne, they wh Fontechi outward, a day (which is the Mo means all parties ar and not feare robbing tians should make an

On the side tow hold, nor any th Alexandria standeth and weak, and hath and full of sand, so cha off into the sea. Forti situate vpon the bank ships and other vessels

day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greatly ruinated. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subject to an euill ayze, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse underneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayze without doth evidently testifie, which is moze subtle and hole some then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the river Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head whereof extendeth into the said river, and from thence they conueigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the cellernes of Alexandria, which being full serue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thickness, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance saue a little castle which is guarded with 60 Janizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towards Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Island called Ghefira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholly an Island, because a little point or corner thereof toucheth the firme land, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Island. Here vpon are builded many houses of the Jewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betwene two very good portes, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the six Gallies of the Grand Signior deputed for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or entrance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fiftene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Island is the other called The new port, which name is not vnfitly giuen vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times past there hath not bene water there, because in the midd of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discouered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are daily digged with engines Iaspere and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on each side a castle, whereof that vpon the Peninsula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light set in a great lantern for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Janizaries: the other on the other side is but a little castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this haue of Alexandria is one of the chiefest hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all sortes of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, merchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are three Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Consull. It is also to be understood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabbath) till their deuotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and void of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Fontecho signifieth an house of traffique, as the Italian word.

Of the coast of Alexandria.

On the side towards Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a little castle called Bichier kept by sixtie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weak, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is vnto this decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. For tie miles further is Rossetto, which is a little towne without walles, and is situate vpon the banke of Nilus thre miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniacbey, without any other guard.

Bichier.

Rossetto.

as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could neuer be known yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an evident and manifest signe of their breer ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorne with hangings wrought with golde. Every person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a bucat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is situate from the riuer Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, save that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on euery side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheelles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorne with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of ponde to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by means of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus overfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and entering there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girdles and beautifull bames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire beckered with gold, pperious stones, and iewels of great value, but chiefly perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard favoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marrowe of cattell, because the Moores eat the tallow. They vse also certaine little furnaces made of purpose, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace steele of fine hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by little and little, untill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

The description of Cairo.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

Without the Citie, five miles higher into the land, are to be scene neere unto the riuer diuerse Pyramides, among which are three marueilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserueth it. And these dead bodies are the Pyramide which the Physicians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make vs to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, silver, and other metall, but vnder the other pyramides the bodies are not taken by so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neere to these pyramides appeareth out of the land a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discovered so farre as the necke toyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, sauing that it wanteth a little tippe of the nose. The necke of this head containeth in circuit about five and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Crocodiles from Cairo byward, but neuer then Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an enchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for conning any lower then Cairo. Howsoever these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of three foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small fish, as sheepe, lambs, goats, or other like, doe great harme. And whyles they are forth of the water, if they happen at vnwar, as vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can overcome, they spare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and thirtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians travelling by Cairo towarde the countrey of the said riuer, to rescue certaine slaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed along the banke of the said riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custom is) at a place called Tana, whom being buile in his double deuotion one of these Crocodiles creazed by the shoulders, and dyed him vnder water, so that he was neuer after scene. And this cause they haue made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth so much water, that the women may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that

it causeth the women as also other creatures to bring forth one, two, and oftentimes three at a birth. Five miles southward of Cairo is a place called Matara, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, where in they are decreued: for the sayde trees growe two dayes iourney from Mecca, in a place called Bedrhone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but saluage, wilde, and without use: and therefore the Moores carrying the same within litle chests from Bedrhone to Matara, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoever) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matara there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselves affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the wicked Herode there saued her life with the child, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, *Ex Agypto vocauit filium meum.* The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and four, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be remuned and redified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Varguebus-shotte from Matara is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. There unto the old Cairo are yet twelue storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes serued to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, for consider: in of the seven deare yeeres. Also passing higher by the banke of Nilus, there is to be seene a stately Citie ouerflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth vnder water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainly appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharaos was resident. Storehouses of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharaos was resident. Storehouses of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharaos was resident. Storehouses of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharaos was resident.

Alde Thebes.

Of the patriarke of Greece.

In Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobines. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechi, being about the age of one hundred and thirtene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being enuied at by the Lewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputeation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sulcan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd vnto him by one of these Discreants: Sith thou beleuest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias, and true God, he will (sayd he) deliuer thee from danger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Lewewrought him a cuppe of the most venomous and deadly popson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, saide in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and hauing so sayde he dranke quite by; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Lewew, saying vnto him. I in the name of my Christ haue drunke thy popson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Lewewooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And this miracle (which merited to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who seeing the despight of the Lewes, vnto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with many engines commeth into the castile from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant patriarke not long since was aliue, and in perfect healeth, which God continue long time.

A touching Americans oblied monie, which some mazar, and their wnto Mecca refozle to depart on tclis, and Barbaria sake, and some to gve on the voyagge expect the Capeatins of Nilus, and to mly, of Spules, Cam followe the Carouan times. Popeouer Arabian tongue A Signior giueth euer five ouenies of gold the needfull pilgrim some Chaufis to seruen hundred souldiers, hundred Janizaries, Capaine, but the chiweare caps of the with a lappe fallin the Carouan. Popeoayes stable and fir the way, as be marmes, by the st wood which giue li their ill hap they wa shadoes vpon the scaine of the Carouan both the charge to se neede requireth: an inuade, sometimes t sometimes on the oc of opbinance dratwen at Mecca, and other chamofie cloth of silke sell by the way, some marchandise that goe come in the hundred.

The seall before soz vnto the cat hat of the Capaine Popeouer he deliuer ment of the Popeoynthe: La illa ill' all ambo Labour Mahum house in Mecca stande Abraham or by his c Pope said house of Ab

Of the preparation of the Carouan to goe to Mecca.

As touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be understood, that the Mahometans observe a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moueable ceremony, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca resort vnto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carouan is ready to depart on the voyage: and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbana to goe on this voyage, some moued by deuotion, and some for traffiques. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which expect the Capitaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Gules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortye thousand, and the persons which followe the Carouan euery yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Whoeuere euery three yeeres they renew the Capitaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Capitaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voyage eightheene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and five ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and also to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Capitaine, besides other seruicemen which follow him, hath also foure Chausis to serue him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carouan foure hundred soldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Janizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Capitaine, but the Janizaries not so, for their prouision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeantes, but the Janizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing before a great piece of wrought silver on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Capitaine of the Carouan. Whoeuere the Capitaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carouan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the starre. These also vse to sende before foure or five men carrying pieces of dy wood which giue light, because they shoulde not goe out of the way, and if at any time throughe their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are call downe and beaten with so many bastinadoes vpon the soles of their feete, as serue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Capitaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fiftene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carouan in order, and to cause them to depart on theirourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the forwarde, sometimes to come behinde with the reuerward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawn by 12 camels, which serue to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, some carry for merchandise cloth of silke, some Cozall, some tinne, others wheat, rife, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that euery one bringeth something to gaine by, because all merchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tyme in the hundred.

pieces of dy
wood in stead
of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

The feast before the Carouan setteth forth, the Capitaine with all his retinue and officers resort vnto the castle of Cairo before the Balha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Capitaine is wrought with golde, and the others are serued according to their degree. Whoeuere he deliuereth vnto him a Chifua Talnabi, which signifyeth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Refullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his name Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to couer from top to botome a little house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpose for the house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and

to defend them from thieues. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawn the sayd five pieces of ordnance, with their gunners, and sixtine Spachi Archers. And next vnto these cometh the chiefe physician, who is like refreshings for the sicke, hauing also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which haue no horse nor beast. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carrieth a little chest made of pure Legname made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, thus chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betwene two tables of pure golde, and the chest during their voyage is covered with silke, but at their enuring into Mecca it is all covered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels, and the like at the eneration into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing vpon instruments. After it is followed by fiftene other most faire Camels, euery one carping one of the aforesayd beasures, being apparelled, and provision of the Amir el Cheggi capitaine of the Carouan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the capitaine, and fine and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marchious things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carouan. Behind these, lesse then fiftene, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which haue little to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe fine and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their capitaine, and along the red Sea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Camels bound one to another, for vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon horses, and at all, the capitaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, sometimes accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. musketeers, whom they attend, till such time as he entrench his pavillion, and then licencing all his attendants to follow to the place, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are scene in this voyage by the way.

Where in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carouan seldom resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage we will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which five, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the most in euery Castle, with foure or five Smerigli, which serue to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carouan coming thither, may haue wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident fine and twentie men of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes journey. The wailes of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel are bashed with the waues of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence about a dayes journey. These five Castles aforesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselves with an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birea vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betwene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Cal, and the other Magaraxiabi, that is to say, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, because hee had slain

man to kill either himself or to woe with their hands, neither yet to take them with their nailes, until they haue accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons aboue sayd: and thereto they carry with them certaine riches made of purple in manner of a file, called in their language Arca, Callah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the break of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereto, the Serifo issueth forth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a bow-shot into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middle the pavilion of the capitaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pavilion, where the king of Mecca doth himselfe of full licence and authoritie to command, gouerne, and minister iustice during his abode in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the capitaine to requite this liberalitie vsed toward him by the Serifo, giueth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine jewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefeest, and taking with them the garment euered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe conuerture vpon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serue in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fivescore pikes the pike: and happy both that man thinke himselfe, which can get neuer so little a peece thereof, to conserue euer after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his finnes are forgiven. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they giue vnto the Serifo. After hauing made their prayers with certaine opudarie and wonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the capitaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pavilion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

The Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Ali husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahomet, who had no issue male, saue this docke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of reuenues royall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or little more: and all such as are of the prophets kinsred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emiri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least haue their turbant greene, to bee knowne from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misdoers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of god Mahomet was wont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

The Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the same betwene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasaunt gardens, where groweth great abundance of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fische, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth circuite fife miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are buile like to houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and louely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hot and ambitious, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that detestable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein hauing washed themselves, their opinion is, that though like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are cleansed from all sinne whatsoeuer, which we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the citie is a great Mosquita,

with the house of Abraham standing in the very midst thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in manner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abovesayd house of Abraham, also the golicries round about are in manner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which diuide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of rents, resort thither, and for moze beautie on the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpon another, so that their house of prayer becommerh worse sometimes then a den of thieues.

Of the house of Abraham.

The house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that where soeuer this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Moreover, they say that when this stone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kussed by sinners, it is there with become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, other wise they carry their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in manner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set vpon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els saue a threed of copper, which reaching from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperour. After this, hauing entred with the difficultie abovesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and of India of 1000. colours which serue to underproppe the Terraza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an euill smell. Without the gate five paces is the abovesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the lord shewd vnto Agar whyles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

In the beginning we haue sayd how the Mahumetans haue two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carouan traueileth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come thither five or six dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time before the feast to finish their race and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by little and little till they come vnto a certain gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is desired the great Mosquitan which enuironeth the house of Abraham, which being desired, they reuerently salute it, saying, Salem Alech lara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they ascend five steps, vpon the which is a great vopd place made of stone: after, descending on the other five steps, and proceeding the space of a light-shoot, they finde another arche like vnto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies for their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whyles she sought and found not the sonne of her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere vnto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other times, alwaies saying: This is the house of God, and of his seruant Abraham; This is the place where the blacke stone abovesayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in the

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The pilgr.to Mecca. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

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apparell as they be, they wash themselves from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking also of that water, which is both medicie. After this, and of an ill saour, and in this wise washed and watered, every one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies every one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to go into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the Carouan doeth after hauing rested at Mecca.

The Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca five dayes, the night before the euening of their feast, the capitaine with all his company sceteth forthward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Arafara. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The haue, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and enuironed round about with the goodliest plaine that euer with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine like wise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort, that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place under the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Upon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and about all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselves, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were seperated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great ioy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beye Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

The mountaine
of pardons.

Of the three Carouans.

The same day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes journey round about, so that at one time there is to be seen about 200000. persons, and more the 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselves into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all the night there is nothing to be heard nor scene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horses mount thereon, and approach as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and those which haue no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the capitaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the capitaine of Damasco, and the third to the capitaine of Arabia, & being all approached as is abovesayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth five steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a short sermon of the tenour following.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

The summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in brieft. He sheweth them how many and how great benefites God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloved friend and prophet Mahomet, hauing deliuered them from the seruitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and like wise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a lib-
all giuer of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successors might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountaine in the world came together thither with sufficientie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which

it became sorrowfull, weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie peeces, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pittie and compassion vpon this pooze Mountaine, saide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue ascended vp into mine eares, wherefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolved from their sinnes, vnlesse they first come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Summe-setting they make 3. prayers, namely, the first for the Scrifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his holie, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry saying: Amni la Alla, Amni la Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, whereof wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the aboue said 4. pillars, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that euery one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looeth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons vntil they be passed the said pillars none dare looke backward, for feare least the finnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillars euery one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. little stones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiefe they carry to the aboue said place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne: for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had neuer bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull seruant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods will, and met with the infernal enemy in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the diuel exclaiming said: Oh doing old man, list God in thine old age hath marueilously giuen thee this son (in whom all nations shal be blessed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loued. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel seeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying: Ismael, haue regard vnto thy selfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered y^e child. Because (saith the diuel) thy doing father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemy) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing bee tooke up stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia ikamil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrims during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillars, throwing away the little stones which befoze they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the diuel, when hee withstood him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is aboue said. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst: and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prouee how it would cut, and making trial diuided the stone into two parts. The five dayes being expired, the capitaine ariseth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other five dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea,

Of Grida.

Grida a port
nere Mecca.

Therefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes journey: and because in those places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Summe, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Summe-rising they are arrived halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furnished, and good houses to lodge in, but especially women enow which voluntarily bestowe their almes vpon the pooze pilgrims: like wise departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals & towres to the landward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to seaward it stands vnwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on ech side, and the third in the midst towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, nere vnto which are 6. or 7. Turks vpon the old towres for guard

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guard the rof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall iogneth with the water, there is lately made a foze like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue plantid 25 pieces of the best ordnance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. Moze outward towards the sea vpon the farthest olde tower are, other fine good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Saniaccho with 150 Turks wel provided with ordnance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifications are for none other cause then for feare and suspicion of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arrive euery yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing woorthy mention in Grida we will returne to our Carouan which hath almost rested enough.

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Of their going to Medina.

The Carouan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came vnto Bedrihonem Tabouelap, where they leaue their ordnance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue seene Medina as yettime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carouan, and resting untill the carouan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they afterwards finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteen miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomer, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reuerence. And being ascended by the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alacch Iarah kul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alacch Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Alacch Iahabic Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue signifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this salutation, they proceed on their iourney, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there cometh the gouernour vnder the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

Medina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not aboute twomiles, hauing therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a fouresquare Mosquira, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillars with a vault, as if it were vnder a pavement, which bindeth all the foure pillars together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in height the Mosquira, being couered with lead, and the top all enamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pavement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of pyon ascending vntill the midst of the pillars, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomer, and not in a chest of pyon cleauing to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the truth thereof. Moreover, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of speckled stone all byace and an halfe high, and ouer the same another of Legname fouresquare in manner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without, that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquira are other two sepulchres couered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Farna the daughter of Mahomer, and Ali is buried in the other, who was the hus band of the sayd Farna. The attendants vpon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and rawn, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, sauing to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twice in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other seruices. All the other eunuches attend without to the seruice of the Mosquira, and the other two sepulchres of Farna, and Ali, where euery one may go and couch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

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Of things without the City.

Without the city and on every side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite poudes, abundance of fruit, with much honest tining, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, save that it is fairely build, and hath large revenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his life-time dwelt. This house hath on every side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet grafted with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented unto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere unto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a litle Mosquita, wherein the Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knewe God: uerenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knewe God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he fate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the thirde holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone foure square, and full of sand, where in, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumet was alwayes wont to ride vpon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and every one of them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongst which thre were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the vestures vnto the sepulchres.

The Carouan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the evening, the capitaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forthward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in manner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, vntill he come to the Mosquita, where hauing prayed, he presenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiving him are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entering in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the side one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equal portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the peopl without deliuer vnto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the capitaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a steepe mountaine, ouer which is no passage, sauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the pyzon gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ali the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, dyed out his word, and striking the said mountaine, diuided it in tumber, and passing thorow saved his life on the other side. Whereouer, this Ali among the Persians had in greater reuerence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Ali hath done greater things and moze miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the capitaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a capitaine with thre scope boyses come thither to bying refreshments to the said capitaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell vnto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forthward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his housmen come thither to receiue him, with a sumptuous and costly banquet made at the cost of the Bassha for the capitaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Bassha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the capitaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Bassha, who hauing killed it, commandeth to lay it vp againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arrived at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the

M. Caesar

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A voyag



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world they would not kill him. But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselves, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. Caesar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the *East India*, and beyond the *Indies*. Wherein are contained the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, as well of golde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hicocke.

Caesar Fredericke to the Reader.



Having (gentle Reader) for the space of eightene yeeres continually coasted and trauelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill successe in my trauels: and hauing seene & vnderstood many things worthy the noting, and to be knowne to all the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the marvellous things I haue seene in my trauels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne those countreys, their religion and faith that they haue, the rites and customes which they vse, and liue by, of the diuers successe that happened vnto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and iewels, giuing also profitable aduertisement to all those that haue a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously reioyce at this my trauell, I haue caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it vnto you (gentle & louing Readers) to whom for the varieties of things herein contained, I hope that it shall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

Caesar Fredericke trauelled eightene yeeres in the East Indies.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.



In the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Caesar Fredericke being in Venice, and hereby desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandise, gouerned by M. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arriued in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Boozes, that were marchants, and consoled to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

The author hauing going fro Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called Bir.

Bir is a small city very scarce of all manner of victuals, and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themselves into companies, according to their merchandise that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a manner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serue but for one voyage. They are made according to the shaltnesse of the riuer, because that the riuer is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the riuer. These boats serue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them vp the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, when they sel them at Feluchia for leuen or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes through the wilderness, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they haue not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carouan and company.

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

Mosul.

company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia ouer against Babylon, if the riuer haue good stoye of water, they shall make their voyage in fiftene or eightene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the riuer, then they must vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then late the marchants gaine when they haue mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntill such time as they haue mended the broken boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make fast your boat to the bankeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines vpon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aboris king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

The Arabian
theues are in
number like
to ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe vnbearke themselves and vnlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is a great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thoroughfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which cometh out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zafares or Baffes made of blowen hides or skinnescalced Vrij. This riuer Tygris doth wash the walles of the city. These Baffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnescalced, and on the boards they lade their commodities, and so come they to Babylon where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnescalced, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now gouerned by the Turks. On the other side of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer against the city, there is a faire place of towne, and in it a faire Bazarie for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants of strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing ouer Tygris from Babylon to this Bazarie is by a long bidge made of boates chained together with great chaines: provided, that when the riuer waxeth great with the abundance of raine that fallith, then they open the bidge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bidge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the banks of this Bazarie, on the other side of the riuer: and as long as the bidge is open, they passe the riuer in small boats with great danger, because of the smallness of the boats, and the ouerlaping of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be uerthowen, or els the streame doth carry them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by prooofe I haue many times seene.

A bidge made
of boates.

These biches
be in thicknes
of a fower
foote, and a
foote & a halfe
square.

Of the tower of Babylon.

The Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and is a very great plaine distant from Babylon seuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinaceous euery side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost couered with the decayed fallings: this Tower was builded and made of fouresquare Bickes, which Bickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in manner and forme following: first they layed a lap of Bickes, then a Bat made of Canes, square as the Bickes, and in stead of lime, they dammed with earth: these Bats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing wonderfull to behold, being of such great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile and rather lesse then moze.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the moze nere a man cometh to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My iudgement & reason of this is, because

because the Tower
hauing the ruines
off, that piece of
that hath fallen

From Babylon
the riuer Tygris
after the manner of
them because of the
they haue in abundance
is a city called He-
berah, and a thing
our pitch into the at-
that it falleth like as
trayes full of pitch
hill: and in truth
some great benefite
riuer of Tygris is wor-
some dayes, and some
15 dayes, because
the way where you

From a city of
Zizani, but now
ruines,
The Arabians call
the Turke, because
ing and blowing of
the by sea no; by
the like men. A
which is set on the
and the castle is c
cometh into the
from the sea
from Ormus. A
I shipped my se
ed miles, which is
bound together
and certaine straws
betweene, where
from Bafora we
we arrived at an
on the left side,

There is an Island
of this Island in a
wood, all other
other Islands
represented with
well, in the which
pyruggalles, and
sires and march
there is very g

because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing moze about to make any thew
 saving the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect describing it a farre
 off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance
 that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater thew then you shall finde coming neere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

From Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that use to go in
 after the manner of Fusts or Gallions with a Saperon and a covered poope: they have no pumpe in
 them because of the great abundance of pitch which they have to pitch them with all: which pitch
 they have in abundance two dayes journey from Babylon. Here unto the river Euphrates, there
 is a city called Heir, nere unto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very marvellous to
 behold, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually thoweth
 out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is thowen with such force, that being
 for it fallerh like as it were spinnckled over all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is al-
 together full of pitch: the Moors and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of
 hell: and in truerh, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people
 have great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daick and Saffin. When the ri-
 ver of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or
 nine dayes, because the waters were low: they may saile day & night, and there are some places in
 the way where you pay so many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes journey,

This hole
 wherout co-
 meth this
 pitch is most
 true, and the
 water a pitch
 runneth into
 the valley of
 the land where
 the pitch cen-
 eth the wa-
 ter runneth in-
 to the river Eu-
 phrates, and it
 maketh all the
 river to be as
 it were blacke
 with the
 smell of pitch
 and by this.

Basora.

Basora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was governed by those Arabians called
 Zizarij, but now it is governed by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great
 pay.

The Arabians called Zizarij have the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be overcome
 by the Turke, because that the sea hath divided their countrey into an Island by channels with the
 river by sea not by land, and so that cause the Turke cannot bring any army against them,
 nor like men. A dayes journey before you come to Basora, you shall have a little castle of
 which is set on that point of the land where the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris meet toge-
 ther, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two rivers make a monstrous great river,
 which runneth into the sea, which is called the gulf of Persia, which is towards the South: Baso-
 ra is distant from the sea fiftene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which
 come from Ormus. Also there is great store of coyne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey both
 of Ormus, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and so we sailed thowto the Persian sea str

Zizarij, an Atica
 out people.

At the castle of
 Corna the river
 Euphrates and
 Tygris do meet.

I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thowto the Persian sea str
 and bound together with small cords of ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene eu-
 er certaine straw which they have, and so they sove board and board together, with the
 betweene, wherethowto there cometh much water, and they are very dangerous. De-
 parting from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulf, until at
 we arrived at an Island called Carichij, fro where we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persi-
 an on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discovered infinite Islands.

Ormus is the
 barrenest Is-
 land in all the
 world.

Carichij an Is-
 land in the gulf
 of Persia.

Ormus.

Ormus is an Island in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and
 drye Island in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt wa-
 ter, wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelve miles off,
 for other Islands neere therunto adioyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city
 is replenished with all manner of fozze: there is standing neere unto the waters side a ve-
 ry great castle, in the which the capitaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good
 number of souldiers, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the married
 men and marchants of every nation, amongst whom there are Moors and Gentiles.
 There is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, like, clove of like, yocax-
 do,

Ormus is al-
 wayes replen-
 ished with
 abundance of
 victuall, and
 yet there is
 none that
 groweth in
 the Island.

Great trade of
 merchandis
 in Ormus.

other traders of
into the In-
made king
of this king
The o. de King
and market (his
meane (sweatly
and thence
great company,
ne, and last
Captaine of the
ride together, he
infent of the Cap-
the great trade that
my selfe to go for
to aduenticke
that charge
at all the march-
are no helpe are

here is resort the
in On us to Goa
city that you come
of Cambaia, which
all city, but of great
Mecca and Ormus
but the Spozes can
king of Portugal
late these ships
they bring from the
of the Golden Sea
is about in a straight
line, because the water
is cold, while it be
run out with moysture
it is a reyes country
for a city of the Gen-
is a faire place in the
Cambaia is situate on the
great calamity of
take their children,
and I have seen
it is a trade at Cam-
the small barks
waters are higher
with silke of China,
of Pannina, which
in billings a piece
barks take cut, and
dampened and painted
and conbide Boracum
um, Asia Ferida, and
stones like to Corne-
de of naturall Diamonds
accepte it, but they the

but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certaine Bro-
kers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue euery one of them sicerce of twenty
men: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what Bro-
ker they shall be serued. Now euery sicerce dayes (as abouesayd) that the fleet of small shippes
enreth into the pozt, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Sparchants alfoone as they
are come on land, do giue the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do
their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue: and the marchant
haue taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Sparchants that
made to the Indies carry ppozion of householde wth them, because that in euery place where they
they come they must haue a new house, the Broker that hath receiued his cargason, comman-
deth his seruantes to carry the Sparchants furniture for his house home, and loan^e on some cart,
and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houses meet^{ing} for the lodging of
Sparchants, furnished onely with bedsteds, tables, chaires, and empty ierres for water: then the
Broker carrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged
out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be broughed into the house where the mar-
chant lieth, the Sparchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These
goods being broughed to this passe into the house of the Sparchant, the Broker demandeth of the
Sparchant if he haue any desire to sell his goods of marchandise, at the prices that such wares are
worth at that present time: And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant
the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Sparchant, you haue so much
of euery soze of marchandise neat and cleare of euery charge, and so much ready money. And if
the Sparchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that
such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The
Sparchant vnderstanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy of sell at the pri-
ses current, he giueth order to make his marchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000
ruchas, all shall be batted of solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when
the Sparchant thinkeeth that he cannot sell his goods at the price current, he may tary as long as
he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and
payed the custome: and perchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make
good profit, and sometimes losse: but those marchandise that come not ordinarily euery fifteene
dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaia
go to Diu to lade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some
go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very well appointed, or els are guarded with the Arma-
da of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries of Pyrats which goe courting alongst
that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theues there is no safe sailing in those
seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is a-
foresayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and
traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of Pyrats, because that at 75
yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sulcan Ba-
ha. At that time foure or fise captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongst themselves,
and euery one of them shewed in his countrey what tyanny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the
great Mogol a Spoope king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes iourney within the land of Amadaur,
became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being
of great power and force, deuising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any
man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyants and a beastly people, they
were loone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwell in Cambaia I saw very mar-
uailous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Manij, of
particles of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their
arms full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thou-
sands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoeuer of their kin-
dome, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they bzeake all their bracelets from their
arms, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their
arms then without their bracelets.

Sparchants
that reuel to
the Indies must
carry their pro-
potion of house-
hold with the.

Great host of
men of warre
and routers on
the coast of
Cambaia.

A marneham
and delights
in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

During passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, situ-
ate in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no
T
towne

towne of merchandise, saue Rice and coine, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you shall haue Basan, which is a fithy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Coine, and Timber to make shippes and galleies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Island called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Spoies, and Gentiles: these haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armesine, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Spoorcharies.

Tana an Island
whereof Odo-
ricus writeth,
pag. 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

Beyond this Island you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Spoies: that city which the Portugals haue is situate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Spoies, gouerned by their king Zamalucco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Spoies, because the Portugals with their ordinance will smicke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sortes of spices, bugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marfins, Verfins, Porcelaine of China, Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananortenne of fiftene great shippes laden with great Rices cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Rices called Giagra: the tree whereof these Rices doe grow is called the Pe'ner tree: and throughout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but serueth for some vse, and none of it is woorthie to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make sailles, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Rices, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placento, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth out runneth out white liquor like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquor: and then they put it into butts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Rices great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of booyes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scaualches for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make sailles of them, for all manner of shipping, or else very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Ruce they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockum to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof thrown away or cast to the fire. When these Rices be Greene they are full of an excellent Sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquor of one of the Rices he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Ruce ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast which is painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Coston, Silke of euery sort, great store of Borsan in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, coine, and other merchandise. The Spoies king Zamalucco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his campe two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not be carried to and fro: yet although they be made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them maruellous well, whose shotte is so true, and there hath bene of that shot sent vnto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the shot. The city where the king Zamalucco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seven or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abheger. Threescore and tenne miles from Chaul, toward the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an haue of the king Zamallaco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

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Goa.

Goas the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Island which may be in circuit five and twenty or thier miles: and the city with the borough is reasonable bigge; and for a citie of the Indies it is pleasant with diuers trees and with the Palmer trees as also says. This city is of great traffique for all sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet cometh commonly euery yeere from Portugall, which are five or six great shippes that come directly for Goa, arrive there ordinarily the first or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall, Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Goos, whose chiefe city is vp in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is call'd Bilapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to Goa, being encamped nere unto it by a riuer side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foure teene moneths: in which time there was a skirmish amongst them in the time of winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then Narunga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other mercant companies are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses: and it is requisite for the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and vnder pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two pence, the pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are of great value in these countreys, as 300, 400, 500 ducets a horse, and to 1000 ducets a horse.

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

Very good late for horses.

Bezeneger.

The city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1563, by foure kings of the Goos, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and these foure kings were not able to overcome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treachery. The king of Bezeneger was a Gentle, and amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Goos: and these two captaines hadelshir of them in charge the foure kings which were Goos, wought meanes with them to beat off their owne king into their homes. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went on off his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were layed, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure hours, but could be two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made him prisoner in his army, then as assented they set themselves to flight. Their yeeres was this prison, it was their life euery yeere once to the whither the people, and they at their pleasures as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king who was taken prisoner, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramuragio, and sat in the rapall in him: the third was called Bengare, and he was captaine generall of the army. These three were in the battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were neuer heard of quickely againe. Quely Temiragio fled in the battell, hauing lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the overthrow in the battell, the wines and children of these three captaines, with their husbands (except yf one) fled away, spoiled as they were, and the foure kings of the Goos entered the city Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained six moneths, searching vnder houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne

A most wicked & wicked treason against their prince: this the cause for giving credit to strangers, rather than to their owne nation people.

The sacking of the city.

owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the souldiers taken in the alozlayd battell of warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and besides he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire wages, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have dispatched all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there untill the wayes were cleere of the fleues, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and heathenly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very early, either on horsebacke or on an elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these others she goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with iewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great top as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carryeth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thowth the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the riuers side called Nigonding which runneth under the walles of the City, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of women, being widowes, there is prepared in this place a great square caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steeppes up: the souldiers caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great top and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine tune, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square caue where the dried wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the nearest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the bankes of the souldiers river, where shee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parentes or kinsfolke, and couering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the river, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Coming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foure or five spaces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together up to the pinnacle of the square caue wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a mat, because they shall not see the fierceness of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and spinckleth it over her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fire, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the furnace throwe after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the flowers that she hath with the wood she burneth after her, she is quickly dead. After this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their hearts is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce heare the howling of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was nere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his kindred

An excellent
good policy to
intrap wits.

In disposition
of the burning
place.

Feasting and
dancing when
they should
mourne.

Mourning
when they
should re-
joice.

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M. Caesar Frederick. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together wth light. Also in this
kingdome I have scene amongst the base sort of people this vice and ooper, that the man being
dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were
upright, then cometh his wife before him on her knees, calling her armes about his necke,
and embracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Passions have made a wall round about
them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there cometh a man behind the woman
and stranglet her: then when she is dead, the workmen finish the wall over their heads, and so
they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities a-
mongst them, of which I have no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these
women would so wilfully burne themselves against nature and law, and it was to be seen that
this law was of an ancient time, to make provision against the slaughters which women made
of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for every little
displeasure that their husbands had done unto them, would presently poison their husbands,
and eake other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faultfull unto their husbands,
and count their lives as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth pre-
sently.

The cause why
the women be
so brutish
in this
is.

In the peere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in
that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a ca-
ple eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also five dayes jour-
ney from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamonds: I was not there, but it was tolde
me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they fill the earth within the wall,
for so much a Squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those
Diamonds that are of a certaine size and bigger then that size are all for the king, it is many
peres agoe, since they got any there, for the troubles that have beene in that kingdome. The
first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Tengeragio had put to death the law full
king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would
not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this means there are many kings, and great divi-
sion in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand
still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tigers and other
beasts. The circuit of this city is foure or twentie miles about, and within the walles are
certeine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all having the three pa-
lacks of the three tyrans byethen, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with
lime and fine marble. I have scene many kings Courts, and yet have I scene none in greatnesse
like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or porches, first
when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are five great porches or gates: these
are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are
kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with
five and twenty souldiers, that he keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another
with the like guard, wherethow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court
there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in
this wile are the first five gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser
gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greater part of the
night, because the entrance of the Gentiles is to doe their buisnesse, and make their feasts in the
night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theues, for the Portugall merchants
leepe in the streets, or under porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any
harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to goe to Goa in the company of
two other Portugall Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or
little wiccers, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Fatchines which are men bi-
nded to carry the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to
carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry
my victuals and provision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme
them, girls and bydes, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa
in Summer it is eight dayes journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of Ju-
ly, and were fiftene dayes coming to Ancoia on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my
bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I
came unto a river where was a little bydge to passe over, I put my bullocke to swimming, and
the midst of the river there was a little Island, unto the which my bullocke went, and find-
ing pasture, there he remained still, and in no wile we could come to him: and so perforce, I was
forned to leave him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to goe seven dayes

Penegonde.

When ride on
bullocks, and
travell were
them on the
way.

a foot with great paines : and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our Iourney, for that euery day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome : and euery morning at our departure we must pay ransome foure or fīue pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as we had as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours country, as euery day we did, al- though they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet euery one of them stamped a several coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serue the next : at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a country of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went euery yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Voyles, Cluets, Damaskes, and Sattens, Armesline of Portugall, and picces of China, Saffron, and Sharlets : and from Bezeneger they had in Turkey for their commodities, Iewels, and Pagodes which be ducats of golde : the apparell that they vse in Bezeneger is Clu- ietwels, and Sattens, Damacke, Sharlet, or white Bombast cloth, according to the estate of the person : with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Cluier, Satten, Damacke, or Sharlet, gi- uing themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white bombast cloth : they haue breeches after the order of the Turks : they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

[illegible]

**The marching-
drum that come
in and out to
Bezeneger the
ry per.**

**The Apparell
of those peo.
etc.**

**Cher Winter
is our Sum-
mer.**

Four small
boxes of the
abominable.

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merchandise paffe: t
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to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamom, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Onion, ships laden with great Jewels, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the biggest of Nutmegs, which fruice they eat in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Betzell, the which is like unto cur-
gule leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eat it made in plaisters with the lime made of Di-
stibels, and the how the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is
also daily, which thing I would not have beleueed, if I had not seene it. The customers get
great profite by these Herbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this people eat and
chew this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like unto blood, and they say, that
it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my iudgement
they eat it rather to fulfill their fleshy lusties, and of a haauerie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote,
maketh a very strong expulsion, For Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another final port
of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles,
and a countrey of small importance, and of an hundred and twentie miles, full of thieues, be-
ing under the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemy to the Portu-
gales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for
stranger theues, and those hee called Moores of Carpos, because they weare on their heads
long red hats, and these thieues part the spoiles that they take on the Sea with the king of Cal-
icut, for hee giueth leave unto all that will goe a routing, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all
along that coast there is such a number of thieues, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with
great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugales,
from Cranganor to Cochim is 15. miles,

Betzell is a very
profitable
herbe in that
countrey.

Enemies to
the king of
Portugall.

Cochin.

Cochim is, next unto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and
there is great trade of Spices, Drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the king-
dome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the
Portugales take in their ships by bulke, and not in sakes: the Pepper that goeth for Portu-
gale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the
king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochim, in the name of the king of Portu-
gale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betwene them at that time made,
the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the vil-
lains bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that giue a
better price, haue it cleane and drye, and better conditioned. All the Spices and Drugges that are
brought to Mecca, are stolen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochim is two cities, one of the
Portugales, and another of the king of Cochim: that of the Portugales is situate neere vnto
the Sea, and that of the king of Cochim is a mile and a halfe by higher in the land, but they
are both sit on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and of a good depth of water, which
riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gen-
tiles, in whose kingdome are many Christians of Saint Thomas order: the king of Cochim is al-
so a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Por-
tugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochim of the Portugales. And by this
name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the
West, whether they be Italians, Frenchmen, or Almains, and all they that marrie in Co-
chim do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which
the Citizens haue of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal
in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the
great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome
for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the
king of Cochim, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and
strangers, pay in Cochim to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise,
as was in Cochim when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coult to
make the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which
time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships with-
out the went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochim hauing vn-
derstanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to be weighed. Then presently after
this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speech of
this

Within Cochim
to the kingdome
of Pepper.

The Pepper
that the Portu-
gals bring,
is not so good
as that which
goeth for Me-
cca, which is
brought thither
by straight.

Great priuileges
are that the
Citizens of Co-
chim haue.

this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but fewente thousand men of a mes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two forces of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselves forward in euery danger, although they know they shall be. These men goe naked from the girdle upwards, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of their heau, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swoozes naked, these Nairi haue their wulues common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueh his swooze and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, these dare not any be so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that because they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accepe for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood royal, so that they be sure they are of the blood royal.

is very strange
thing hardly to
be believed.

The Nairi and their wives be for a hauerie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes be, the more noble they esteeme themselves . I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great . Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole to grow great. They lade ships in Cochyn for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carrie them to Ormus of Cambai, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochyn properly they carry away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantity of Ginger dyed and confured, with Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great Store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the bark of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Pempt, of which they carrie great Store into Portugale.

Note the departing of the ships from Cochran.

The shippes euery yeere depart from Cochín to goe foꝝ Portugall, on the fift day of Decem-
ber, oꝝ the fift day of January . Howe to follow my voyage foꝝ the Indies : from Cochín I
went to Coulam, distant from Cochín feuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a small fozt of
the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and
of small trade : at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then they goeth to Cochín
to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is feuentie and two miles, and there endeth
the coast of the Indies : and along this coast, nere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori,
downe to the lowe land of Chilao , which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as
it were all turned to the Christian faith : there are also Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order,
which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people , and in conuerting them,
and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

**The older
how they fish
for pearls.**

The Sea that lieth betwene the coast which descendeth from Sao Comori, to the Ilande of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make euery yere, beginning in Sparch of Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, that they do not fische euery yere in one place, but one yere in one place, and another yere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Shellers bee vnder water, and right against that place where greatest store of Shellers bee, there they make of plaine a village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and is furnished with all things necessarie, and now and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fische. The fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Suffles armed to defend the fishermen from Roubers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the open

that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barks that make consort together, which are like to our little Pilot boats, and a little less, there goe seuen or eight men in euerie one of them, in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anchor in fiftene or ier, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great Stone, and a basker about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottoome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee fillet the basker, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the basker: and in such wise they goe one by one untill they haue laden their barke with opsters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of opsters one distanc from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of opsters, and they are not touched untill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing euery companie steth round about their mountaine or heape of opsters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, stale and brittle: and if euery opster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering of a bodie: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chiini, which see and make the price of pearles according to their caracters, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of regales doe buy them. The first sorte bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugals doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sorte which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Cambaia. The fourth and last sorte, which are the least and worst sorte, are called Aia with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought up at the pyles for according to the goodnesse and caracters of the pearles.

These pearles are piled according to the caracters which they beare, as 4. graines, and these men that pile the same haue an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees say to fort 6 paces high.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Island called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the country which first were Gentiles, and haue a small hold of the Portugales being situate ouer against Zeilan: and betwene these two Islands there is a channell, but not very big, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change of the full of the mone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of the shoales that lie in the channell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and all the small shippes that passe that way, whether they be bound for the Indies or the Coast of Coromandel, on the one side by the land of Chilao which is betwene the firme land and the Island Manar, and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee empty, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Island called Peripatane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery shoale without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they carrie in Peripatane untill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to the shoales, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and at that place the windes blowe so forcebly, that they are forced to goe thowise, not hauing any other refuge to save themselves. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thowise, where as the small shippes they misse the shoale sayd channell, sicke fast on the shoales, and by this means many are comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the channell of Manar which is above this, whose channell is Dazle, and if the shippes sicke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this channell is not more sure to goe thither, is because the windes that rage of blowe betwene Zeilan and Manar make the channell so shallowe water, that almost there is not any passage, from Cao Comori to the Island of Zeilan is 100. miles ouerthware.

Zeilan.

Zeilan is an Island, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the ciety called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or entrenches. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of

of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugal, being depuied of his kingdom. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdom doth belong, was called Madoci, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his younger sonne, was depuied of his kingdom, who because hee had entred and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despite of his father and brother being princes, usurped the kingdom, and became a great warrior. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Corra with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power; and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee lived secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianfampatan. In thirtene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

Cairo is a stuff
that they make
ropes with,
the topch is
the back of a
tree.

The cutting and gathering of manna.

on ray things.

In this Land there groweth tree Sinamom, great Roze of Pepper, great Roze of Nutts and Arochoe: there they make great Roze of Cairo to make Copdage: it bringeth forth great Roze of Chisidall Cats eyes, o Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I have sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was delicious to beholden they gather the Sinamom, o take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was the month of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the country: yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with me and went into a wood thre miles from the Citie, in which wood was great Roze of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees: and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaves like to our Baie tree. In the month of March o I take it, when the tappe goeth up to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from the tree in this wise. They cut the bark of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, from ioint to ioint, above and below, and then calise with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth, but against the next yeare it will haue a new bark, and that which is gathered euery yeare is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two o thre yeares is great, and not so good as the other is: and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

Negapatan.

From the Island of Zeilan men use to goe with small Shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seaventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugales and Christians of the country, and part Gentiles: it is a country of small trade, neither have they any trade there, save a good quantitie of Rice, and cloath of Burmah which they carie into divers partes: it was a very plentifull country of victuals, but now it hath a great dearth by reason that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and buile houses, and dwell there with small charge.

98 foolish fears
of Portugal's.

that abundance of riches, and there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdom of Bozeneger being a Gentle, more thelesse the Portugueses and other Christians are well treated there, and haue their Churches there with a realiterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with house's round about: yet for all this, they are amongst heathens, which alwayes their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fise: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens on demand of them certaine Arabian ynfes, and they hauing denied them such thing, and gainsaid his demands: it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, whither when the poore citizens understood, they doubted some euill, to haue a thing which was not woone to bee, they thought that this man would come so farse the Citie, and presently they embarked their riches the best they coult with their mouebles, merchandise, iewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the ships to, put from the harbor.

When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to peeces, and all the goods that came on land and were saued, were taken from them by the countibours and men of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, thinking that any such thing would haue happened.

• Thomas H. Sepulchre.

• Thomas H. Sepulchre.

A painted kind
 of cloth & birth
 of divers col-
 ours which
 those people
 delight much
 in, and esteem
 them of great
 price.

In the Islands
of Banda they
have Amurgo
for there they
grow.

In the Islands
of Andemson,
they eat one
another.

what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruit they would make fall to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old shute a good piece of Amber.

Sumatra.

The common
birds that
grow in the
kingdom of
Afi.

This Island of Sumatra is a great Island and deuised and governed by many kings, and deuised into many chanelis, where though there is passage: upon the headland towards the West is the kingdom of Afi governed by a Pooye king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Follis and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin: he is an utter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the bougthes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The Citie Malacca.

The great
trade that is at
Malacca.

All the Molucces
they lade
the Cloues.

The kingdom
of Afi.

The ship of
Dunga, so re-
ward of the
Portugals.

Plants not
discouered.

China is within
the govern-
ment of the
great Tartar.

Malacca is a Citie of marvellous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we be at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a more danger after: for if they come into the Indies and haue not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I haue not passed further th, in Malacca towards the East, but that which I will speake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Japan, and so forwards to go to the king to make such voiaiges, or to the iurisdiction of the capitaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiaiges they make from Malacca thither, & these are the kings voiaiges, that emperere there departeth fro Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of the goeth to Molacca to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Spices. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, saving the portage of the Spicers and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiaiges for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not haue where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the capitaine will not carie any marchant for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coast of Iaua, and change of guild their commodities in the kingdom of Afi, and these be the Spices, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the territories of Mecca. The voiaiges that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Japan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and euery sort of Bombard cloth. Sonda is an Island of the Moores nere to the coast of Iaua, is called the ship of Dunga, because the earliest diuers Dunga of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is siluer. From Malacca to China is eigheteen hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yeere a shippe of great importance laden with silke, which for returne of their silke byingeth barres of siluer which they trucke in China. The distance betwene China and Iapan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Islands not very bigge, in which the first of Saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians there like to themselves. From this Island thither wards the place is not yet discouered for the great holynesse of Shambes that they find. The Portugals haue made a small citie nere vnto the coast of China called Macao, where church and houses are of wood, and it hath a bishoppe, but the custome belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same as a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance, and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentle and are so zealous and fearefull, that they would not haue a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shal sit or lode within the citie, but send them forth into the suburbs. The countrey of China is nere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very good countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be lugged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleue there are not better noy in great quantitie in the whole world besides.

First, great store of silke, and in value the damaske and the quantitie of quincellane, made in the citie of the two or three great men from thence. Carouan from Persia that was and of great importance of the citie, are sold, for all the best is not so good: also of Aloes, for that is sent to China, and for that the people only for wood and wine, the people buy in the ship, until Malacca to Sion, and when he is

Slon was the island due hundred voyage or came by the number of his came to the Citie, could winne it, which after his departure, some men of warre came to the Citie, if there had was one of the gaces and became gouernor his enemy was in the men, that were not into Pegu, where I came home & returned home in a square were taken prisoners.

How to returne to Saint Tome, being of the castles of Malacca a great armie and power that any shippes should without making any men: we departed thence were so contrary two and forty dayes the first lande that we were sick in foure dayes, that I could not be with forty dayes. There

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in places like to little shippes, and in value thre and twentie caracters a peece, very great abundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and cassaca, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Dream in barres, great quantitie of quicksilver and of Cinaper, great store of Camfoza, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diverser sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the robes of China: and every yere there cometh from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious marchandise. The Rubarbe cometh from thence ouer lande, by the way of Persia, because that every yere there goeth a great Carouan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carouan arriveth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with a Persian that was thre yeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiajes of Malacca which are in the iurisdiction of the Capitaine of the castle, are these: Every yere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sand, is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship every yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes cometh from this place, which is in the same land neere unto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any means, for that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bying that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that every day there is a mare kept in the ship, untill such time as the be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Capitaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Uerzino: all these voiajes are for the Capitaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiajes, he selleth them to another.

A yereley Carouan from Persia to China.

A market here abound of the ship.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

Sion was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixtie and seven, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage of came by lande foure moneths journey with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundred thousand men through his lande, and came to the Citie, he gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundred thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not bene treason against the citie, it had not bene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gouernour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemy was in the citie, he poisoned himselfe: and his wives and children, friends and noble men, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the coming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which coming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephanes come home in a square, laden with golde, silver, jewels, and with noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

A prince of a marvellous strength and power.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Capitaine of the castles of Malacca had understanding by abuse that the king of *Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship we departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and we were in that shippe foure hundred and thre men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Island to take in water, but the winds were so contrary, that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this means we were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were dyuen too and fro, so that the first lande that we discovered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then five hundred miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere unto the kingdome of Orisa, and so we came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yere after had my throat so sore and parched, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I iudge the reason of my heatlesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my life many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are

* Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

le to drinke
in the ship,
when a barke
could not
serue mee,
and for halfe
powne pur-

gone with
king reigned
which the land
merchants which
some of them,
small thing ac-
twenty of thir-
th, ople of Ze-
great store of
cloth of herbes,
of man, and
re onely to ga-
ayed by the king
ad got the king-
dome: but this
re tyrant, which
re resistance, I
Orisa towrdes
the coast fiftie and
r river, to a citie
de, are a' moied
in which river it
ome, they are not
kes be light and
me, and for refuge
and they call these
I have seene a
which is called Bu-
the river is very
allage, with houses
to this village (an
then they are depar-
which thing made me
with a great num-
me comming downe
to see such a place
small ships go to Sa-

great and small, with
re, Spirabols and
merchandise. The re
g with all things, and
gol. I was in this
voakes for their bene-
saiores, buying their
commodities

commodities with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a faire, now
in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went up and downe the river and
saw my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things: The kingdome of Bengala in
times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuertheless there is great store of Or-
issles among them; alwayes whereas I have spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters,
and whereas I speak of Moores I meane Mahometes sect. Those people especially that be within
the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the
countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and every
day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they
make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto,
they let the bodie alone untill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make
an empty iarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the river. These things every night
as I passed up and downe the river I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the faptes
to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugals will not
drinke of the water of the river Ganges, yet to the sight it is moze perfect and clearer then the
water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochín, and from Cochín to Malacca,
where I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is wont
to be made in fure and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of
three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude
not farre from a citie called Tanafary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his wordes were not
true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rocks, and
there were also some Portugals that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where
the citie of Tanafary was.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great river
fure, which cometh out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this river runneth into the sea,
there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Cler-
in, Syria, and Benjamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion,
but the greatest merchandise there is Myrrin and Myrra, which is an excellent wine, which is
made of the floure of a tree called Myrr. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent
drinke cleare as crystal, good to the mouth, and better to the stomacke, and it hath an excellent
gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good store of this, he
shall be whole againe, and I have seene it proued, because that when I was in Cochín, there
was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled
of the doctours of physicke, that he should goe to Tanafary at the time of the new wines, and that
he should drinke of the myrr wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled,
which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is moze strong, and if you
drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkenesse. This man went thither, and did
so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed
in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it
is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is every yeere
great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rocks,
and farr from the land which is ouer against Tanafary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and
that by the saying of the Pilot and two Portugals, holding then firme that wee were in
front of the aforesaid harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals,
and that the shippe should stay for vs in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in
the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ship,
drawing our felues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, we rowed all that
day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any
signe of good landing, and this came to passe throughe the euill counsell of the two Portugals
that were with vs.

For we had overshot the harbour and left it behind vs, in such wise that we had lost the lande
shores, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no manner of victuall with
vs in the boat, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice
with him in the boate to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three
or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the government of this Ryce, promising
as by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for vs untill it pleased God to send vs to
some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should
not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alonge the coast, without finding any thing but
uninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would haue serued
vs.

Moores are of
the sect of Ma-
homet.

A ceremony of
the gentiles
when they are
dead.

Portugals
comming from
Sion.

Myrr wine
good to cure
the french
pockes.

Great quantities
of rice at sea.

to put my goods on lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should haue no losse; and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should haue any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my reason sounded well in the Rectors eares, and so presently he sent for the Portugales, which are as Counsellors of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head as in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should haue any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundred of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Rectors house. The Capitaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchantes were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles desired to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution untill such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand soldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Rector sent, and gave commaundment to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour of noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which they to downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making proofe of their manhood, which the day before was to bragge, that time put themselves to flight most shamefully, and saved themselves a voyd of little shippes, that were at anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds were naked, and that night they carried away all the Portugales goods out of the suburbs into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbs also. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the shippes to save themselves, tooke a newe courage to themselves, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbs, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burne and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue bene burne; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixtene thousand ducats, which, if they had not set fire to the Citie, they might haue had againe without any losse at all. When the Portugales understanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Rector of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to brnde and shoot their ordnance against the Citie, which batterie of the fies continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the shotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere vnto it, so that the Citie had no harme. When the Rector perceived that the Portugales made batterry against the Citie, he tooke one or twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to stay untill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterry, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them: I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Rector, that no man should doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that he performed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the commaund of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths stayd, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, were pepper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my supplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Maracuan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in thre or foure daies: they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge; And in this voyage you shall haue a Macareo, which is one of the most maruelous things in the world: that nature hath wrought, and I neuer saw any thing so hard to be beleued as this; to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one pulch or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it cometh. We departed from Maracuan in barkes, which are like to our Pilot boates, with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chanell towards some bankes, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land:

At this time on the Portugales.

At this time most maruelous, that at the coming of a tide the earth should quake.

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It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of iron, and make them fast with rings, because these beaden fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many young Elephants that haue not their teeth spowered together: also this king hath a braue aduise in hunting to take these Elephants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builden a faire pallace all gilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere vnto this pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunt-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Elephants, teaching them in this businesse. Every hunter carrieth out with him due or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they choyse the secret place which the Elephant is so entangled, they say that when the wilde Elephant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leaue them: when the hunt-men haue made prouision, the Elephant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doeth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long straight way with trees on both the sides, which couereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he cometh to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this pray, when they first come to this field, they send presently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out five or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the field rounde about: in the great field when the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Elephant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noise, as much as is possible, to make the wilde Elephant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and althoone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noise, and so the hunters with the female Elephants, and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Elephant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three daies to see him is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee singeth, hee runneth, hee doeth hee speaketh vnder the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kill some of them: but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee continually beareth his teeth in the grates. At length when hee is weary and hath laboured the body that hee is all wet with sweat, then hee plucketh in his trunk into his mouth, and then hee pisseth out so much water out of his belly, that hee sprinkleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certain officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and pick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Elephant is in, he cannot turne himself to goe backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although these canes be long, yet the Elephant would kill them if they were not swift to saue themselves: at length when they haue gotten him into one of those houses, they stand ouer him in a loft and get downe over his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or five dayes, they vnbloose him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgment there is not a beast so intellectuall as these Elephants, nor of moze vnderstanding in all the world: for he will do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humane speech.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Elephants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backs a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Castle foure men very conuiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the thicke of this Elephant is so hard, that an harquebuss will not pierce it, vntil it be in the temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and haue a very excellent order in their battell, as I haue seene at their feastes which they make in the piers, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing: and worthy memo- rie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Elephants, of horsemen, of harquebussers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weak as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebusses are most excellent, and alway in his warren he hath eightie thousand harquebussers, and the number of them encreaseth daily. Because the king will haue them

to warlike
politic.

His excellent
device to bind
and take wilde
Elephants.

An excellent
pastime of the
Elephants.

These canes
are like to
them in shape
to pierce the
call loco de tori.

A strange
thing that a
beast is taught
to do: hee
should in so
short time be
made tame.

The greatest
strength that
the king of Pe
gu hath.

A goodly or
der in a barba
rous people.

The order of
their weapons
and number of
his men.

shoot

26. Crowne
kinge at his
commenda-
tion. The
kinge hath
in one
Cainpe.

Enting of
the kinge
of Pegu.

The riches
of
the kinge
of Pegu.

The great
pompe of
the
kinge.

The order
of
Justice.

No difference
of persons be-
tweene the
kinge in con-
troversie
as in the
lawe.

shoote every day at the Pluncke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: as
to her hath great Advantage made of very good metall; to conclude there is not a King on the
earth that hath more power of strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and six
crowned kinges at his commaunde. He can make in his Camp a million and an halfe of men of
warre in the field against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his ar-
my, is a thing incredible to consider, & the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people
in the warres; but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleve it.
I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and soldiers have eaten of all sorts of wild beastes
that are on the earth; whether it be very flicke or otherwise all serveth for their mouths: yea,
I have seene them eat Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse,
so that if such a great armie want not water and sale, they will maintaine themselves a long time
in a bush with roots, flowers and leaves of trees, they carry rice with them for their voyage, & that
scrue them in stead of comfit, it is so valiant unto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army
of power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and silver, he farre exceeds the power
of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath divers Magazons full of treasure, as
of gold, & silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is neuer diminished. All he is
Lord of the Spices of Indies, besides & Opinelis. There into his royal pallace there is an in-
finite treasure wherof hee maketh no account, for that it standeth in such a place that every one
may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walles round about with walls of
stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place of Court are fure gilded
houses covered with lead, & in every one of these are certaine heavenly tooles of a very great
nature. In the first house there is a statue of the Image of a man of gold very great, & on his head
a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Sappires, and round about him are 4. little children
of gold. In the second house there is the statue of a man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on
the height of any one roofof an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all
my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the third house, there is
a statue of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house
there is a statue of a man as big as the other, which is made of Ganso, which is the metall they
make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This statue also
hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an
open place that every man at his pleasure may go & see it: for the keepers thereof never forbid any
man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this king every yere in his feastes crimi-
nall: because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write thereof, which is as followeth.
The king rideth on a triumphall cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawn by 16. goodly horses.
and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy over it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords & Ro-
bles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it upright that it fall not. The
king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & upon the same cart about the king stand 4. of his nobles
most fauorers of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforesaid, and
in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a
marvellous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barba-
rous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principall wife which is kept in a Seraglio, he hath 300
concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king sitteth every day in person
to heare the suites of his subiects, but he noy they neuer speake one to another, but by supplica-
tions made in this order. The king sitteth by aloft in a great hall, on a tribunal seat, and lower
under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demand audience enter into a great
Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings
person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but
all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves
of a tree, these leaves are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a
sharpe iron made for purpose, & in those leaves are these supplications written, & with their sup-
plications, they haue in their hands a present of gift, according to the daignities of their matter.
Then come 3. secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before
the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that saue of justice that they demand, then he
commaundeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand is not just, or
being to right, he commaundeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the in-
dies there is not any merchandise that is good so bring to Pegu, unless it be at some times by
chance to bring Opium of Cambai: and if be bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodi-
ties that come from S. Tome are the onely merchandise for that place, which is the great quantity

of cloth made there, which
to that the more that kinde
of cloth, and there is made
that a small bale of it will co-
great store of red yarene, of
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Tome to Pegu, of great im-
of September, & if the stay
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the winde bloweth there for
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which arriveth in the harbor
harbour where these two sh
a port in Pegu, there come
China, Camfora, Bruneo,
the ports of Pegu and Ciri
and Chickinos, by the wh
is good for Pegu: but they
their commodities that the
ships come thither into the
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which encreaseth water
their ships, whither the C
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of the goods & put them in
barke, and goe by to Pegu
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In Pegu their order is
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a man shall be very well
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more of little stolen from

at cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast woven and patterned, so that the more that kind of cloth is washed, the more luster they shew their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such account of this kind of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand ducats. Also from S. Tome they lap great store of red yarn, of bombast dyed with a roote which they call Saia, as aforesaid, which colour will never out. With which merchandise every year there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 1. of 12. of September, & if the day until the twelfth it is a great hap if the returne not without making of her voyage. Their use was to depart the first of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dyed, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary game of his freight, thinking to have the wind alwayes to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the wind turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmly for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the wind in poepe, and if they arrive not there before the wind change, and get ground to anchor, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the windes blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anchor there, then with great labour they may save their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala every year, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that cometh from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arrive is called Colmin. From Malaca to Martuan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Piocellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo, and other merchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the ports of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wool, Scarlets, Velours, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great gain of their commodities that they carpe from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither into the same port laden with pepper; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundred nules, and they go it by the river in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Colmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the kings house, where they make the custome of the merchandise. When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Rector of the City giveth licence to the Marchants to take backe, and goe up to Pegu with their merchandise; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe up to Pegu in company. God deliver every man that he give not a wrong note, and enerie, or shinke to deale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the king worth take it for a most great affront to be deceived of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little room: for because that all the jewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Sappires and Spinels pay no custome in any way: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I have spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thowen the Indies, must carpe al manner of household stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber room in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he cometh to any City is to hire a house, either by the year or by the month, or as he meane to stay in those parts. In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for six moneths. Nowe from Colmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in six houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the river side, and there tary until the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, having on both sides of the rivers many great villages, which they call Cities: in the which hennies, pigeons, eggs, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage up to Maccoo, distant from Pegu twelue miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawn with oxen, and the Marchants are carried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he have will thereunto: and his foure Falchines carry him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and straight thither, may amount unto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse taken from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man have his eyes

The commodities that are brought in Pegu.

How the best of the shippe from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chickinos are pieces of gold worth sterling 7. shillings.

Great rigour for the dealing of Customers.

Description of the fruitfullnesse of that soyle.

Deling is a small litter covered with mats as is accustomed.

eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to have many friends, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these gentlemen have no shame that their slaves rob strangers: whether it be clothe in the wing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke there so narrowly but one of other will rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves, a man cannot choos but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you have, & not by rate of every sort as they ought to do, by which means a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be carried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghs, who are bound to sell all the marchandise which come to Pegu, at the common or the current price: then if the marchants will sell their goods at that price, they sell them away, and the brokers have two in the hundred of every sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or means, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sell his goods without the consent of the broker, per necessitatem he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and payment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and carry him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor, and sell them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The current money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdome is called Ganza of Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but every man may stamp it that will, because it hath his full partition of value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or silver, Rubies and Spikes, and other things, for there is no other money current amongst them. And Golde, silver and other marchandise are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byza, & this name of Byza goeth for an account of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our account) halfe a ducat, little more or lesse: and albeit that Golde and silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: every Byza maketh a hundredth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if he will do well, it behooveth him to be a whole yere there to do his business. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conveniently for the brevitye of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the payment of their goods, golde, and silver, which is never wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in payment, but they make no account of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be advertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifye in their bargain, the terme of two or 3. moneths payment, when their payment shalbe in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sell every thing with great advantage. And how needfull is it to be advertized, when they will recover their payments, in what order they shal receive their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganza, as also in the fallensse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any will receive money or make payment, he must take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his business, and give him in payment for his labour two Byzas a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintain it for good, for that he receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when he hath received any Ganza, then he causeth it to be brought into the Magasin of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong porters burden: and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiveth his money must make the payment thereof. And that by this means, the

is lawe for
Marchants.

Every man
may stamp
what money
he will.

How a man
may buye
jewels for
the trade in
Pegu.

Good induc-
tions.

Marchant with the
tolle or trouble. The
spinelles, great stones
might be great stones:
they give them to the
up more doe they com-
ny of these Sugar canes,
which they call Pagas
are made in soyme of
as high as a reasonable
ter of a mile. The le-
bur in steade of lime,
with Sugar canes, a
great abundance of
of mol houses great
and some of them are
great store of gold spe-
to the soore, so that the
the value doeth confu-
in Pegu then it woul-
nored in the buying of
and as good cheap, as
in this wise. There
heres of Jewels. The
chant that will buy com-
to imploy in Rubies.
sundry quantitie, that
pyres. When the
him home to one of the
ellers perceive that he
they let him alone. I
any great quantitie of
them be of what value
dayes: and if he hath
that have very good
sell, and may thew the
well, he may returne
Which thing is such
a blow on the face the-
For the men have a
have no knowledge.
Marchants that have
and not the brokers:
ease the price. The
this: There are many
shall not understand
under a clothe, and by
bidden, and what is at
though it be for a thou-
nidication. For if the
great controuerie and
169. having gotten
thought it good to go
In which journey
a shippe there ready
gan a great harbour
for Portugall, in whi-
I had thus resolved
pence of Toulson: con-

Marchant

come in the great
which slaves, and
in the living of
another to keepe
will rob some
on this day there
your benefit, the
of the officers of
ake the best that
neph more then
order, the Spar-
re.
bound to sell all
if the marchants
in the hundredth
ods, because they
knoweth not to
is bound in any
er, yet neverthe-
ry seldom seene,
when his time is
come to his house,
able to pay the
to is the labe of
ingdom is called
be king, but every
ake many of them
all any take them
other things, for
marchandizes are at

rupt of the weight,
little more or lesse
geth: every Byza
he that goeth to
do his business.
to conveniently for
that come from S.
omed their goods,
e the beginning of
e payment of their
e their departure
at count of them:
rized, that in the
his payment, what
e with the Gama
advertisized, when
Because he that is
so in the fallencie
nce it doth rise and
ake a publique
advertisment for his
wey, & to maintain
en hee hath recei-
merchant, that is the

and also where the
Common way
y this means the
Sparchant

Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without
losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Sapphires,
Spinnelles, great store of Benjamin, long pepper, Leabe, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there
might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they have abundance of Canes, but
they give them to Elephants to eat, and the people consume great store of them for food, and ma-
ny more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend ma-
ny of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varelly for their idoles,
which they call Pagodes, where of there are great abundance, great and small, and these houses
are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaves or to Bells, and some of these houses are
as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quar-
ter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with hyckes and
durt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a covering for them
with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoiled, by the
great abundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varelly
of wood houses great store of lease-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with gold,
and some of them are covered with golde from the top to the foote: in covering where of there is
great store of gold spent, for that every 10. peeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top
to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great abundance of golde. For every 10. peeres
the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this means they make golde dearer
in Pegu then it would be, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee
noted in the buying of rubies in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall heare as good rubies,
and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is
in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or byo-
kers of Jewels. These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Mar-
chant that will buy cometh to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money
to employ in Rubies. For though the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have
such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base
prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these byokers or Tareghe, they carry
him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jew-
ellers perceive that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargain, and if not,
they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought
any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carryeth them home to his house, let
them be of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three
dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Marchants in that Citie
that have very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom he may alwayes conferr and take coun-
sell, and may shew them unto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money
well, hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all.
Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that hee had rather beare
a blow on the face then that it should be thought that hee sold them so deere to have them returned.
For these men have alwayes great care that they afford good penitwoths, especially to those that
have no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite: and when those
Marchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faultes
and not the byokers: yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat
ease the price. There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is
this: There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargain, and because they
shall not understand howe the Jewels be sold, the Broker and the Marchants have their handes
under a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they know what is done, what is
biddn, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demanded for them, al-
though it be for a thousand or 10. thousand ducets. For every ioynt and every finger hath his sig-
nification. For if the Marchants that stande by should understand the bargain, it would be de-
great controuersie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the month of August, in Anno
1569, having gotten well by my endeavour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I
thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should carry with me March.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to go by the way of Bengala, with
a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then we departed from Pegu to Chati-
gan a great harbour of port, from whence there goe final ships to Cochim, before the fleet depart
for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When
I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the
peere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to understand, that in the East Indies often

The Marchan-
dizes that goe
out of Pegu.

That houses
covered with
gold.

Rubies excee-
ding cheaper in
Pegu.

An honest care
of honest
people.

Bargainers
made with the
nipping of
fingers to under-
stand a cloth.

This Touffon
is an extraor-
dinary voyage
at sea.

times,

times, there are not Stormes as in other countreys; but every 10, 12, yeres there are such tempests and Stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither do they know certainly what peere they will come.

Unfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like Storme, but it happened well unto vs, for that our ship was newly over-planked, and had not anything in her like vicuall and ballast, Silver and golde, which from Pegu they carry to Bengala, and no other kind of Merchandise. This Touffon of cruel Storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it carried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the Shippe laboured in the Sea, we cut our mast over board: which when we had done the laboured a great deale more then before in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a third place: and for all this Storme, the Shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one iota of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a shoale: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the same power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which drowne vs beyond the shoale. And when we felt the Shippe ashore, we rose up as men requied, because the Sea was calme and smoothly water, and then founding we found twelve fadome water, and within a while after wee had but six fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left vs at the Sterne, for all our other were lost in the Storme: and by and by the Shippe strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that she should not overthrow.

When it was day the Shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on dry land. This Touffon being ended, we discovered an Island not farre from vs, and we went from the Shippe on the lands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and a very iudgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is divided into two parts by a channell which passeth betwene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same channell, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh vs. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were coming a land: presently they made a place of bazar of a market, with shops right over against the ship with all manner of provision of victuals to cate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted hinde cheere, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings five pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dyed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Rizee a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceived the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and continually all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it. This Island is called Sondia belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed vs of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Reio of that place, & every day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no small feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord every night as the vse is, but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs, and had vs that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selues securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the gouernour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreover he did vs every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subiects to one king. We departed from Sondia, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was not withstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the peere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboard of the Captaine's ship to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that he

The Touffon is a
methe but runs
up 10. or 12.
yeres.

A manifest token
of the coming
and flowing
in of the
countreys.

This Island
is called Sondia.

Sondia is the
fruitfullest
countreys in all
the world.

Chatigan is a
port in Bengala,
whither the
Portugales go
with their
ships.

The King of
Rachim of Ara-
can, neighbour
to Bengala.

had heard of the coming
with the ship into his
were either and w

This King of Ra-
greater enemy he
make this king of R
Pegu hath no powe
lives of 1000 by S
pretendeth any batt
so that by this mea
power to hurt him.

From the great
city of Bomba clo
reason of the warre
at Cochim to Goona
at Cochim was dep
shippes before the fl
that went from Co
comforted, becaus
arrived at Cochim
time the City of Go
sault, because they
a Gallie that went
Goa, the Viceroy w
in Goa but a small
pollicke and diet co
tine of Rubies to G
archauns. And wh
every thing was so
which to seee shilling
with their medicines
singe, and then I be
sold a few of refused
and to make an othe
has in great requ
own, and there I bou
every buckert at four
which cost me eight
these things, the Vic
paying custome there
in a ship: that went
and from Goa I dep
er then at S. Tome,
of cloth was cast aw
Cochin to goe for S
for that the Cape of
might have passed ha
we were farre withi
against vs. So that
the ship to winter the
ber. With great loss
S. Tome for Pegu w
narto take a bark co
returning at S. Tome
deare, and I know th
I was holden of at th
to some had not bin
from Cambaya, to th
bupage there came fi

has heard of the courage and valour of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port, and comming thither he should be very well intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seat in the middle coast betwene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemy he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu desires night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subject, but by no means hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of Rachim may arme two hundred Gallies or 500 ships by Sea, and by land he hath certaine flues with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure downe a great part of the Countrey. So that by this means hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

From the great port of Chaigan then cary for the Indies great store of Rice, very great quantity of Bombast cloth of every sort, Sugar, coyne, and money, with other merchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chaigan, the Portugall ships tarried there so long, that they arrived not at Cochim so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For why the cause the fleets that was at Cochim was departed for Portugal before they arrived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleet, in discovering of Cochim, we also discovered the last shippe of the Fleet that went from Cochim to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marvellously comforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arrived at Cochim I was fully decreed to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Diskan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I imbarcked my selfe in a Gallie that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmity that heide mee foure moneths: which with physicke and diet cost me eight hundred buckers, and there I was constrained to sell a small quantity of Rubies to sustaine my needs: and I sold that for five hundred buckers, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waite well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, every thing was so scarce: for every chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Livres, which is five shillings, or five shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of five moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to wozke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. parcels of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundred buckers, every bucker at foure shillings two pence. Sooner I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred buckers, which was a good commodity for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commaunded that the custome of the Opium should be paid in Goa, and paying custome there I might carie whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shipp that went for Cochim, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochim in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochim, I understood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckets: and departing from Cochim to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for the Island of Zeilan the Pilot was deceived, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might have passed hard aboard the Cape, and paying roomer in the night: when it was morning hee was farre within the Cape, and past all remedie to goe out, by reason the winds blew so directly against vs. Soe at by this means we lost our voyage for that yeere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardily saved her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary vs to S. Tome; which thing we did with all the rest of the marchants; and arriving at S. Tome I had newes through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to goe for Pegu that yeere, so that I was holden of all the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would have proved, if my aduerser fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantity of Opium, & there to lade pepper: in which voyage there came by a storme, that the ship was forced with weeber to goe roomer 800. miles;

At Rachim.

The commodities that came from Chaigan to the Indies.

The Portugall ship departed from Cochim out of the Bay of Cochim.

Goa was besieged.

Opium a good commodity in Pegu.

and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arrived a day before mee: so that Opium which was before very deere, was now at a bafe price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizzes before, was sold for 2. Bizzes & an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship: so that I was glad to pay two pices in Pegu buile: I would have given away my commoditie: and at the end of two pices of my 200. buile, which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand builets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Laccas, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochín, and from Cochín to Pegu. Once more I took occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to goe for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I carried and wintered in Cochín, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I end my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to the we what fruits the Indies be yeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any manner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our I, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our I, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our I, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it.

Peper tree.

Ginger.

Cloves.

Nutmegs
and Maces.White Sandol.
Canlora.Siamen Aloe,
Bengaloe.

Long peper.

This is the
lowest bee
commerce
sake one half
the good make
and bear the
fish of an all
and put in the
rooms of it.

Rubies, Sapphyres,
and Spindles.The Balass
growne in
Zelan.
Spodion.

On the coast of
Melinde in
Ethiopia, in the
land of Cafaria,
the great trade
that the Portu-
gals have.

Buying and
selling without
goe one to
another.

The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowed, and the herbe is like to Pan-
zo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in divers places.

The Cloves come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Ilands, not very great,
and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Iland of Ma-
da, whose tree is like to our Walnut tree, but not so big.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Iland of Timor. Canfora being commo-
commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, I thinke
that this Canfora commeth not into these parts, whereas in India they consume great store, and
that is very deere. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The Beniain commeth from the kingdome of Affin and Sion.

Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iava.

Spidie commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have
bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, with bea-
thy like a lince, & bear him to death with small dawes, & his blood may be spread through his whole
body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a mortar
very small, and dry it, and make pusses to put it in of the skin, and these be the rods of mace.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are divers opinions of it, but this is
most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and thowne on land, and found upon the sea banks.

The Rubies, Sapphyres, and the Spindles be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamonds
come from divers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamonds that is
called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land
of Dely, and from Iava, but the Diamonds of Iava are more weightie then the other. I could ne-
uer understand from whence they that are called Balass come.

Pearles they fish in divers places, as before in this booke is shewne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodion which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found
many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I have said before) they make their
houses there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade along the coast of Melinde
in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafaria: on that coast are many good harbours kept by the Moores.
Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paten-
nisters of beads made of palterie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the use of the
Countrey: and from thence they carry Elephants teeth for India, slaves called Cafari, and some
Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which
is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies under his protection, and the
Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafaria to which places no Portbants may
goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they use to goe in small shippes, and trade with
Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speech one to the other. In this
wise the Portugals bring their goods by little and little along the Sea coast, and lay them down

and so depart, and
gold as they think
together, then com-
bes way into his in-
and if he finde the
far thinke he hath
gales must not stand
them: for they be
speech people, &
commodities into
without from the fi-
miles. Now to
Beretia of Ven-
there went other
Babylon and there
they be not to goe
must make their fa-
and be not provided
is great that come
here with our saile,
came to Babylon to
was, or better for
nations and a Portu-
gall, Messer Andre-
which with victuals
for that they be a ver-
himself in Aleppo
two also amongst
very camels lading,
take also with vs 3.
On a man, and are
when the camels cri-
bush but small four-
hundred, and about the
by that it rained: &
that we could not re-
ter for every good re-
thing, and other that
riding, and every day
flocks, who kept those
with his stone mark
the heaping and (see-
banc the heads, the
and when we came to
the marchants doe le-
pleasure one another
from Babylon two
then within two
way a Captaine cho-
roun, and comming
olo, and I, with a
polie, we arrived
to offer to our bar-
white those holy places

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before, was
glad to stay
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s. Then I
Lacca, and
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of India there
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of milke.

of it, but this is
ea banks.
The Diamants
Diamants that
me from the land
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whereof I found
they make their
coast of Melinde
by the Moore,
at floze of Paen-
g to the use of the
Casari, and some
zambique, which
protection, and the
o Merchants may
and trade with
e other. In
lay them down

M. Cesar Frederick Traffiques and Discoueries.

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and so depart, and the Casar Merchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leaue that golde and the goods together, then cometh the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then cometh the Casar and taketh the goods and carrieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Casar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinkeeth the thing is worth; and the Portugals must not stand with them too stricke; for if they doe, then they will haue no more trade with them: for they shal be refused, when they thinke that they haue offered enough, for they be a penurious people, and haue dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and carrie it to the Caile of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafaria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we seighten a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with us there went other Merchants, which did ease our freight, and verie commodiously wee came to Basora, and there we stayed 40. dayes for providing a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, because they wile not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the river, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be well provided of armes, for respect & safeguard of our goods, because the number of the eues is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a while with our sale, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, until the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wilderness, or desert for Alepo: in this citie we were 6. Merchants that accompanied together, five Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinalla with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polio, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selves with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes; and wee bought horses and mules, for that they be very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. shens, and solde him in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tene which did vs very great pleasure: we had also amongst vs 32. Camels laden with merchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for every camel laden, and for every 10. camels they made 11. for so is their use and custome. We take also with vs 3. men to serue vs in the voyage, which are used to goe in those voyages for slue Dama, and are bound to serue vs to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carouan marcheth but small iournies about 20. miles a day, & they set forwarde euery morning before day two hours, and about two in the after noone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: for which cause we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for euery good respect that might chance in the desert, so that we had no want neither of one thing, nor of another that was to be had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of euery thing, and euery day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the sheping and feeding our sheepe on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they haue the heads, the skinaes, and the intrals of euery sheepe they kill. We fire bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. alive of them. And in the Carouan they vse this order, that the marchants doe leaue flesh one to another, because they will not carrie raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wilderness, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plain, and no signe of any way in the world. The pilots go before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carouan unladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the staites where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe ouer the wilderness. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited until we haue passed the river Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth with us a Captaine that both Justice unto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and coming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polio, and I, with a srier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ierusalem. Departing from Basora, we arrived at Iassa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Ierusalem, and we were open to our barke to carrie for vs untill our returne. We stayed in Ierusalem 14. dayes, to see those holy places: from whence we returned to Iassa, and from Iassa to Tripolie, and there we

Golden trade
that the Por-
tugals gaine.

An other how
to provide to
goe ouer the
desert from
Babylon to
Alepo.

36. Dayes
iourney ouer
the wilderness.

An order how
to provide for
the going to
Ierusalem.

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The author re-
turneth to Ve-
nice 1581.

Where good
order that they
have in those
Countreys for
the recovering
of the goods of
the dead.

Order of ap-
parel in Pegu.

The order of
the women
apparell in
Pegu.

wee shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the diuine
power, we arrived safely in Venice the fift of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any de-
sire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I haue passed: be-
cause I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore fro Venice with 1200.duc-
kets employed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of a Span-
ish Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carouan that went from Tripo-
lie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robb, and all my goods lost saving foure chests of glasses which
cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the cheuenes thinking it had
bene other marchandize, brake them by, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And
with this onely stocke I adventured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange,
and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will
not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a desire to goe into those partes, how they
shall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may
be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a house cal-
led the schoole of Sancta misericordia commissaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for
their paines, will take a copy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes carie about
you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles in
those voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Po-
tugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of those Marchants that by chance
die in those voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and registered them in the aforesaid
schooles, the Captaines will consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for
their heires and friends. Also they goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are com-
missionaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Will made,
and hath giuen order that the schoole of Misericordia shall haue his goods and sell them, then
they sende the money: & rechange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbon, with that copie of
his Testament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome
soeuer it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires,
they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing.
But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by ancient custome
of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest
heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any decret or fraude used in this matter.
I haue known many rich men that haue dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they haue desired to go
into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with all their goods and substance with-
out let or trouble.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the simple: the one
ly difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and
they wear their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serueth for a shirt,
then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene bzaies, which they binde up betwixt
their legges, and on their heads they wear a small rock of thre bzaies, made in guise of a miter,
and some goe without rocks, and carie (as it were) a hie on their heads, which doeth not palle
the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted up: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer
goe on foot, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leues
of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their
feete bare in the stirrops. All sort of women whosoever they be, we are a smocke downe to the
girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foot they wear a cloth of thre bzaies, open be-
girdle; so strait that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in this
going they saue to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth.
They say that this use was inuented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might
remoue from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto: which sight should
cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with
hoopes of golde and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled up a-
bout their heads. Many of them wear a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a cloake.

Now to finish that which I haue begunne to write, I say, that those partes of the Indies are very
good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great weale thereof: alwayes they must gi-
uerne themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why: to such there shall neuer want helpe
to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him carie at home and not goe thither, because he shall alwayes
be a begger, and die a poore man.

The Q.let.

Letters co
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and thence

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far distant, it woul
with such ynnuige
our subjects at our
came with as many

A letter

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Elizabeth
prince, or
taken in
Empire.

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being some profite:
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A letter of

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A letter

Letters concerning the voyage of M. Iohn Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the *Lenans* Sea to *Syria*, and ouerland to *Bassara*, and thence into the East *Indies*, and beyond, In the yeeere 1583.

¶ A letter written from the Queenes Maiestie, to *Zelabdim* Echebar King of *Cambaya*, and sent by Iohn Newbery. In February Anno 1583.



Elizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the most invincible, and most mightie prince, Ioyd Zelabdim Echebar king of *Cambaya*. Invincible Empero, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoeuer they can, by which means the mutual and friendly traffique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, togeth with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Maiestie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accepte him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maiestie: wee should moze earnestly, and with moze wordes require it, if wee did thinke it needful. But by the singular repoze that is of your imperial Maiesties humanitie in these weermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we vse the fewere and lesse wordes: onely we request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intrusted and receiued. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they haue undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Maiestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to graunt it, with such priuileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperial Maiestie shal to our subiects at our requestes perfoyme, wee, according to our royal honour, wil recompence the same with as many benefites as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maiestie to farewell.

A letter written by her Maiestie to the King of *China*, In Februarie 1583.



Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Post Imperial and invincible prince, our honest subiect Iohn Newbery the byinger hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which now hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperial clemencie and humanitie, is moued to vndertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee hauing entered into so many perils, your Maiestie will not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royal Maiestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things hee not doubting, with moze willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage vnto vs well liked of. For by this means we perceiue, that the profite which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in this West doe receiue, your Imperial maiestie & those that be subiect vnder your dominion, to their great top and benefite shal haue it, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we haue plenty, & in byinging in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot other wise be, but that seeing we are bozne and made to haue need one of another, & that wee are bound to aloe one another, but that your imperial Maiestie wil wel like of it, & by your subiects wd like (inuenos) wil be accepten, for the increase whereof, if your imperial Maiestie shal adde the securitie of passage, with other priuileges most necessary to vse the trade with your men, your maiestie shal doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserue so much of vs, as by no continuance of length of time shal be forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be eake in good part of your maiestie, and so great a benefite towards vs & our men, we shall endeuor by diligence to requite when time shal serue therunto. The God Almighty long preserve your Imperial maiestie.

A letter of M. Iohn Newbery, written from *Alepo*, to M. Richard Hakluis of *Oxford*, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.



Right wel beloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from *Grauesend*, which was the 13. day of February last, we remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from *Falmouth*, and neuer anchored till wee arrived in the road of *Tripolie* in *Syria*, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie

Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Iaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Ierusalem: God send them and us safe returne. At this instant I haue receiued the account of Sp. Barres, and the rest of the rings, with two and twenty buckats, two medines in ready money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwaies preserve vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured, John Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide

M. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same month came from thence, & arrived at Feluge the 19 day of June, which Feluge is one dayes journey from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last month, which was for want of Camels to carry our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scarce to be gotten. And since our coming hither we haue found very small sales, but diuers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may prove true. I thinke cloth, kersties & tinne, haue neuer bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I haue here so much ready money as the commodities are worth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voyage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voyage. But with halfe money & halfe commodity, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. Which Gods helpe two dayes hence, I mind to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my bring in Aleppo I hired two Nazarenies, and one of them hath bene twice in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort of spices at Babylon, Balsara, Ormus,

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant.

Clothes and Spices, the bateman, 5 buckats.
Common 6 buckats, and so to be gotten.
Sunnegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a buchat.
Ginger, 40 medins.
Pepper, 75 medins.
Turbita, the bateman, 50 medins.
Merle the churle, 70 buckats, and a chey 27 cottills and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silks, much better then that which cometh from Persia, 11 buckats and a halfe the bateman, and every bateman here maketh 7 pounds and 5 ounces English weight. From Babylon the 30 day of July, 1583.

The picture of spices at Babylon.

Yours, John Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. John Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

IAgge welbeloued and my assured good friends, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifye you of my voyage, after I departed from you, time will not permit: but the 4 of this present we arrived here, & the 10 day I which the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next month, the Captaine will send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Ananimo. But the whole matter I suppose was the onely cause, upon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be dealt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our manner to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe us great good: for we cannot with iustice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throats, or keepe us long

in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had bene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or forty crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Master John Eldred and William Shales.



He backe of the Jewes is arrived here two daies past, by whom I know you do write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what favour you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from you map. God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, where-
in I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speed as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so wish my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from Goa.



What I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certifie you what had happened there unto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arrivall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demanded what countreyman he was, but I make account Michael Siropene, who accused vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arrived there, this Siropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides divers other lies: notwithstanding if we had bene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely have traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Grekes, Armenians, Nazararies, Turkes and Booges, Jewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I have no great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they will not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to pay in sureties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwile except this, we have as much libertie as any other nation, for I have our goods againe, & have taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

There were two causes which moved the captaine of Ormuz to imprison vs, & afterwards to send vs hither. The first was, because Michael Siropene had accused vs of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, raised some displeasures vnto other cristians. But of these of his ordinarie to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormuz: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest iustice in Ormuz, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had bene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormuz, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demand of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that M. Drake was sent out of Eng. and with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there indeede came, and sinking a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordnance to be shot at the same: and so perceiving that this was greatly grieued them, I asked, if they would be revenged of me for that which M. Drake had done? To the which he answered, that though his meaning was to the contrary.

Michael Siropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio.

Two causes of our imprisonment at Ormuz.

He said more of the viceroy would were in England, trust in God will for into the minds of our friends, we might come to his friends: and the pleasure: for by the letters of S. Paul, was borne in Bruges by Padre Thomas St.

Also I chanced by his bringing by hat to be acquainted in the prison at the, and forthwith before the Aueador, presently sent vs backe.

After our being where he remained, and upon S. Th. the next day after these troubles, our any man made it Ormuz in prison before we imbarked some things, and at night, and at our imbarking the goods into the harbor remembrance, which he should deliver into us, we would neither of us to sail from ship was to sail from night, and no be who came with me remained foure or five chosen by the iustice, where they remained.

I bought a fountaine of gold for five and twenty pardaus, which he had five crownes, and payed for cloth, which cost in L. and he payed for the cloth were worth foure and twenty other cristians. But the cause of all and now hath thirtie of these thither but himself, and to buy and sell of our commodities, at this countrey, to be carrying from you. But bringer is able to certify send your letters to Con.

He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Chiercy would understand of mee, what news there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God will so fall out, although contrary to his expectations: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres of S. Pauls college to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two young men to his seruantes, the one of them was bozne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was bozne at Enchuylen, whose name is John Lincoy, who did vs great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who travelled very much for vs, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was bozne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was bozne in Wiltshire in England, and is called Padre Thomas Steuens.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was bozne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing up hath bene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arrivall here were carried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Queado, who is the chiefe iustice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent vs backe againe to prison.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, James Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

And upon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arrivall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came our Ralph Fitch, and William Betts.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had bene in possibility to have made as good a voyage as euer any man made with so much money. Many of our things I have sold very well, both here before we imbarked: so to wish officers I went diuers times out of the castle in the morning, and sold things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I sold they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captaine gaue order that I should deliuer all my money with the goods into the hands of the seruano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the seruano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliuer into the hands of the Queado, generall of India: but at our arrivall here, the Queado would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue anything against vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arrivall, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the seruano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receive them. In the end they suffered this bringing to receive them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or five daies. But afterward when they should deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iustice, that both the money and goods should be deliuered into the postshops hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of silver and gilt, sixe knives, sixe spoones, and one fork trimmed with corall for five and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larnes, and was worth there of here one hundred chekins. Also he had five emerauds set in golde, which were worth five hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelve larnes a pike. Also he had two pieces of Greene Berries, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Siropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penny, and now hath thirtie or forty thousand crownes, and he grieueth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profit to be made with commodities of this country, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringing is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, & from thence by the ships they may be conveyed hither.

L. C.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

This is the whole letter to his father from Goa as before your honour, and he was long-remembered of New college in Oxford.

James Storie their painter.

They arrivd at Goa the 20 of November 1585.

Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguese or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore aboutefaid.

During friends Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I have not written unto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the flux, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelue dayes journey downe the river Tygris, where we had extreme hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight dayes, that which I did eat was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer upon the water, I thinke I had died: but coming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and were put in prison the ninth of the month of Ormuz, where we continued untill the 11 of October, and then were shipped for this cite of Goa in the capitaines ship, with an 114 boyes, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of November, we arrived at Goa the 29 of the said month, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued untill the 23 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Stevens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for vs unto the Alcoroy and other officers, and stood vs in as much stead, as our liues and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to vs, if we had escaped with our liues, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered vs, if we could put in sureties for 3000 buckes, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found sureties for vs, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Alcoroy. It both spited the Italians to see vs abroad: and manny maruell at our deliuerie. The painter is in the charge of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we haue bene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which will sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Alcoroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moors, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie; and our sureties discharged. Then I thinke it will be our best way, either one of both to returne, because our troubles haue bene so great, & so much of our goods spoiled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefeest at Christmas.

The day and the night are all of one length, very little difference, and marvellous great store of fruites. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plenty and good cheape. And here I will passe ouer to certifie you of strange things, untill our meeting, for it would be too long to wryte thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preferreth you and vs all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormuz, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Eschebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Clonderi, to Pegu, to Iamabay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cocbin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1584, wherein the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the foresaid M. Ralph Fitch.

In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newbens marchant (which had bene at Ormuz once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set forth by the right worshipfull Sir Ed-

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John Newberie
Leedes Jeweller,
Shipfull Sir Ed-
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M. Ralph Fitch. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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ward Osborne knight, and *W.* Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did wrypy
selle in a Ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence
we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven dapes with the Carouan. Being in Alep-
po, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dapes and an halfe
travaille with Camels.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and nere to the wall of the towne run-
neth the river of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen,
for to go to Babylon. These boates be but for one voyage; for the streame doth runne so fast downe
wardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there
you sell the boate for a little money, for that which cost you little at Birra you sell there for seven
or eight. From Birra to Felugia is fiftene dapes journey, it is not good that one boate goe a-
lone, for if it should chance to breake, you should haue much a doe to saue your goods from the
Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made
fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theues, will come
downe to steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they
are where you pay custome, so many Medines for Birra to Felugia there be certaine pla-
ces and sope, which is for the sounes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that
great desert, and hath some villages vpon the river. Felugia where you vnlade your goods which
come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for
that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for these
places. Here are great stoze of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the river
of Tygris. They are brought vpon raftes made of goates skimes blowne full of winde and
laped vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Ba-
bylon, which being discharged they open their skimes, and carry them backe by Camels, to
serue another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is
subiect to the Turke. Duer against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe
to Babylon vpon a long bidge made of boats, and yed to a great chaine of yron, which is made
fast on either side of the river. When any boates are to passe by or downe the river, they take a
certaine of the boates untill they be past.

The Tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towarnes Arabia from the towne
about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made
as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shap at all: it was made of briches dyed in the
same, and certaine canes and leaues of the palme tree laped betwixt the briches. There is no
entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand vpon a great plaine betwixt the rivers of Eu-
phrates and Tygris.

The towne
of Babel.

By the river Euphrates two dapes journey from Babylon at a place called Aic, in a feld
nere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually chrowe sooth against the
pye boyling pitch with a filchy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fild which
is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great
smoke of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the
outside, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is
great stoze of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Balsara in 8 or 9 dapes: if there be
small stoze it will cost you the more dapes.

Boyling pitch
continually
chrowing out of
the earth.

Balsara in times past was vnder the Arabians, but now is subiect to the Turke. But some of
them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Glands in the river Euphrates
which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theues all and haue no settled dwelling, but
move from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wiues and children and all.
They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of cop-
per and silver, and they weare rings of copper about their leggs.

Balsara standeth nere the gulf of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and dynges
which come from Ormus. Also there is great stoze of wheate, ryce, and vates growing there-
out, where with they serue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of In-
dia. I went from Balsara to Ormus downe the gulf of Persia in a certaine shippe made
of woodes, and stwed together with cypso, which is threed made of the huske of Cocoes,
and certaine canes of strawe leaues sowed vpon the seames of the bozdes which is the cause
that they leake very much. And so hauing Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of
Arabia on the right hande we passed many Glands, and among others the famous Glande
Baharim

of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great shame, for of their bodies there would come many worms and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those worms would lacke sustenance, which were a shame, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa is the most principall citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Island, which may be 25. or 30. miles about: It is a faire citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Island is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And cometh first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochim, where they lade their Pepper for Portugal. Ofentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochim which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward.

Goa

Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey five or seuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our coming we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Iustice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could prouoe nothing by vs. We continued in prison vntill the two and twentieth of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne: which sureties father Steuens an English Iesuite which we found there, & another religious man a friend of his procured for vs. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still be demanded moze: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Iustice to haue our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands nere fye moneths and could prouoe nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answer, and sayd wee should be better assted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs. Whereupon we presently rep, for it was told vs we should haue 5000. p. scapado. Whereupon presently, the first day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foot, not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came vnto, is called Belleragan, where there is a great market kept of Diamonds, Rubies, Sapphires, and many other soft stones. From Belleragan we went to Bisapor in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they haue their idols standing in the Woods, some like peacocks, and some like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to and buy. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cautup de Iashach. Here and in the kingdom of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of Decan bee the Diamonds found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of hycke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a clooth bound about their middles without any moze apparell. We found it here very poore.

This was the 20. of the number.

Belleragan a towne. Bisapor.

Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Malisiparan, which standeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulf of Bengala, where come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrey is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidava which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Breat. The houses here bee all charched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gensiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the countrey of Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of silver round and thicke, to the value of twenty pence, which is very good silver. It is marvellous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in June, Iuly, and August, there is no passing in the streets but by the sides, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and charched. There is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of cozhe and rice, of bopes of eight or ten peeres, and girdles of fye or six peeres sold. They both ride upon horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, to returne home and eat of a banquet made of Rice and fruites, and there they dounce the most of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be three or four dayes old. They say they marry their children so young, because it is an order that when

Malisiparan.

Seruidava.

Bellapore.

Strange manner.

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the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partridges & turtle-doues,
and much other foule. There be many beggers in these countreies which goe naked, and the people
make great account of them: they call them Scheleche. There I sawe one which was a monster a-
mong the rest. He would haue nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of
his head he couered his pitiuities. The noiles of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he
would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne,
and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand upon his brest and
bowe himselfe, but would not speake. He would not speake to the king. We went from Prage
toward Ganges, the which is here very broad. There is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild
fowles. The men for the most part haue their faces shaven, and their heads very long, excepte some
which bee all shaven save the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on
their heads, and haue them round, all but the crowne. In this riuer of Ganges are many J-
lows. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From
thence we went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of
cotton, and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest isola-
tion that ever I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys,
here amongst the waters side be very many faire houses, and in all of them, for the most part
they haue their images standing, which be euill fauoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions,
leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and peccers, and some like the deuil with foure
armes and 4 hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, &
by brake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and wash the
sclures in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which upon which they praye, and they giue the people three or foure straves, which they take & hold them betweene
their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they
haue in a cloth a little Rice, Barle, or money, which, when they haue washed themselves, they giue
to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to diuers of their images, & giue them
of their sacrifices. And when they giue, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holp. And
in many places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they
haue diuers great stones carved, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon some rice, wheate,
barle, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Forouer, they haue a
great place made of stone like to a well which steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth
very foule and stincketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it,
doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves
in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place.
They gather by the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holp. They neuer pray but in the wa-
ter, and they wash themselves ouer head, and lade up water with both their hands, and turne
themselves about, and then they drinke a little of the water thre times, and so goe to their gods
which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will
pray upon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise up and lie downe, and
kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of
them will make their ceremonies with fiftene or streene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bell
when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round a-
bout their pots and pray, and diuers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they
say diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and
showe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holp, and marke many of them which sit by, in
the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred sage-
ther, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these gods.

Bannaras.

A pilgrimage
of the Gentiles.

They haue in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one steech by them in warme
weather with a fanne to blowe winde upon them. And when they see any company coming,
they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but especially those
which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke, and haue clawes of brasse with long
nagles, and some ride upon peacocks and other foules which be euill fauoured, with long haire
blacke, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there
is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giueth them all things both food
and apparell, and one steech alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. There
be two burnes to ashen, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges
and fowles doe presently eate them. The wiues here doe burne husbandes when they
die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and it is not any account of them after ward.

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I went from Bengala into the countrey of Couche, which lieth 25. daies journey Northwards from Tando. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counfe: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Caco, the earth, and they can let in the water & by one the ground aboute here deepe, so that mē no horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be maruileous great of a span long, whereby they stay out in length by denses when they be pong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kill them they be old & lame, they keepe them until they die. If a man catch oʒ buy any quicke thing, in other places & bying it eather, they wil glue him money for it oʒ other victuals, & keepe it in their hogualls oʒ let it go. They wil glue meat to the Anes. Their final money is almonds, which oftentimes they use to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals standeth from Saragan: they call it Porto Piqueno. The went through the wilderness, because the night way was full of thicurs, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wilderness, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a mā, and so Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterward it was taken by the king of Parau which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia, and cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerna, it is like a fishie. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & diuers other places. To this countrey places; & land from thence great store of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wooll, much Sugar, long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India. Saragam is a faire cite for a place oʒ other: a great market which they call Chandau, and they haue many great boats which they call pericofe, where withall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great estimation, for hauing good water neere them, they will seerch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Saragam I travelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara oʒ porto Grande, with whom the Mogores & Mogen haue almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rome, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan oʒ porto Grande is oftentimes under the king of Recon.

There is a countrey 4. daies journey from Couche oʒ Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Dorrauer and the cite Bortia, the king is called Dermain: the people whereof are very call and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscouia oʒ Tartarie. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths journey. There are very high mountains in this countrey, one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies journey off it, he may see it perfectly. Upon these mountains are people which haue eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them *gans*. They say that when they be upon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sailing forth come out of the East, they say, from under the sunne, which is from China, which haue no wind, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountaines which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northen marchants are called *gans*. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horses, but they be little: some haue foure, five, oʒ six hundred horses and kine: they live with milke and fleshe. They are the eades of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboute a spanne long: they use to hang them for haire upon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much used in Pegu and China: they build and sell by scozes upon the ground. The people be very swift footed.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola: the king whereof is a Gentile, a man

Couche, thin
ferment to the
Quicheu, across
the lake as
along the side
munes of China

Porto Grande
Hugeli.

In Mexico
they use it as
a wife for small
monies the
fruit Cacao
which are like
almonds,
Hugeli.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth
may be made
of the long
grasse in Vi
ginia.

Saragam.

Tippara oʒ porto
Grande.

Northward a
great North
western countrey,
Marchants of
China, Muscouia
and Tartarie.

These seeme to
be the mount
aines of Imous,
called by the
people Cumao.

The apparel of
the Tartarie
Marchants.

Cowes milke in
Bacola requir.

Bacola.

very

round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone, for every square due gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The Streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelve men may ride a front thozow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree, which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and courted with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is like wise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or Idole standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large room, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marvellous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in service of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a pound, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king have one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drums, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and cometh without of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office given him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, he be never so great. And surely there be wonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath about five thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great grove of wood: and there be many huntmen, which go into the wilderness with the elephants: for without the ste they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wilde elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wilde elephant neere unto the place, they send word unto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the elephant to enter into a strait way which doeth goe to the palace, and the ste and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe brake their teeth with running against them. Then they picke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becometh tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood upon their backs, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or five men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrows, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnies are so thicke that a pike of an harquebush will scarce pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They have gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth every day twice, all his noble men which they call Shemines sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard about them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he cometh in the middle way, and when he cometh neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard. These

Some white elephants.

The king of the white elephants.

Odia a city in Siam.

This manner
of carriage and
manner of living
was so used
in Perak and in
Florida.

Pages of the
leaves of a
tree.

An excellent
colour with a
root called
Sain.

Woollen cloth
with scarlet
colours in Pegu.

The money of
Pegu.

The general
merchandise
of Pegu.

The figure of
their temples
of Marallan.

people do eat roots, herbo, leaven, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes: they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, often times upon an elephant with a fine castle upon him very fairely gilded with gold: and sometimes upon a great frame like an hoistler, which hath a little house upon it covered over his head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & sapphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is carried upon threene or eightene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serion. Very great feasting and triumphing in many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and silver, and byingeth in often, but spendeth very little. He hath the mines of rubies and sapphires, and spinelles. Access unto the palace of the king there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with leade: in every one of them are Pagodes of images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and sapphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brass, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brass, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes of idoles, marvellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand: for they be so great that they be not to be removed: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads: they shew like a blake Pozim. Their expences in gilding of their images are woonderfull. The king hath one wife and about three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath no speech, but glue by their supplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a booke. These leaves are an elle long, and about two inches broad: they are also bigger then a booke. The king accepteth of his presents, and granteth his request: if his suite be not liked of, he returneth with his present: for the king will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, excepte Opium of Camba, painted cloth of S. Thome, of Malulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bying thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will never lose his colour: it is very wel sold here, and very much of it cometh verely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Malulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martuan a port of the sea in the kingdom of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Camell, Porcelaines, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Aceh in Sumatra. To Ciorion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight byways, but one they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your merchandises upon their word. If the Spoker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaves, and binde them at your dooze, and set them in the Sunne: for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brass which they call Gansa, where with you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and silver is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brassen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza: and commonly this biza after their account is worth about halfe a crowne of somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, silver, rubies, sapphires, spinelles, muske, beniamin of franchincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, Iacca whereof they make hard ware, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eat the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Clarellas or Ivole temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compass: within they be all earth bound about with stone. They consume in these Clarellas great quantity of golde: for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottom: and every ten or twelvet paces they

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must be new gilded, because the same consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they
do not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentiful and good cheape in Pe-
gu. About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Charelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage
foot to the copping. It is called Dogonne, and is a wonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the
pyrch. This house is five and fifty paces in length, and hath three paces of walks in it, and
ber of small pillars, which be like wise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There
are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tal-
liipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over
with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and
there are four waies to it, which all along are set with trees of fruites, in such wise that a man
may goe in the shade about two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly
pass by water or by land for the great presse of people: for they come from all places of the king-
dom and all abbes. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say,
and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads first to
their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely appa-
reled many times upon their shoulter: and those two be girded to them with a broad girde:
and they have a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare
headed and bare footed: for none of them weareth shoes; with their right armes bare and a great
sword in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and
the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies of pycks take their Orders first they go to
for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and be opposeth
them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the
company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he is
brought upon an horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with bymmes and pipes, so that he
be leaue the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is carried upon a thing
like an horse, which they call a ferion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulvers in the apparell of a
Tallipoie, with pipes and bymmes, and many Tallipoies with him, and all his friends, and so they
go with him to his house, which standeth without the towne, and there they leave him. Every one
of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with
a ladder of twelve or fourteen staves. Their houses be for the most part by the waies side,
and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood of fine earth,
and covered, tied with a broad girde upon their shoulver, which commeth under their arme,
wherein they go to begge their victuals which they eat, which commeth under their arme,
and demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them, some one thing,
and some another: and they put all together in their pottle: for they say they must eate of their
alms, and there with content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the Doone: and when it
is new Doone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to
the kiack of church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that
Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the
people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which directeth
them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other
ceremonies nor service that I could see, but onely preaching.

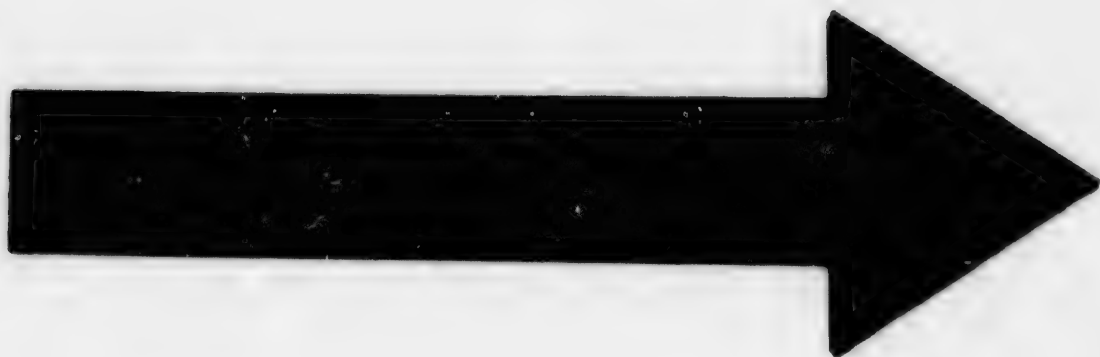
I went from Pegu to lamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeriannes, whom we call
Jangones; it is five and twenty dayes journey North-east from Pegu. In which journey I passed
many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire ri-
vers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and covered with straw. There are many wilde
beastes and elephants. Lamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well
builded, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them,
are headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shoes. The women be
much fairer then those of Pegu. Where in all these countreys they haue no wheat. They make
cakes of rice. Whither to lamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great
quantities of muske, golde, silver, and many other things of China worke. There is great hope of vic-
tuall: they haue such plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places.
Where

The Tallipoies
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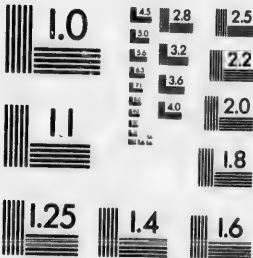
Observation of
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Lamahey five
twenty dayes
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Pegu.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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great store of spices and of ugs, and diamonds and other jewels. The voyagers: so many of these Islands belong unto the capitaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yield him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Island of Sumatra: from whence cometh great store of pepper and other spices: every yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the red sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelaines: and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither every yeere, and she bringeth from thence every yeere above five hundred thousand cruzaados: and all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand cruzaados more in silke which they bring yearly out of India, they implore to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelaines, and many other things very costly but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must remaine there a week, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names in the window all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evil used and imprisoned. The Chiniens are very suspicious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his country. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king: neither he is carried upon a great chaire of scession gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a lattice to looke out at: so that he may see them, but they may not looke up at him: and all the time that he passeth by them, they heave up their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not up untill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they wear white thyred shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband thre yeeres: the sonne for his father a yeere, for his wife two yeeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam of time, and collied: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chiniens, Japonians, and Cauchin Chiniens do write right handward, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

Laban is an Island among the Iawas from whence come the diamonds of the New water. And they finde them in the rivers: for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocks.

Jamba is an Island among the Iawas also, from whence come diamonds. And the king hath a wall of earth which is golde: it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke golde, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof cometh golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yeere: which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Bima is another Island among the Iawas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time untill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there took shipping: and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following: where I stayed for want of passage untill the third of January 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great stormes for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many times sick, and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the first of March, where we stayed five dayes to water, and to furnish ourselves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave Island, very fruitful & faire: and by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times we haue great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals cometh out of Bengala every yeere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he cometh to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants, and they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their piers which be much used.

When the king talketh with any man, he standeth upon one legge, and setteth the other upon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparel is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and black and up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guards are a thousand

The voyagers to Japan.

Eight hundred thousand cruzaados in silver employed yearly by the Portugals in China.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban. Diamonds

Jamba.

Golde.

Bima.

He returned from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The thubbe is like unto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becometh blacke.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

The cloues doe come from the Isles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Islands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

The nunnies and naces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a little water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it cometh from the Ile of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke some of it cometh for Chylandome. That which is compounded cometh from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, cometh from the great Ile of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes cometh from Cauchinchina.

The beniamin cometh out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Islands of the Iauas.

The muske cometh out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by repose of the merchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto a pong roe, which they take in shares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof cometh the muske.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but most men say it cometh out of the sea, and that they finde it upon the horses skin.

The rubies, sapphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu.

The diamonds are found in diuers places, as in Bijnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Islands of the Iauas.

The best pearles come from the Island of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woosier from the Persian neere the Ile of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Island on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by hailing the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Nineveh, which is all ruined and destroyed; it standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine full of fish; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, so passed the river of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine months for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the 29 of April 1591, having bene eight yeeres out of my native countrey.

The report of John Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

In the month of December, Anno 1583, there arrived in the towne and Island of Ormus foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing sailed out of England, & passed thowth the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and haven lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & mar- chantes, & from thence are caried by land unto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourney. In Aleppo are resident diuers merchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English, Armenians, Turks and Moores, every man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute unto the Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence every yeere there trauell two Castles, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell unto Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of merchandise,

The pepper tree.

Ginger.

Cloues.

Nunnies & naces.

Camphora.

Lignum Aloes.

Long pepper, spinelle.

Amber.

Rubies, sapphires and spinelle. Diamonds.

Spodium.

Basora.

Babylon.

Mosul.

Merdin.

Orfa.

Bir.

Aleppo.

Tripolis.

into the countrey, withall desiring vs for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at libertie upon sureties, being ready to endure what iustice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrarie, and that they were other then travelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end, we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went unto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Therevpon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no moze ready money, he gaue them credit, seeing what stoe of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of prison, and hired themselves an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they were much ware, and were presently well known among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour vnto them, whereby they won much credit, and were beloued of all men, so that euery man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To vs they shewed great friendship, for whole sake the Archbishop fauoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receive them, neither would euer take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaved themselves so discretely that no man caried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Iesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Iesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugal to the King, counselling them to peeble themselves Iesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therein as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes King counsell: which to effect he sayd they shapet but so shipping that should saile for Portugal, with diuers other perswallons, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say anything to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Iesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselves to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friends they employed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Jeweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make known to any man, neither did they create vs so much, as to shew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatsoever they knew. But on a Sabbath day they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good stoe of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein vsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Pacamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieeth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betwixt Bardes and the firme land there is but a little riuer, in a manner halfe dize, they passed over it on foot, and so trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainly. Their greatest hope was that Iohn Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is used in all those countreys, or at the least in Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much wondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had giuen them counsell so to do; and presently they sent letters vnto the goods remaining, which might amount vnto about two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had receiued of the English men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued, forgave him the rest. This sight of the English men grieved the Iesuites most, because they had lost such a praye, which they made sure account of: wherevpon the Dutch Iesuite came to vs to aske vs if we knew where he was, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would haue dealt other wise for that he sayd, he once in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand beneleanders (each beneleander

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they grow to the milt
there grow abund-
which is the chieft
oze frequented with
ns, Sicilians, Rago-
ions, from Topolis
e of mount Libanus,
goodly plaine reple
grow great quantity
ed: on the best tree
llen and faller may
ng, which hath be-
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ch comels three day-
is the greatest place
Tartarians, Britan
Armenians

Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sortes of Chyistians, and intoy freedom of their con-
sciences, and bryng thither many kinds of rich marchandises. In the middelt of this towne also
standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or fise hundred Janalaries. With-
in foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit
neere vnto the riuers side, which is but small; the walles are about thye English miles in com-
passe, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed
from thence with our camels the last of May with M. John Newbery and his company, and came
to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it begin-
neth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas befoze it cometh
downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name
which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, wherof we all furnished our selues
for a long journey downe the aforesayd riuer. And according to the maner of those that trauell
downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conueyance of our selues and of our goods.
These boats are flat bottomed, because the riuer is shallow in many places: and when men tra-
uell in the moneth of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are
constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to
fall on the shoals. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betwene Birrah and Felu-
gia, where we disembarked our selues and our goods. Every night after the Sun setteth, we tie
our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or husked wheat, and
having supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the shotes side as nere
as they can vnto the same. In many places vpon the riuers side we met with troops of Arabi-
ans, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care
not for money) glasses, combs, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and neckes, and for chur-
shumes which they churme withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those
of the Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without
exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrils, of golde, silver, or yron, according to
their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they haue hoops of golde, silver or
yron. All of them at well women and chyldren as men, are very great swimmers, and often times
swimming they bryght us milke to our barke in vessels vpon their heads. These people are ve-
ry thewthy, which I proued to my cost: for they stole a casker of mine, with things of good value
in the same, from vnder my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore traouellers keepe good
watch as they passe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at
Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast
as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers sortes of fish in it, but all are scaleles, some as bigge as salmons,
like barbit. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of June, where we made our abode
foure dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is
such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to traouell. This Felugia is a village
of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the
riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians, not finding camels here, we were constrained to vnlade
our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our English marchandises onely to Irew Babylon
ouer a hoze desert, in crossing whereof we spent eigheteen houres traouelling by night, and part
of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

In this place which we crossed ouer, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines
wherof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld at my good lea-
sure, hauing made three voyages betwene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this desert.
Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine greit
seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth: sun-
ny times I haue gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing about a quarter of a
mile in compass, and almost as high as the stone-woke of Pauls steeple in London, but it shew-
eth much bigger. The hycks remaining in this most auncient monument be halfe a pard thicke,
and three quarters of a pard long, being dyed in the sunne onely, and betwene every course of
hycks there lieth a course of matres made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as
though they had bene tayed with one peece. The city of Irew Babylon ioyneth vpon the a-
foresayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the riuer of Tigris runneth close vnder the
wall, and they may if they will open a sluice, and let the water of the same runne round about the
towne. It is about tmo English miles in compass, and the inhabitants generally speake thye
languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards
complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the grilles of their noses a ring like a
wedding

Birrah

Euphrates Chal-
low.Eight & twenty
dayes traue-
ling by riuer.Arabians vpo-
n the riuer of
Euphrates.The Arabian
women weare
golde rings in
their nostrils.Euphrates dis-
tributed.

Felugia.

The ruines of
olde Babylon.Irew Babylon.
The river Ti-
gris.

wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they be they neuer to loose.

Kafts boine
upon bladders
of goats skins.

Belbous rain.

Eight & twen-
ty dayes jour-
ney more by sea
from Baby-
lon to Balsara.

Comm castle.

Balsara,

Ships made
without pion
in the Persian
gulfe.

Zelabdim Eche-
bar king of
Cambala.

We returned
from Balsara
to Aleppo.

Their promi-
tion of victu-
als.

30 Caravan of
four thousand
Camels.

They are a place of very great traffique, and a very great shopware from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the river of Tigris from Mosul which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of marchandises upon rafts boine upon goats skins blown up full of wind in manner of bladders. And when they have discharged their goods, they sell the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats skins, and carry them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the river. The building here is most of hycke dyed in the Sun, and very little of stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, January and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a manner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at severall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeres. As we come to the city, we passe over the river of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong & greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this river to Balsara, but we might have done it in eight or ten dayes less, if the water had bene higher. Upon the waters side stand by the way divers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes journey, the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custom. Here the two rivers loyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water overflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of coye, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and walls are made of hycke dyed in the Sun. The Turke hath here five hundred Janissaries, bestes other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chief strength is dyed gallies which are about five and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordnance. To this port of Balsara come monthly divers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico, and Calicut cloth. These ships are usually from forty to threecore tonnes, having their planks sowed together with coye made of the barkes of Date trees, and in stead of Oream they use the shuierings of the barkes of the same trees, and of the same they also make their cackling. They have no kind of yron worke belonging to these vessels, save only their anchors. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus; there they stye for pearles foure moneths, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was just five moneths, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as he passing which time I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as he passing that way with her Palestines letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambala, & unto the mighty emperor of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment he and his companions were deliuered upon sureties, not to depart the towne without leave, at the suite of one father Thomas Steuens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we understood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales having dispatched our business at Balsara, imbarked our selues in company of seuentie barks all laden with marchandise, having every barke 14 men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes coming by against the streame to Babylon, where arriving and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and byrle them, furnished our selues with rice, butter, biscket, honey made of dates, onions and dates: and every marchant bought a proportion of fine muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to byrle them with vs: we also bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods under: and in this our caravan were foure thousand camels laden with spices and other rich marchandises. These camels will live very well two or three dayes with out water: their feeding is on stubbles, worme wood, magaine, and other strong weeds which they finde upon the way. The government and deciding of all quarrels and duties to be payed, the whole caravan comitteth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceiue best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, travelling twenty, of foure and twenty miles a day, resting our selues commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, until three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our journey. Eight dayes journey from Babylon toward Aleppo, nere unto a

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towne called Heie, as we crosse the riuier Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springes thowming out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like unto tarre, which serueth all the country to make stanch their barkes and boates: every one of these springes maketh a noise like unto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swaloweth by all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey call it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Well dooze. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beastes, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolues, leopards, torses, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of 40. s. sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receive of the Carauans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the sayd Carauans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Carauan the eleuenth of June, 1584. where we were stopp'd & reueled 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consull of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same room 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more unto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboard a small vessel, I arrived at Ioppe, and travelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ierusalem, Bechem, to the riuier of Iordan, and the sea & lake of Zedome, and returned backe to Ioppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published large discourses, I will cease to write. Within few dayes after imbarcking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arrived (God be thanked) in safety here in the riuier of Thames with diuers English marchants, the 16. of March, 1588. in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret
Consull in A-
leppo,
M. Wil. Barret,
Two voyages
more made to
Babylon,

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money current there, and the customes of merchandize.

Amana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three leuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 lb. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 lb. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all foyes of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very little lesse.

The current money of Babylon are Sales, which say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Sales make a duckat current, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 dyaams at pise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargain by the 100 metrals, which are 150 dyaams of Aleppo, which 150 dyaams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint of castile, they take the by the 100 dyaams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mine giue 5 medines lesse in each 100 dyaams then they are woorth to be sold amongst the marchants, and make payment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sales.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Cozal and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kerlies, Dockars, Chamberles, Silks, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselves. The Coaso, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per 100, all which they pay presently in ready money, according to the custome and bte of the emperour.

To the Ermin of the mine 5 ordinarie bte is to giue 30 Sales in curtelle, otherwile he would by authority of his office come aboard, & for vespight make such search in the barke, that he would come all things copse turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, measure, and money in the cite of Balsara.

Amana of Balsara answereth 5 rones 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 rones, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Aleppine, and of London 514 li. 8 shillings, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchantes bargain at so much the mana of woollene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the sorte of spice is, and the oþer taken theretoze in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is iust as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sorte of fluskes of copper called Estini, whereof 12 make a mannevine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mannevine is of siluer, hauing the Popesto stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of siluer, hauing the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estines. Also one Day and 20 estines make a larine, which is of Aleppo mony 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather. wherewith we vse to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is welded, so that the two ends meet at the last halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these laries make a duchat, which is 40 medines of eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duchat of gold is woorth there 7 laries, and one danine, which is of Aleppo mony 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is woorth laries 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 dyams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The rotals of plate are woorth 88 laries by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchantes they sel by the 100 meticals, per in the mint of cadle, they sel by the 100 dyams, hauing there like then the woorth 5 medines in each hundred dyams, and haue their payment in 40 payes made them in Saies of laries.

The custome of the said places, as well inward as outward, are alike of all sortes of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Coaso, Boaso, & scriuan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaueth his goods in the custome house payeth nothing, where other wise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this cometh to passe wth the customers euer the goods too high. For in such a case they may be viuent to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the oþder from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance of cocket sealed and signed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voyages returne there be no euillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sortile Venetian, and of Aleppo dyams 150, vt supra.

The freight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 laries, those of 15 cares 270 laries, those of 20 cares 360 laries, those of 30 cares 540 laries. Note that a care is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares freight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the about sayd pysses and freights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requir- ing the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord more rotile moze then the freight, vnder paines that finding moze in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the freight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord is behoueth to deale warlike, and in the presence of the Ermin of some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barkes may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many lands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz,

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ORMVZ:

The weight, measure, and money current in the kingdom of Ormuz.

Spices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rottiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as little, is 20 frafoli, and euery frafoli is 10 manas, and euery manas 23 chianli, and euery chianli 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euery quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rottiloes, & euery rottilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall cometh to be 128 rottiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rottiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. english weight. And contrarywise 1 quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rottiloes 8 ounces english) maketh 477 rottiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rottiloes and a halfe.

Note that there are bars of others weights, vt supra, of which they bargain simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargain of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rottiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rottiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargain in marchandize at so many laches by the barre, which lech is 1000 lachies, and maketh lachies 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & lachies one halfe, at lachies 5 by the pardao. One lachie is sabineu 10, and euery sabineu is 100. banarie.

The lachie is worth 5 lachies and one fourth part, so that the lachie is worth of Aleppo money 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the lachie as in Balsara worth of Aleppo money 6 medines & a half. The pardao is 5 lachies of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold, which is little and round, and is worth 24 lachies, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian money is worth in Ormuz lachies 88 per 100 meticals, & the rottiloes are worth lachies 86 lesse one lachie, which is euery thousand meticals, 382 lachies: but those that will not sell them, wile to melt them, and make them so many lachies in the king of Ormuz his mint, where by they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor rottiloes run as current in Ormuz, per aduise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called codo which increaseth vpon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for brynging 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase vpon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for brynging 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a bare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that brynging 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the said bare, there are found but 60 bares, contrarywise 100 bares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that all such ships as lade hoyses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 hoyses or vppwards, in what places soeuer the said hoyses be taken a shoze in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said hoyses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one hoysse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently fore-seene, whither all those hoyses laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is fauour shewed to the king of Cochins his brother in armes, so that his hoyses that come in the same ship, are not to answer custome. As for example: If there were 4 hoyses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same cautech all the marchandize of that ship to be subiect to pay custome, per aduise. But if they lade ten hoyses vpon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead hoysse to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreover, if the hoyses should die before the mid of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mid of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any hoysse die after the mid voyage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arrive safe. Notwithstanding, the marchandize (whether the said hoyses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voyage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleven in the 100, so far, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the soules: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Rarles, Pockaires, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke,

and 53 balaruchies as their iust value, but for that the said rotals are excellent silver and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, where the ships are to depart at their due times (called *Spontons*) every one to haue the said rotals pay more then they are worth, & the ouerplus, as is aboue said they call *Serapagio*. And first they giue y^e iust value of the 100 rotals of 8, at 5 tangas 50 balaruchies a piece, which done, they giue *Serapagins* 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, untill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for when the ships depart from Goa to Cochim, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are worth.

The *larines* are worth by iust value balaruchies 93 and 3 fourth partes, and 4 *larines* make a *Seraphine* of silver, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also haue *Serapagion* of 6, 7, 8, 10, untill 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all carry of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of *Serapagins* of gold of the stamp of Ormuz, whereof there are but few in Goa, but being there, they are worth fine *larines* and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another little sort of money, round, hauing on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is worth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stamp less then that which they call *Imiuo de buona moneda*, which is worth 18 balaruchies 3 fourth partes a piece.

Note that if a man bargain in marchandize, it behooueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderstood to be base money of 60 balaruchies, which wanteth of the good money vt *supra*.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed iustly rather to the marchants advantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without hoyses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the said marchandize to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it forth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paid the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to saue the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as aboue said. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of *Indies*. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with hoyses, they are not subiect to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They vse also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargain for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many *haganines*, accounting 24 balaruchies for one *haganine*, albeit there is no such money stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state former he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochim.

All the marchandize which they sell or buy within the said citie, they bargain for it at so many *Seraphines* per quintall, which is 128 rotalos of iust weight with y^e quintall & rotalo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertising that there are diuers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a used tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochim are all one.

The money of Cochim are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochim as wel inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per *duio*.

MALACCA.

The weight, measure, and money of Malacca.

For the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of divers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diversitie of the goods. But for the clothes they bargain at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 rones and 10 rotulos. As I have above said, all kind of drugs haue their sorts of barres limited, Note that every quintal is 4 rones, and every rone 32 rotulos, which is 128 rotulos the quintal, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotulos, and to London 472 lb. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no iust tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money current is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugal, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2 of these make a challaine, The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of silver money which they call Parachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reys, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugal on the other side.

There is also a kind of money called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugal, & is worth 6 tangas good money, the larinies are every 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larinies be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The rotals of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome intward, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

* By the Camels burden.

For camels from Aleppo to Birtha.
 For mules from Aleppo to Birtha,
 For custome at Birtha,
 For Auania of the Cady at Birtha,
 For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,
 For a present to the Emme the summe of
 For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes. Duc. 60 is
 For meat for the men the summe of
 For custome at Racca the summe of
 For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope.
 For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20 is
 For custome at Dea the summe of
 For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds of sope.
 For custome at Bosara, the summe of
 For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,
 For custome in Anna, in 10 per somme,
 For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,
 For custome in Adice, medines 10 per barke,
 For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,
 For custome at Gweke,
 For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope.
 For custome in Ist,
 For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,
 Charges of presents at Felugia,
 For camels from Felugia to Babylon,
 For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth,
 For a barke from Babylon to Balsara,
 For custome of small wares, at Corno,
 For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of
 For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,

Medines 60 per * somme,
 med. 45. per somme.
 med. 10. per somme,
 med. 100.
 med. 35.
 med. 400.
 med. 2400. per barke.
 med. 200.
 med. 5. per somme,
 med. 25.
 med. 800.
 med. 230. per barke.
 med. 35.
 med. 10. per barke,
 med. 17.
 med. 10. per somme.
 med. 35.
 med. 10. per barke.
 med. 17.
 med. 10. per barke.
 med. 17.
 med. 10. per somme,
 med. 35.
 med. 30.
 med. 30. per somme.

med. 900.
 med. 20. per somme,
 med. per somme,
 med. 26.

Whence do

For freight from
 For custome in C
 For freight from
 For custome in C

Ad

Cloves, from
 na, by way
 Nutmegs, from
 spares from Ban
 Pepper Gawpie,
 Pepper common,
 Shinnamon, from
 Cine, from Mal
 Sandals wilde, fi
 Sandales domesti
 Bergini, from S. T
 Wicknards, from
 Quicksilver, from
 Galls, from Camb
 Ginger Dabulin,
 Ginger Belledin,
 Cambaia.
 Ginger Soratin, f
 Ginger Mordassi, f
 Ginger Meckin, fr
 Spicabolans of all s
 White sucker from
 Corunia, from di
 Copall of Leuane,
 Chomin, from Bal
 Requitria, from Ar
 Garble of Nutmegs
 Sal Armoniacke, fr
 Zedoari, from diue
 Cubebe, from Chin
 Anomum, from C
 Camphora, from B
 Myrtha, from Arabi
 Costo dulce, from Z
 Borazo, from Cam
 Asa fetida, from La
 Clare, from Bengal
 Seragni, from Persi
 Caliss, from Camb
 Storax calamita, fro
 neda, and Canem
 Storax liquida, from
 Tutia, from Persia.
 Cagiers, from Malab
 Ruuia to die withball,
 Alumme di Rocca, f
 tinopie.
 Chopra, from Cochi
 Popanax, from P
 Ignum Aloes, from
 Iacca,

For Freight from Bassara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.
 For custome in Ormus, as is aboue said in this booke.
 For freight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.
 For custome in Goa, as is aboue said.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

Cloves, from Maluco, Takenate, Amboina, by way of Iaua.
 Nutmegs, from Banda.
 Spices from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.
 Pepper Cayle, from Cochlin.
 Pepper common, from Malabar.
 Cinamon, from Seilan.
 Clove, from Malacca.
 Sandals wilde, from Cochlin.
 Sandals domesticke, from Malacca.
 Teryni, from S. Thomas, and from China.
 Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
 Quicksilver, from China.
 Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.
 Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
 Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
 Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
 Ginger Mordass, from Mordas within Cambaia.
 Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
 Spirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
 White sucker from Zindi, Cambaia and China.
 Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
 Copall of Leuant, from Malabar.
 Chomin, from Bassara.
 Requiritia, from Arabia Felix.
 Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
 Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
 Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
 Cubeb, from China.
 Anonum, from China.
 Camphora, from Brimeo netre to China.
 Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
 Collo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
 Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
 Asa fetida, from Lahor.
 Cloare, from Bengala.
 Seragni, from Persia.
 Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
 Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from A-neda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
 Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
 Tutia, from Persia.
 Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldia.
 Ruia to die withall, from Chalangi.
 Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
 Chopra, from Cochlin and Malabar.
 Popanax, from Persia.
 Signum Aloes, from Cochlin, China, and Malacca.

Demnar, from Siacea and Binton.
 Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochlin.
 Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguare.
 Carabbe, from Almanic.
 Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
 Agaricum, from Alemania.
 Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
 Bdelium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
 Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
 Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
 Tamarinda, from Bassara.
 Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
 Aloe Fpatica, from Pat.
 Safran, from Bassara, and Persia.
 Lignum de China, from China.
 Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Puglia.
 Thus, from Secutra.
 Turbich, from Diu, and Cambaia.
 Rutes of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
 Nux vomica, from Malabar.
 Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
 Armoniago, from Persia.
 Spodio di Cana, from Cochlin.
 Margaratina, from Balaguare.
 Spulke from Tartarie, by way of China.
 Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
 Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
 Silkes fine, from China.
 Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
 Latton, from China.
 Momia, from the great Cayro.
 Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
 Belzuinum turned, from Bonnia.
 Castorium, from Alemania.
 Corallina, from the red sea.
 Masticke, from Sio.
 Mella, from Romania.
 Oppium, from Puglia, and Cambaia.
 Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
 Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
 Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
 Dictamnium album, from Lombardia.
 Draganti, from Morea.
 Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
 Epithymum, from Candia.
 Sena, from Mecca.
 Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
 Grana, from Coronto.
 Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
 Lapis lazudis, from Persia.

Lapis Zudass, from Zaffetto.
 Lapis Spongij is found in sponges.
 Lapis Hymatites, from Almanic.
 Manna, from Persia.
 Ausipigmentum, from manie places of Tur-
 kie.
 Pilatro, from Barbaria.
 Pistaches, from Doria.
 Cloyme-seede, from Persia.
 Surnack, from Cyprus.
 Sebesten, from Cyprus.

Galbanum, from Persia.
 Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosam-
 bique.
 Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochlin.
 Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
 Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
 Sarcacolla, from Persia.
 Melleghele, from the West parts.
 Sugo di Requillie, from Arabia felix.
 Chochenillo, from the West India.
 Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called *Monsons*, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

Note, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe can passe over the barre of Goa, because through the continuall houres of raine all the sandes loyue together neere unto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being loyued together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can have no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut up untill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scour the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Balsaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abovesaid, and to these places they may soile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abovesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.
 The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Island and hath but few ships, which depart as abovesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all partes, as well from Balaguate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcen, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of November. Note that by going for the North is meant the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Balsaim, Ghafslain, and other places unto Zind: and by the South is understood, departing from Goa, for Cochlin, and all that coast unto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The ships depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Januarie passing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of April, having Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course over for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rafale, and the straight of Ormus, and this monson

which trouble some
 grees and some what

The ships depart
 and North-east wind

The second monson
 the former monson.

The third monson
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 Arabia side from Cap
 salgate, they have
 not before the 25 of
 because of the winter

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The ships depart b

The ships depart f

Hitherto I have

Goa to the No
 from Goa to the

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 May till the 10 of Au
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 ber and Januarie.

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 April as is abovesaid.
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The ships depart f
 15 of March, or in the
 ships be arrived in Go
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 of October.

The ships depart at

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The ships depart f

which troublesome of all: for they make two naugations in the height of Seylan, which is o de-
green and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North,
and Northeast winds.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the five and twentieth and last of December, with like winds as
the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15
of April, and they saile with Southeast winds, East and Northeast winds, coasting upon the
Arabia side from Cape Mosandon unto Cape Rasalgare, and hauing lost the sight of Cape Ra-
salgare, they haue Westerly winds, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart
not before the 15 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus
because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi,

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of April.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Januarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monsons of the ships departing from
Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart
from Goa to the Southward;

¶ The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan,
and all that coast.

The ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it na-
uigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesaid, from the 15 of Note:
May till the 10 of August. In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at euery time
in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in November, Decem-
ber and Januarie.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and af-
ter the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if
they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till
April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefeft trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and pa-
rachoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof
there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are
not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraudo orientall. For of golde, silver,
and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the
15 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde
ships be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they haue not then set the
sail of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end
of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of
March;

March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arrived at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come upon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe over the barre of Goa for the cause above said.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arrivall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arrive upon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.

The monsons of the Portugall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Molambouque, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Ile of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is above said) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost upon the coast of Guinea: but if they said ships be arrived in time upon the coast of Melinde, they set forthwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they be the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they returne to winter there upon the said coast. At the peere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull in the peere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull full of sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before.

Note.

Note.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betwene the fifteenth and last of January, going on till they have sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Ile of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteen degrees to the South. And it is a little Island being fruitful of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was discovered by the Portugales, and was discovered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruit, that by means thereof that poore ship which had bene foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselves both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discovered upon S. Helens day. And undoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the King of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for devotion of S. Helena: where there are monies resident Eremites, and all other are forbidden to inhabit there by the kings commandment, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch mainly the said Island, because they see, not being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites above said, cannot inhabit this Island, except some sick man that may be set there a hope to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recovery.

Note.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of January.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betwene the 8 and last of August, and arrive in Chaul of Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of November.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.



straights: and the sea towards Argier, And first of March. At winter 100 leagues, from the sea, and at sometimes in the harbor till the third of April, three windes, sometimes were adoping bath fell with the Ile of C there continued till the

The said citie of A citie were two miles from the coast, the water commeth thither (men) called Nilus, was accustomed manner, and andria, at a towne called barthes of twelve cum dernes, and twis in the peere following: for dernes. Also they have ally in the moneths of pillar of Marble, called is twelve foot, and it is twelve foye paces, a stamery upon a great foot high, and the count wonder to thinke how the pop of the said Citie is the citie, being all very about three dayes four repoze of the registers fully populous, and is Barriners for trial ch being, as I may well cers of fine and marble that we did see: the square pointed diamond, 620 man doth know what where the wall is broken right to it, and within which tombe they say, ing bowdown in the red kepe under those Pyra reason that they can the red sea is but three the nace: but to returne kept in, and in the Exchange standeth

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by John Euesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.



The 5 of December 1586 we departed from Grauefend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master under God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Ile of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day we came in sight of the rocks of Lisbon, and so sailing along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westlerly winde we entered the straites: and the second of January being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleet towards Argier. And the 4 day we arrived at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staid till the first of March. At which time we set saile towards a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arrived the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small cite by 12 miles from the sea, and at the port of robe where shipping doe ride, is a castle of fort called Goletra, sometimes in the hands of the Christians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Appril: at which time we set saile towards Alexandria, and having sometime faire winde, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where were adioyning hath bene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Ile of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arrived the 27 of Appril, and there continued till the 5 of October.

Tunis.

The said cite of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, having bene a faire and great cite neere two miles in length, being all vaulted vnderneath for prouision of fresh water, which water cometh thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteen foote vpright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluice, about thirtie miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rosseto, it doth so come to the saide Cite, with such abundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the same water, which water doth fill all the baires, ceternes, and wells in the said Cite, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Also they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Cite there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaos needle, & it is foure square, euery square is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Cite, about twentie scoe paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth vpon a great square stone, euery square is fiftene foote, and the same stone is fiftene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the height of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how it was possible to set the said pillar vpon the said square stone. The port of the said Cite is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the cite, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this Cite, about thre dayes iourney the cite of Grand Cayro, otherwile called Memphis: it hath in it by repute of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Sparmers for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide cite there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seven seuerall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seven yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie scoe euery square, being built as it were pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppes: the height of them, to our iudgement, doth surmount twise the height of Pauls Steple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, hauing torch-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharaon in his life time, but he was not buried there, being downed in the red sea: also there are certaine vaults or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe vnder those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare bence to goe downe into them, by reason that they can carry no light with them, for the damp of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but thre dayes iourney from this place, and Ierusalem about seven dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherein is the house that Pharaos wives were kept in, and in the Pallace of Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in height 60 foote, and in compasse 14

The description of Alexandria.

Cayro.

foote: also in the said Citie is the castle where Ioseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would have any summe of money of them: there are seven gates to the said prison, and it hath nere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serueth this castle, cometh out of the fozefaire river of Nilus, upon a wall made with arches, six miles long, and is twelue foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharaon. In this Citie is great store of marchandise, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all manner of victuals, especially of beean, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastward of Cayro, there is a Well, six miles off, called Maria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Egypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angel came from heauen, and drake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselves, which fountaine of well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought upon arches (as afoze) about 25 miles, which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at diuers other places on the coast, as our first and last port, within the streights standeth upon the side of an hill, close upon the sea shore, it is very strong both by sea and land, and is very well victualled with all manner of fruites, beean and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Chyistian captiues, where of there are of Englishmen onely fiftene, from which port we set sayle towards England, the seuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arrived at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

Carthage.

Argier.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.



Embarked my selfe at Bristol, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 22 day of February, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the midde of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towARDS them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepbow, to runne a drift. The same night a boate midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with vs, untill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprae, which is a little on this side the streight of Gibraltar, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelue saile more, with whom we thought to haue spoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very ill away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towARDS Patras. Upon the 23 of March, we met with the Comurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, upon the coast of England, before mentioned.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Island, and had sight of two shippes, which we indogen to be of England.

Thuesday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and bring there becalmed, our Master caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, seruant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboard vs, with whom our Master and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on shore, but they could not go, misten: so we all came aboard againe, and went to Patras, where we arrived upon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainment at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with us, and shewed vs the pleasures of the towne.

They brought vs to the house of the Cady, who was made then to understand of the 20 Turkes

Goleta.

Malta.

Zante.

Patras.

that were had aboard Sir Francis Drake. The Queenes Maestie he brought before howe strangely the prince of Chyph took the name in perpetual memory Andrew, where his boord is now so rotten away with me.

Upon Tuesday much adoe, we were Zante, where I was the situation of the which commaunders passengers. We were here at a small who entertained vs on them for their money. The last of the Captaine, and carriage.

The second day where we ankered, wanted. The Island a hundred miles.

The 11 day, they done in a little Chay to mee, because for that we were fatigued. The 12 day, we ended, and we came to the Castle of Serpeto, where we were.

The 13 day, we were before the Island called Dittor, where we passed by the Island of Diana.

The 15 of May, per Towne, after they came in five ships, had a Prince of the N. sent him to the Turke are about 26, winded, and some other.

As we remained, and the Greekes Greekes tooke in ill the hopes, and they were fetched by Gallies: about four gone, we know not, that place: the Substantieth by the rocks.

The 20 day we were before the rocks, that came from Alexandria, for two of the other.

The 24 of June, that came from Alexandria, for two of the other.

The 27 of June,

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that wee had aboord, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by
Sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the
Queenes Maestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to
be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and understood
howe strangely they were deliuered, hee maruelled much, and admired the Queenes Maestie of
England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all
the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maestie,
Shah. took the name of those 20. Turkes, and receyved them in their great bookes, to remaine
in perpetual memory. After this, our foresaid countrey men brought mee to the Chappell of S.
Andrew, where his tombe of sepulchre is, and the boord upon which hee was beheaded, which
boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it
away with me.

Upon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with
much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on shoar, and I was caried to the English house in
Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and ople:
the situation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which standeth a very strong Castle,
which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other
passengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we an-
kered at a small Island, called Strualia, which is desolate of people, sauing a fewe religious men,
who entertained vs well, without taking any money: but of courtisie we bestowed some what vpon
them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried a-
boord. The last day of Aprill, wee arrived at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee
met the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners alhoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their
carriage.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo,
where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we
wanted. The Islands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of
a hundred miles.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences
done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saie one of our shippe had done, and impu-
ters it to mee, because I was serue goe into it three dayes before, came to vs, and made much a doe,
so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the babbling
was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the
Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth vnder a hills side.

The 13. day, we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the
Island called Dicer, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also
we passed by the Castle of Tino, standing vpon a very high mountaine, and nere vnto it is the
Island of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very pro-
per Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuill and while we were here,
there came in six Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admirall,
had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to pre-
sent him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There
are about 16. wind-mills about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, ma-
shie, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuersie betwene the mariners of the Hercu-
les, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bping home of the Turkes, which the
Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate
the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a boyle beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the
Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatened to the
Gallies: about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them, when we were
gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of June.

The 20. day we passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in
that place: the substance of the ground there is ymestone, and burneth sometimes so much, that it
bloweth by the raches.

The 24. of June wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaid six Gallies,
that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a present for himselfe, and
for two of the Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gaue them.

The 27. of June, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the first of July, and then tooke
passage

Strualia.

Candie.

May.
The Islands
of Milo, in the
time called
Sporades.

Sio.

Singonina.

passage in a small barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was freighted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes.

The 30. day of July, this barke which I passed in came upon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

The 28. of July I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Jewe which was the Customer there, giving me Spuskabine, and drinking water himselfe: having broken my fall with him, he provided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride upon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboard a ship of the German Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well received of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The said Master having made me good chere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, having the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to provide me all things that I needed, and every day came to see me, and carried me into the City, and showed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

He brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of grey marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation above 52. yards, and the compass about five fadome. The City hath thre gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rosetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, having there his herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I saw there also Pharaos neede, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compass five fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone. I was brought also to a most brave and vaine Bath, where we washed our selves: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workmanship.

The Citie standeth upon great arches, or balckes, like unto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde up the foundation: which arches are built to receive the water of the river of Nilus, which is for the use of the Citie. It hath thre Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the place that is destroyed of it, is five times more then that part which standeth.

The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rosetto, standing by the river side, having 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and hycke, but as for lodging, there is little, except we hying it with vs.

From Rosetto we passed along the river of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, as big as the Thames at London: on both sides grow vaine trees in great abundance. The people be rude, in so much that a man cannot traueile without a Janizary to conduct him.

The time that I stayed in Egypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue thre Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Between Rosetto and Cayro there are along the water side thre hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not above thre hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the first day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Caesar, who entertained me in very good sort. M. Caesar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are thre in number, one whereof King Pharaos made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments be high and in some 4. square, the euery of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a routing arrowe, and as high as a Church. I saw also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides.

The house of Ioseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, having a place to walke in of 56. mightie pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the river of Nilus, which was done with great joy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceased shooting off of great Ordnance.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who receiued me most kindly, and at his owne charge. He brought mee to the kings Court,

Bichieri.

The English house in Alexandria.

The monuments of Alexandria.

Rosetto.

The Turkes Lent.

Cayro.

The English Consull at Argier.

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The king of Portugal a duety to the great wantonly as a spy were at that time course were the

He found here a nis, where they were upon they went to were all belonging owner. The Master

The thirde day with a prize, which pannelle also belonging goods, where were the first day of February humble thanks to

A true report

Turkie, by King of Spain Philip Jones



The passage of all them, their persons for Turkie, in such me might the better and shippes. For being only a Parcel

1. The Master
2. The Treasurer
3. The Edmon
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These five departed together as one fleet coping to the other separate himselfe, Tripolitic Syria, upon the coast of R were pillars appo about a certaine and severall portes. nere to the maine to be the fittest place on the side, and upon ship and expect the done, each man ma course, and to dispo firing no time was mans querie, acco

and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the manners of the Court: the King worthyly beare the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the souldiers.

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who coming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duty to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seven Gallies that were at that time callt away at a towne called Fommenera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13 Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill used by the Moores, who forced them to leave their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Walter Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnelle called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke upon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnelle also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where we were left them at our coming away, which was the seventh day of Januarie: and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seventh day came to London, with humble thanks to Almighty God, for my safe arrivall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turke, by five Ships of London, against 11 Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Jones.

The Marchantes of London, being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, having received intelligences, and aduertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely late arrested all English ships, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet traffique which they used to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had given order to the Capitaines of his gallies in the Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeavour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleet for Turke, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemy might the better be prevented, and the voyage accomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, five tall, and stout shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were provided and furnished with all things belonging to the Sea: The names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very hyane and good shippe, and of great reposit
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonaventure.
4. The William, and John.
5. The Susan.

These five departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of November 1585, kept together as one fleet, till they came as high as the Ile of Sicile, within the Levant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leaue of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripoliet in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situate upon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were severally appointed. But before they divided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island nere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well known of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendezous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on each side, and promised, that whatsoever ship of these 5, should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the coming of the rest of the fleet, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, each man made his best hast according as winde and weather would serve him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of each mans dutie, according to his place.

It fell

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speed, and gotten such good weather, that she first of all the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there call ancre, attending the arrivall of the rest of the fleet, which accordingly (their business first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripoli in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limited. These ships took of the top on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordnance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other martiall and full behavours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladness of their minds, being all as ready to lome together in mutuall consent to resist the cruell enemy, as to lome long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their loading, the sight of whom increased the top of the rest, and they no less glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the manner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stood at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessitie of each shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante the newes was fresh and current, of two severall armies and fleets promised by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30 strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleet was ordered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20 Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, under the charge and government of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name serving the king of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleets waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made so of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, having received such straight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that we should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledging of dutie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodness of their cause, and the promise of God, to be delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, carried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all temptations to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish Countervailers. But least they should seeme too careless, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the measures which was put into their hands, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleet, and the Tobie Viceadmirall, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and each shippe was to be ruled from another, what soever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemy.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Grecia, and committed themselves to the Sea, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemy, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of A- fricke: into sight whereof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. Gallies in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, layed out their Ordnance, scoured, charged, and pyimed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves thoroughly. In the meane time, the Gallies made but little way towards the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilie, and Malta, as if they in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediately, both the Admiralls of the Gallies sent from them a frigate, to the Admirall of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Spaniard first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: They answered that they were English, and the armes wherof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the said frigate returned to them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Capitaines and Generall, to Don Pedro de Leiva their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him.

in the name of the Sp- such dutie nor obedie- gat to depart with the- may the went, and up- Admiral, and would n- in the Admirall, not d- of London, had bene a- also demaunders of f- ed, we are of Malta, and pay to the king of who hath bene comm- except you. You sh- noble man of good be- Admirall, whose name- to make trial of Don- our good cause: vntill promising securitie a- wherupon he in deed- and caused a cuppe of- hand, and with revere- cy honourably of her- ment that he himselfe- late French king was- well of the sufficiencie- he confessed to have- to Don Pedro de Le- lish Admirall, saying- thers and Purcellers- them or sinke them, to him: and for the by- make them peeble to a- fer an iniurie. Where- in quiet sort, and with- thing terrifie them, the last he increased e- nerall, that to be mig- 39. Wilkinson woul- med willing to bee in- 39. Wilkinson to gre- tilke the Generall, a- And he seemed to m- ons of this Cavaller- backe againe in safer- received sufficient re- and libertie in hazar- him go to the Gene- contented him, where- discontentment. 39. Rowie theretof- thought in deed tha- came flocking about- men peeled: 39. sent a man of- wherein he was, be- upon him in armour- whence is your flee- whole person I her- chief of your men: sole: Let al the e-

in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas: Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigate to depart with that answer, and not to stay longer a babbling, upon her perill. Which that way she went, and by comes toward them the other frigate of Malia, and there in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdainning an answer, tolde them that they were of England, Merchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be required in this case, they also demanded of the frigate whence she and the rest of the Gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malia, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. These Gallies are in seruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leuia a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him, to know his pleasure. He in a noble man of good behaviour and courtelle, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admirall, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtelle, whereof we are suspicious and doubtful, and not without good cause: vntill withall good wordes to the messenger, and willing him to come aboard him, promising securitie and good vylage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigate, and came aboard him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drinke for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with cenerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Maestie, and giuing good speeches of the courteous vylage and intertinement that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alençon, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to haue seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leuia the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Purseres should come to him with speed, or else hee would set upon them, and either take them or sink them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson also, saying, that not a man should come to him: and for the vylage and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish brauado that should make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the messenger left bagging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moue them to doe that which hee required. At the last hee increaced to haue the Marchant: & the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their minde by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee employed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answers to satisfy the Generall, and thereby to saue the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battell. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and periturie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at last, vpon much increacie, hee yeelded to let him go to the Generall, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answers of reason would haue contented him, where as otherwise refusal to do so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeeld, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigate, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, haue these Englishmen yeelded: the frigate answered, No so, they neither haue, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending vpon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleet, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent: Where are your billes of lading, your letters, passports, and the list of your men: Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose: Let all these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure

and

and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanisch Generall were not so outrageous pronounced, as they were mildly answered by *M. Row*, who tolde him that they were all *Spaniards*, men, using traffique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vyled further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his Soueraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such iniurie to English *Spaniards*, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement afore said, for the acknowledging of duitie, in such particular sort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none should be performen, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in general, stood resolutely vpon the negative, and would not yeeld to any such unreasonable demaund, nor would such imperious and absolute manner of commanding. Whyp then, said he, if they will neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I will either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigate came away with *M. Row*, and brought him aboard the English Admirall againe according to promise: who was no sooner entered in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side courageously prepared themselves to the combat, every man according to his room, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the Gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a Culvering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: each English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequality of the frigates on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, inasmuch that the enimie as amazed there with would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of all euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarrell of theirs, in defending themselves against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might rebound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion, which the insolent enimie fought so much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniards cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor thereof shal be thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the last the Admirall of the Gallies of Sicilie began to waile from the fight, and to holde vp her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the force of English shot which they had receiued, to perish in the seas: a what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable conjecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battle, they withdrew themselves: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom *M. Wilkinson* with his good wordes and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

Thus with duertifull thanks to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Navigation, and comming as high as *Alger*, a port towne vpon the coast of *Barbary*, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entered into the port, but immediately the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they wert, with which messenger the chiefe master of each shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, repoyzing euery particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marueilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon names of their who concluding with off my departure the same in my company, while And not withstanding

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hearing also what seruice they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and fought as much as they could to practise some mischief against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came upon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wounds, but that it was easily recovered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediately sent both for the party that had received the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slave euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in conceipt of his royal commandement.

The English having received this good iustice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friends, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessity to passe. But coming neere to the said Streights, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship coulde not discern another, if it were 40. paces off: by means whereof, together with the notable faire EASTERNE winds that then blew most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streights, and might haue passed with that good gale, had there bene 100. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire neuer to cleare for every ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a balne fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordnance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to vertue, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had provided of purpose to disresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the iust commendation of eche mans seruice performed in that voyage.

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople ouer land to London, 1588.



Departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suite and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countreies of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldavia, where arriving the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interreined by Peter his politie prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Maiesties subjects there trafficking should pay but thre upon the hundred, which as well his owne Subjects as all other nations answered: whose letters to her Maiestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chancellor sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrences of that kingdom, & also he wrote to her Maiestie.

Thence I hadd into Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maiesties seruice, whose letters likewise unto the same were presented me. No lesse at Danzick the 27. of that moneth I was courteously received by one of the Burroughmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Ciuill doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that Duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar received like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of November, and at Srood the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Burroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry toyes of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating in the names of their whole Senate, her Maiesties victory ouer the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready seruice to her future disposing. Yet the Danzicks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Indoles nor Christians on any way euer demanded. And notwithstanding the premises, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there

The second Spanish fleet lying in waite for the English.

The letters of the Prince of Moldavia to the Queen. Letters of the Chancellor of Poland to the Queen.

resilient that most of the Hanse-towns upon the sea coasts, especially Dantzick, Lubeck, and Ham-
 burger have laden and were shipping for Spaine, great provision of coyne, cables, ropes, por-
 der, saltpeter, hargabulles, armour, iron, lead, copper, and all other munition serving for the
 warre. Whereupon I gather that their faired courtelle proceeded rather for feare then of any good
 affection unto her Christianes service, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of dutie for their
 commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The privilege of Peter the Prince of Moldavia graunted to the English Marchants.

English Marchants.

Retrus Dei gratia princeps Valachie & Moldauiz; significamus presentibus, vni-
 uersis & singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quod cum magnifico domino Gui-
 lielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ domine, Elizabethæ
 beathæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac
 potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimi-
 rum vt dehinc sue Serenitatis subditis, omnibusq̃ue mercatoribus integrum sit hic in provincia
 nostra commorandi, conuersandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendique, imo omnia exercendi,
 quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humane societas vsusque requirit, sine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut
 inhibitione: saluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij nostri; hoc est, vt a singulis rebus centum qu-
 catorum pretij, res nungent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus,
 In cuius rei firmissimum testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die
 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

Th. Same in English.

The same in English.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldavia; we signifie by these presents to all and singular persons, whom it doth o: shall concerne, that we have made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassa:or of the right bigg and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hence forth it shall be lawfull for same and mightie Emperour of the Turkes, to remaine, conuerse, buy, sel, bargain and errede her highnesse subiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerse, buy, sel, bargain and errede all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and vse requireth, without any hinderance o: let: the right of our Custome alwaies reserved; That is, that they pay thier duty vpon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinaunce we commaund to be surely and firmly obserued; For the more assured testimony whereof, our Seale is herunto annexed. Given in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly payments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the *Grand Signior*, out of his *Treasure*, to the Officers of his *Seraglio* or Court, successiuesly in degrees: collected in a yearly tall summe, as followeth,

Whis shone bet every day, one thousand and one alpers, according to a former
 stome received from his auncelless : notwithstanding that otherwise his durall
 expence is very much, and not certainly known, which summe maketh sterling
 nay by the peer, two thousand, one hundred, 2. pounds, three shillings, eight pence,
 The five and fourtie thousand lanizaries dispersed in sundry places of his domi-
 nions, at five alpers the day, amounteth by the peers to five hundred, fourscore and eleven thou-
 sand, and three hundred pounds.

The Azamogians, tribute children, three surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betwene the yeeres of five and twelve, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in service may be equall in number with the Iazamizaries abovesaid, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred, fourscore and fifteene thousand, five hundred and fifteen pounds.

The five Basias, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yearly revenues, amounteth sterling by the peere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds. The five Beglerbegas, chiefe pfectors of Greece, Hungary and Sclavonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousande aspers the day: as also to eightene other gubernours of Provinces, at five hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the peere, to thirtie thousand five hundred, and threescore pounds.

The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred, four score and ten thousand pounds.

The Aga of the Janizaries, generall of the footemen, five hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the peece in sterling money, one thousand, four score and fiftene pounds.

The Imbrahr Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, in sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Capitaines of the horsemen, fiftie, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleven pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters four, one hundred and fiftie aspers to each, and maketh out in sterling money by the peece, one thousand, three hundred, and four score pounds.

The Silinghir Bassa, Controller of the household, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the peece, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Capitaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the peece in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Capigilar Calasi, Capitaine of his Barge, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the peece in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Capitaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hundred and twenty aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Physician to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteen shillings.

Fourtie Physicians vnder him, to each fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and six pounds, sixteen shillings.

The Mustafaracas Spacemen, attending on his person, in number five hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, three score and five thousand, and seven hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri gentlemen, attending vpon his pier, fourtie, at fourtie aspers each of them, and amounteth to sterling by the peece, three thousand, five hundred and four pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, four hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, six hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, four hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the peece, seven thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundred and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth vnto in English money, the summe of six thousand, three hundred and six pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty five aspers, and maketh of English money, five hundred, forty and seven thousand, and five hundred pounds.

The Janizaries sixteen thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbuthers of armor, one thousand, five hundred, at six aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteen thousand, seven hundred, and four score pounds.

The Seisir, seruitors in his Equier or stable, five hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, four score and ten pounds.

The Saefi, Saddlers and bit makers, five hundred, at seven aspers, seven thousand, six hundred, three score and five pounds.

The Carergi, Carriers vpon Oxen, two hundred, at five aspers, two thousand, one hundred, three score and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thousand, five hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty five thousand, two hundred, and four score pounds.

The Reiz, or Capitaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the peece, the summe of six thousand, five hundred, three score and ten pounds.

The Alechings, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seven aspers, four thousand, five hundred, four score and nineteen pounds.

The Getti, Boatswaines thereof, three hundred, at five aspers, maketh three thousand, nine hundred, forty and two pounds.

The Oda Baisi, Bursers, three hundred, at five aspers, maketh three thousand, two hundred, and fourscore pounds.

The Azappi soldiers two thousand five hundred at four Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seven hundred fourscore and six pounds.

The Marias Baisi masters over the shipwrights and halkers of the nauie, nine, at 20 Aspers the pice, amounteth to three thousand fourscore and four pounds, four shillings.

The Master Daisi shipwrights & halkers, one thousand at fourteene aspers, which amounteth by the peere, to thirtie thousand, five hundred three score pound.

Summa totalis of dayly payments amounteth by the peere sterling, one million, nine hundred three score eighty thousand, seven hundred thirtie five pounds, nine shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of four hundred fourscore twelue thousand, one hundred fourscore and four pounds four shillings eleven pence, and is for every day five thousand three hundred fourscore and thirtie pounds, fiftene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improved, five times more in value then their summes mentioned, given by the saide *Grand Signior*, as followeth.

To the Viceroy for his Timar of annuities 60. thousand golde ducats.
 To the second Bassa for his annuities 50. thousand ducats.
 To the third Bassa for his annuities 40. thousand ducats.
 To the fourth Bassa for his annuities 30. thousand ducats.
 To the fifth Bassa for his annuities 20. thousand ducats.
 To the Capitaine of the Janizaries 20. thousand ducats.
 To the Ieu Merhorbaisi master of his horse 15. thousand ducats.
 To the Capitaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.
 To the Capitaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these aboue specified, he sundry other annuities given to diuers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Salims, diminishing from three thousand to two hundred ducats, esteemed reble to furmount the annuities abouesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

The Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that vnder him be three subtreasurers called Tep Tekadars, which bee accountable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Asia and Africa, saue their yeerely annuities of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper characters such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior, notwithstanding all letters to forreine princes so signed be after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, creued of stone to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Solomon the wise.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begg, Capitaines of Gallies, to whom hee giueth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbassas, Bayliffes of Constables ouer Cities and Townes vpon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, wherof he reapeeth great profit.

The Subbaisi of Pera payeth him yeerely fiftene thousand ducats, and so likewise the others according as they are placed.

The Resislop serueth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and so likewise the Cogie Passer of the Rolls, before which two, passe all writings presented to, or giued by the said Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of especiall credit and like profit, may be rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Judges named Cadi Leaker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas, which all offices to the vnder Judges of the land called Cadies, wherof is one in euery City of the

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The Grand Signior ducats, which is the tribute paid by every head, which maketh three hundred thousand. Moreover, in time of the late Christian Emperour payeth sterling thirtie thousand for his maintenance to twentie thousand

before whom all matters in controuersie are by iudgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed upon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the *Beglerbegs*; the gouernours of Prouinces and *Saniacks*, and their petie Capitaines maintained of these Prouinces.

The <i>Beglerbegs</i>	Of	G Razia, fourtie thousand	persons;
		Buda, fiftene thousand	
		Sclauonia, fiftene thousand	
		Natolia, fiftene thousand	
		Caramania, fiftene thousand	
		Armenia, eightene thousand	
		Persia, twentie thousand	
		Vidrum, fiftene thousand	
		Chirusta, fiftene thousand	
		Caraemiti, thirtie thousand	
The <i>Beglerbegs</i>	Of	Gierful, two and thirtie thousand	persons.
		B Agdar, five and twentie thousand	
		Balsara, two and twentie thousand	
		Lassaja, seuentene thousand	
		Alepo, five and twentie thousand	
		Damasco, seuentene thousand	
		Cayro, twelue thousand	
		Abes, twelue thousand	
		Mecca, eight thousand	
		Cyprus, eightene thousand	
		Tunis in Barbary, eight thousand	
		Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand	
		Alger, fourtie thousand	

Whose *Sangiacks* and petie Capitaines be three hundred sixtie eight, every of which retaining continually in pay from five hundred, to two hundred Souldiers, may be one with another at the least three hundred thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his *Seraglio* about his person

Be these	C Aplaga, High porter.
	Alnader Bassi, Treasurer.
	Oda Bassi, Chamberlain.
	Killergi Bassi, Steward.
	Saraiaga, Comptroller.
	Peskerolen, Groom of the chamber.
	Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Tower.
	Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
	Choataraga, he that carrieth his riding cloake.
	Ebiataraga, Groom of the steele.

There be many other manner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The *Turkes* yeerely reuenu.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenu is said to be foureteene millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling five millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subjects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of every head, which may amount unto not so little as one million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Moreover, in time of warre he exacteth manifold summes for maintenance of his Armie and maintenance of the said Christians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand ducats, which is sterling thirtie thousand pounds, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to amount to twentie thousand ducats.

The same in English.

Most glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princess, most gracious most wise gouernesse of all the affaires and busineses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritorresse & Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowned kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe vnto all your Maiesties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall & perpetuall bowes of worship of our familiarity, with eternall prayes: In most friendly manner we signifie vnto your princely Highnesse, that certaine peeres past the most mightie Cesarlike maiestie of the Grand Signor waged vnspokeable warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of theues in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notorious persons liuing in the same partes crased not to trouble and molest the subiects of our most mightie Emperour. But now hauing finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the said malefactours of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tatars, he hath foraged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne punishment. Which the king of Poland perceiving sent two Embassadors to his imperiall Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactours, and inflict most seuer punishments vpon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore opinarly sent vnto the poety of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall Highnesse (vpon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to giue eare vnto all humble suppliants) receiuing the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his arme against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almighty creator, utterly to subuert and ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maiesties Embassador resident in the blessed and glorious poety of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatur, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with coyne, gun-powder, masses of ships, guns, and other necessities, and craving peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Maiesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Maiesties Embassador was signified vnto the Grand Signor, for your sake, vnto whom all honour and sauourable regard is due, vpon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be sought out and grievously punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, vpon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene solicited on the behalfe of your Maiestie, his imperiall Highnesse would neuer haue vouchsafed the same vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maiesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a fauour vnto the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Maiestie and the king of Poland ought certainly to be perswaded, like with your Maiestie most happily and well to fare. Giuen at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabau, in the yeare of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Iesus 1590, the 18 of Iune.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maiestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Leuant, the seueneth of Ianuarie 1592.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande; defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where: vnder our obeytance and iurisdiction or otherwise vnto whom these our letters shall be serued, sheweth, or read, greeting,
Where our welbeloued subiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Scaper of our citie of Sparthme, haue by great aduerture and industrie with their great cost and charge

the chiefe letters tooth and accors in the opening and putting in practice of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edward Osborne knight, to bee nowre Gouvernour during the time of one whole yeere nowre next following, if hee so long shall live: And after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decrease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Gouvernour, and so of every Gouvernour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres to be part of them peere to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edward Osborne, and all them, and all the formes of them and of every of them, and all such their apprentices and servants of them and of every of them, which have bene or hereafter shall be employed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or upwards by themselves, their servants, factors or deputies, shall and may by the space of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters patents freely traffike, and vse the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countreys of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discovered by John Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and James Scorie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchantes or some of them: and into and from every of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intences and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowship or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance: any lawe, statute, usage, or diversitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Gouvernour.

A priviledge for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Gouvernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the sayde fellowship and companie, shall and shence toothe peere during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselves in some convenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue discrete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Gouvernour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, untill they shall die or bee remooved by the sayde Gouvernour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistants or any of them to die, or be remooved then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Gouvernour and companie of persons of the sayde companie into the place or places of every such person so dying or happening to be remooved, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesayde to be elected shall be of the sayde number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edward Osborne knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Hart knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Harborne, Edward Barton, William Borrowough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parais, Thomas Laurence, Edward Holmeden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrew Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrew Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Robert Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edward Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Sadler, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Leate, for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in place or places for the same convenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good gouernement of the sayde companie, and for the better aduancement and commerce of the sayde trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie

of repugnant to the lawes, Statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances to make to put in use, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances of any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and merite motion graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelve yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other dutie shall be due and payable unto vs, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoever, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions into our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our Officers for receiptes of custome, pondage, subsidie or other dutie unto whom it shall appertain, shall upon the request of the sayde Gouernour for the time being, give unto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or dutie for the same, receiving good and sufficient bond and suretie to our use for the payment of the same according to the receipt of the sayde bond to give them out their cockets or other warrants to the sayd company. And upon receipt of the sayde bond by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of foreign commodities from the foreign Countreys, places, or territories aforesayde, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessity must be transported into other countreys, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and merite motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirtie monethes next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever, to being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued. And the sayd customers by vertue hereof shall upon request of the sayde companie give them sufficient certificate of the same house give them sufficient certificate of the same house give them sufficient certificate of the same house.

And furthermore we of our ample and abundant grace, merite motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such only as shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and traffiking, and using feare of marchandise by and through the Levant seas or through the Mediterranean seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, and deputies shall have full and free privilege, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and traffike by and through the Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor,

the dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, by occasion of the sayd Turkes, Gentiles, other seas, rivers, ports, harbours, pinasles, and with them, or sende and expenses.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of foreign commodities from the foreign Countreys, places, or territories aforesayde, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessity must be transported into other countreys, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and merite motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirtie monethes next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever, to being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued.

And furthermore we of our ample and abundant grace, merite motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such only as shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and traffiking, and using feare of marchandise by and through the Levant seas or through the Mediterranean seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, and deputies shall have full and free privilege, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and traffike by and through the Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor,

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of foreign commodities from the foreign Countreys, places, or territories aforesayde, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessity must be transported into other countreys, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and merite motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirtie monethes next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever, to being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued.

And furthermore we of our ample and abundant grace, merite motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such only as shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and traffiking, and using feare of marchandise by and through the Levant seas or through the Mediterranean seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, and deputies shall have full and free privilege, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and traffike by and through the Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor,

the dominions of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arrive or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Levant Seas into and from all other seas, rivers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinaces and other vessels, and with such manner and men as they will leade or haue with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne proper costes and expences.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde Countreys must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceiue can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for vs our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordnance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred mariners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelue yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purpose of these presents, without any way or contradiction by vs our heyres and successors, or by the Lord high Admirall or any other officer or subject of vs, our heyres or successors in any wise: Any restrains, lawe, statute, usage or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Howeuer notwithstanding, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelue yeeres haue just cause to arme our Realme in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and convenient for vs to toyne to our Realme the shippes of our subjects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned: then upon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the sayde Governour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the sayde companie shall beginne to make ready the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the mariners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Realme shall be upon the seas, then the sayde companie shall so beare to send such foure shippes for their trade of merchandise as we shall retake our sayd Realme from the sayd seruice.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presents graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant to haue and vse in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchantes, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be used and imployed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white over the same as heretofore they haue used.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue graunted and by these presents for vs our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Levant or Meditteran Seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Levant sea by way of merchandize by any other our subjects bearing the same terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presents. And by vertue of our prerogative Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or thought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs our heyres and successors all our subjects of what degree or qualitie soeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or auenture by way of merchandize into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the sayd Signiorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Levant sea other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruants and assignes. And further for that wee plainly vnderstande that the States and Governours of the citie and Signiorie of Venice haue of late times set and rayled a newe impost and charge ouer and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and vpon all manner of merchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and vpon all merchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subjects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subjects to the great and intolerable charge and hindrance of our sayd subjects trading thither, wee therefore minding the benefit thereof, doe also by these presents for vs, our heyres and successors further straightly prohibite

unto every of any of the sayd Customes or other Officers to whom it shall appertain, continuing during the sayd space of twelve yeeres shall take entrie of any cojants, raisins of Candie, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other persons whatsoever, other then with, or in the name and by the priuile of the sayd gouernour and company of some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant, that wee our heires and persons whatsoever contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to faile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayde Leuant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Gouernour and Companie of the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuertheless sithence, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we are following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to submit themselves to be of the sayd companie, and doe giue such assurance as the sayd saydorders, constitutions, paymets and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be or Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall upon his or their request vnto the sayd Gouernour and companie and copojation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, and haue and enjoy the same, and as great liberties, priuileges, and vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant or the more part of them, to acme into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as haue bene or shall bee employed as seruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Leuant Seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie of State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citty of London, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Cox, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faich, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Caesar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiences haue bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that every such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Cox, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faich, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Caesar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile, and Nicolas Stile, as shall pay vnto the saide Gouernour and companie of Marchants of Leuant the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within six monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company haue already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thenceforth bee of the same company of Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that Citty or Company.

Provided also, that wee our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelve yeeres lawfully appoyne and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and pay all payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants

of Leuant, ratable as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Leuant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay : and doe also performe and obserue the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe . And that such two persons so to bee appointed by vs our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and priuileges heretofore granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Gouvernour and companie of the marchants of Leuant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same Companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the same knownen to the sayd Gouvernour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giuing notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same coppozation or companie, or vse trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Provided alwayes neuerthelesse, that every such person so giuing notice and hauing at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segnorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eightene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power, and authority to retorne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without vsing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, duties and summes of money ratable as other of the same coppozation or company doe or shall pay, beare, and were, or performe for the like.

Provided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Gouvernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayd Coppozation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Coppozation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to obserue or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Gouvernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, presently to expell, remooue, and displace every such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Coppozation and companie, and from all privilege, libertie, and prebeminence which any such person should, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that every such person so expelled, remooued, or displaced by consent of the sayd Gouvernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thenceforth utterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or receiued againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to vs our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to vs our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thenceforth, upon and after eightene moneths warning to bee giuen to the sayd companie by vs our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, conditions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue comend and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours, doe comend and graunt to the sayd Gouvernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelue yeeres it shall seeme meete and conuenient to the sayd Gouvernour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued : And if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall thinke the same such continuance thereof profitable for vs our heires and successours and for our realme with other conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, then wee our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayd Gouvernour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons subiectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by vs, our heires and successours who by nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great seal of England

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England in due forme of lawe with like couenances, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Sherriffes, Escheatores, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liege men and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the sayd Company and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Seruants, assignes and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premises as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shall thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true peerele value or certaintie of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitors to the sayd Governour and Company of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or prouided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our selfe at Westminster the seuenth day of Januarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.

Bailis.

To the Worshipfull and his very louing Uncle M.
Rowland Hewish Esquier, at Sand in
Deuonshire.



Ir, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindly to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my trauailes into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obseruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it so well as it ought, I craue pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I haue not missed in the truth of anything. If you aske mee what in my trauels I haue learned, I answer as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, *Hoc vniuersi didici, mundi contemptum*; and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almightie, From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew

Richard Wrag.

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria,
began the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August,
1595. wherein is shewed the order of deliuering the second Pre-
sent by Master Edward Barton her maiesties Ambassador, which
was sent from her Maiestie to Sultan Murad Can,
Emperour of Turkie.



At set sail in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and thye score tummes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a prouident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Grauesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of Aprill following wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arrived at Zante an Island vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arrived at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 27. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo.

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would put up to great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he presently returned: answer, reques-
ting the ambassadoz to be in an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, unto whom himselfe
of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publicly to put it upon
him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our am-
bassadoz returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his men, and came to the Vizirs court,
where, according to the grand Signiors commaund, he with all the shew of kinnesse embraced the am-
bassadoz, and with courteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne
of cloth of gold upon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no
small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambas-
sadoz, who neuer in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst haue
attempted to hold an enterpryse with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redress.
This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassadoz prepared himselfe for the de-
parture of the present, which upon the 7 of October 1593. in this manner he performed.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh unto the place where
the ambassadoz should land to go up to the Seraglio: for you must understand that all Christian
ambassadors haue their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except
you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is
little byover then the Thames. Our Ambassadoz likewise apparelled in a sute of cloth of silver,
with 30 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liverie of sad French russet cloth
gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where
likewise attended a Bassa, with 40 or 50 Chauses to accompany the ambassadoz to the court, & also
holes for the ambassadoz & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish seruants attend-
ing to take the horses whē they should light. The ambassadoz thus honorably accompanied, the Chau-
ses foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chausc and
Dyugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Janissaries, which he doeth vsually entertaine in his house to
accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water
side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall
gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an
other stately court, being about 6 score in breadth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees
in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassadoz. Upon
the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and bozne by with stone pil-
lars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood most of his guard in ranks from the one end
to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a
great plume of feathers somewhat like a long bush standing by before. On the left hand stood
the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauscs. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000
(as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, silver, velvet, satin and scarlet,
and together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands upon their breasts in courteous manner of
salutation, entertaine the Ambassadoz: who likewise passing between them, & turning himselfe some-
time to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed a-
long, certaine Chauscs conducted him to the Douan, which is the seat of Justice, where certaine
dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Justice,
& the chiefest of his priests do sit to determine upon such causes as he brought before them, which
place is vpon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassadoz with his gentlemen came,
where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kinnesse recei-
ued him: and after receit of her maiesties letters, & conference had of the present, of her maiesties
graciously, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in
these parts: dinner being prepared was by many of the Courtiers brought into another inner roome
next adjoining, which consisted of an hundred dishes of therabouts, most boiled & roasted, where the
ambassadoz accompanied by the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his
men having a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon the same side of the court, by the selues face
vnto their meat, 40 or 50 Chauscs standing at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemen to
serue them in good order: their drinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought
in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carrieth at his backe, and vnder his arme letteth
run out at a spout into cups as men will call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in,
and so by halfe an houre with great sobriety and silence performed, was not so orderly taken up; for
certaine Moglans officers of the kitchen (like her maiesties blacke guard) came in disorderly man-
ner and tooke away the dishes, and hee whose hungry eye one dish could not satisfie, turned two or
three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane ridance made of all. The ambassadoz
after

The great hall
of Justice.

Reconciliation
with the Vizir
made.

The ambassa-
doz goeth to
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The Ambassa-
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All these are
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Dinner taken
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presented Sigala the
daughter, and all the
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whereof, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship shooting ten pieces
of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her journey for England the
first of November, my self continuing in Constantinople untill the last of July after. This pere
in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke there-
seed to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more seruiceable to
Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this pere; who, as they
came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of
two monethes in the spring time, as scarce either Christian or Jew could without danger of in-
committied not onely upon Christians but also upon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in
England the like may neuer be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst vs as haue inioyed
the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperitie vnder her Maiesties government
this forty peeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and
of Christians and others living vnder such an inuicible prince, who not onely are wrapped in most
palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of
God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them up to
more thankfulness to God, that euer they were borne in so happy a time, and vnder to wise and
good a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The Algeron
departed.
Great prepara-
tion for the
Hungarian
warre.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this pere were 470000, as
by the particulars given by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder do appeare. Although
he against the Turks strooke such a terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report di-
uers upon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiers which were appointed to goe
into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

Sinan Bassa generall, with the Saniacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other San-
Jacks in office of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Aduenturers, 50000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Janisaries, and his Siebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.

The company of Spahis or horsemen, 10000.

The company of Siliriz, 6000.

The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,

The Bassa of Temiswar,

The Bassa of Bosna.

The Bassa of Buda.

The Saniack of Gerfesh.

} 80000.

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.

The Bassa of Laras.

The Bassa of Damasco.

The Bassa of Suas.

The Bassa of Van or Nan.

The Bassa of Vidrum.

} 120000.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno
1597, when Sultan Mahomer himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleue re-
ports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall vnderstand that it is matchable with any city in Eu-
rope, as well in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and continuous traffike and bring-
ing of all manner of necessary pprovision of victuals, and whatsoever is mans life for the sullen-
tion thereof shall require, being seated upon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus
upon the North-east, and to Propontis on the South-west, by which two seas by shipping is brought
great

Santia Sophia.

Pompeys pillar.

Gallipoly.

Troy.

Zio.

Patmos.

Cos.
Rhodus.

great Roze of all maner of virtuels. The city it selfe in foyme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles upon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiours seraglio standeth upon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that the wall of his pallace containeth in circuit about two English miles: the seven towers spoken of before stand at another corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threecolour wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooued out of the West into the East, it was enriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, hauing many monuments and pillars in it worthy the obseruation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath on the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is like wise adorned with diuers goodly buildings & stately spelsquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warrior, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Chyrilian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in great account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pavement and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable heigh and bignesse, which stand upon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigh, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which unto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and upon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare up the round roofo being the top of the church: it hath threepulpits of preaching places, and about 1000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise upon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Chyrilians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he firstooke the city. Aftersidoyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children. The 16 of July, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant from Constantinople, the sea at the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shoare are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some fourescore yards from the maine land, whereupon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer against it is a turret of stone upon the maine land 120 steps high, hauing a great glasse-lantheorne in the toppe foure yards in diameter and thre in heigh, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lightes in it, and it serueth to giue light into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to the end hath pay of the grand Signiour. And thus hauing spent eleuen moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chauce, & carrying certaine mandates from the grand Signiour to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde visage of our nation in those partes, the 30 of July I tooke passage in a Turkish carrousale of shippes bound for Sidon; and passing throught Propolis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellespont, betwene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigeon Promontory, now called Cape Ianizary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia shore, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hills rising in a pyramidall foyme, not vnlike to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. From thence we sailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian fieldson the left: at length we came to Myrten and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now taken by the Turke. The Island is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruites, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing along the gulf of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote the Reuelation. The Island is but small, not about foure miles in compass: the chiefe thing it aboundeth with is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Langgo) where Hipocrates was borne: & passing many other Islands and rocks, we arrived at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed thre or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who used me with all kinde of welcome, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is builded with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Over the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, are

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maine vndofaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the vieto thereof gloied in the caking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing vpon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turkes called Sayrosa, within tenne or twelve miles of the place where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a cattle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruined, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile we toward the mountain be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for thier dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arrived. From thence with a Christian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by Antioch, which is seated vpon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, chozow which runneth the river Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed untill February following; in this city, as at a mart, neere many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchange-able course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well known to most of our nation, I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarcked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice cal- led the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying in my dayes to lade cotton wooll and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others, we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Island, which was some twenty miles frō this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but vnbuilt; the cause whereof doth giue me iust occasion to shew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subiection to the Turkes, while it was under the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by vsurping more superiority ouer the com- mon people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as serue their breake iusts, & holding them in such slavery as though they had bene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spannell, and he who wouen the wager should euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he listed, being Christi- ans as well as themselves, if they may deserue so good a name. As they behaued themselves most vnchristianly toward their brethren, so and much more vngodly (which I should haue put in the first place) did they toward God; for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serue God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publike basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure. The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cy- prius. These mighty Minnows fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselves; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselves, they would restore them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not mistrust- ing the malicious pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselves knowne; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wives and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut off all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowne aliue in the Island, onely two or three re- maine in Venice but of little weal, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stay- ed in this Island some thirty dayes, we set sail in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 600 tonnes, hauing in her passengers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Jewes, and sun- dry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Jew, who by reason of his ma- gister education at Safec a place in Iudea neere Ierusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his travels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroa, who related vnto me such conference as hee had with

Sidon.

Ezek. 26. 5.

Antioch.

Aleppo.

Nicosia.

22 great iudge-
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this sea voyage, we arrived at Venice the tenth of June: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so to England; where to the praise of God I safely arrived the ninth of August 1595.

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the
wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes
Majesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord,

1594.



L principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non hanno animi in persona, & di quello che fa girar gli noui cieli, & che la terra sette volte una sopra l'altra fa fimar; Signor & Re senza uicere, & che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, & uno senza padre, adoi al incomparabilmente, l'altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come e descritto dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arrine, & alla perfettione sua compinta non si oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandessa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottennto gracia, horto del paradiso, razi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio e Mabomes Mustassa, al qual & suoi adherenti & imitatori, & delle quatro parti del mondo, innincibile Re di Gracia, Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdes, Caramania, Abessia, Gionafir, Siruan, Barbaria, Algie, & della stirpe di Adam, sin hora Imperator, figliolo del Imperatore, conseruato de la diuina promouera, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat, che il Signor Dio sempre augmenle sue forze, & padre di quello a cui affetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia regale, & vero herede del comando imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiole de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li suoi disegni, & alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scrisse il standardo di Iesu Christo, potentissima & ricchissima regitrice, & al mondo singolarissima fra li femminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Inghilterra, che segue le vestigie de Maria uirgine, il fine della quale sia con bene & perfettione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando una salutacion di pace, & osiua: l'amore singulare che e conciputo fra noi, & simile a vn' horto di Rccelli razi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di saluacione, & il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo & nel finuro sia con pace. Dopo comparir li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, si pera che sono capiti in una hora che ogni punto e stato una consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita uenuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, & con quello una lettera di vostra serenita, che ci e stata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; la carta de la quale odoraua di camfora & ambracano, & l'inchiofro di musco perfettissimo, & quella peruenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte a parte ho ascoltato intentalmente. Quello che hora si conuene e, che corrispondente alla nostra affeccion, in tutto quello che si aspetta alle cose attente alle paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenita, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, lo possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenita e conueniente, accioche quelle cose che si interpretenderano, habino il desiderato bon fine; perche lo faro sempre ricordemol. al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, perche sia in ogni occasione compiacinta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, & con quelli che seguitano drento la via di Dio. Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Linol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Iesu 1594.

The same in English.

Let the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the four parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which hath neither soule nor body, and of him which moueth the nine heauens, and stablisheth the earth seven times one aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like vnto him, according as he is described by the prophetes, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may compare; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worke, to whose Majesty all the prophetes submit

This Sultana is
mother to Me-
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me themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest favour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the most high God is Mahomet Multafsa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant spiriture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seven climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Gracia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessia, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruena, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessor of the crowne from twelve of his ancestors, and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserved by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperfall crowne is to descende, the paradisaic and wonderfull tall cypresse, woorthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprises God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph vnder the standard of Iesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich gouernour, and most rare among womankind in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgin Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Gracety to honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the focke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to I like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to saue and keepe you, and send your Gracety an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriual of your honorable presents from the Court of your Gracety, your Highnesse shall vnderstand that they came in such a season that every minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Graceties Ambassadors to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Gracety, which with great honour was presented vnto vs by our eunuchs, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of amfor and ambargriele, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutual affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subiect to your Gracety, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be mooued, to gratifie your Gracety to my power in any reasonable and conuenient matter, that all your subiects businesse and affaires may haue a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Graceties affaires, that your Gracety at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Gracety, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Liul in the yere of the Prophet,

1002.

Ann.Dom.

1594.



THE
Second voyage,
to the South
Gibraltar,
Barbarie
and

The voyage
man discourse
story, written



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THE SECOND PART OF THIS

Second volume containing the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English nation, made to the South and Southeast quarters of the world without the Straights of Gibraltar, namely to the Ilands of *Madera*, and of the *Canaries*, to the kingdom of *Barbarie*, to the Iles of *Cabo Verde*, to the river of *Senega*, to the coast of *Ghinea* and *Benin*, about the cape of *Buana Elparansa*, and so to *Goa* in the East Indies, and likewise beyond cape *Comori* to the Iles of *Nienbar*, to *Sumatra*, to the chanell of *Sincapora* ouer against the city of *Malacca*, and to diuers other places.

The voyage of *Macham* an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of *Madera*, recorded *verbatim* in the Portugall history, written by *Antonio Galuano*.



In the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of *Madera*, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an English man, which was named *Macham*, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolen, arrived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haue of bay, which now is called *Machico* after the name of *Macham*. And because his louer was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought.

Madera first discovered by one *Macham* an Englishman.

Macham, which loued her dearly, built a chapel, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of *Iesus*, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the stone of her tombe, with the occasion of their arrival there. And afterward he obtained a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compass about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of *Africke*, without saile or oare. And the *Shoares* which saw it tooke it to be a marvellous thing, and presented him vnto the king of that country for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of *Castile*.

Macham made there a chapel, named after *Iesus* chapel.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in *Castile*, the information which *Macham* gaue of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, moued many of France and *Castile* to go and discover it, and also the great *Canaria*, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King *Iohn* the second reigning in *Castile*, and his mother Lady *Katherine* being Regent, one Monsieur *Ruben* of *Bracamont*, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the *Canaries*, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur *Iohn* *Betancourt*, after that the Queene had given him them, and holpen him, he departed from *Siuil* with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moued him to this, was to discover the Iland of *Madera*, which *Macham* had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of *Antonio Galuano*.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, giuen to King *Iohn* the first of Portugall, for the winning of *Centa* in *Barbarie*, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoueries, is taken out of *Thomas Walsingham* his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.



Oc anno Ioannes primus Rex Portugallie fretus auxilio Mercatorum Anglie quam maxime, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Berinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Ceteris destinatis: cepitque ciuitatem eorum quam amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua,

The same in English.

This pere Iohn the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Merchants, and Almains, overcame the Spoopes in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooketh their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Anglie Edwardum quartum, & Ioannem secundum Regem Portugallie, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Edwardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequendi excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida e feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandou a el Rey d' Inglaterra, cap. 33.

Da qui de Monte Mor mandon el Rey por embaixadores a el rey dom Duarte d' Inglaterra Ray de Sousa pessoa principal e de muyto bon saber e credito, de que el Rey muyto confiana, e ho doutor Ioam d' Eluas, e Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quares foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que poia condusjon dellu ho nono Rey de hum reyno e do ouiro era obrigado a mandar confirmar: e iambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senborio de Guinee, pera que depois da villo el rey d' Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar a Guinee: e assi mandasse desfazer huma armada, que pera las faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sionia, hum Ioham Tintam e hum Guilherme Fabian Inglesi. Como ha qual embaixada el rey d' Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento, e foy delle com muyta honra recebida, e em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles transcriuam as autenticas e escrituras das diligencias que con publicos pregones fixeram: e assi as promissões das apronssões que eran necessarias: e com tudo muyto ben acabado, e ha vontade del rey se vieram.

These writings are in the Colours.

The Ambassage which king Iohn the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinee, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Garcia de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the second, king of Portugall Chap. 33.



The first cause of this ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

Afterwards the king sent as Ambassadors from the towne of Monte maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisdom and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor Iohn d' Eluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the seignoury of Guinee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same, he should give charge thowso all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set forth ships to Guinee: and also to request him, that it would please him to give commandement to dissolve a certaine fleet, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making by commandement of the duke of Medina Sionia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Guinee. Which which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadors required of him, at whose hands they received authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also promissors of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

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A

Trade to the Canaries. Traffiques and Discoueries.

3

A brieft note concerning an ancient trade of the English Mar-
chants to the *Canarie-lands*, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Niso-
las Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of *Brissoll*.

IT appeareth evidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custo-
dy of me Richard Hakluyt, written by *W. Nicolas Thorne* the elder a principall
marchant of *Brissoll*, to his friend and factour *Thomas Midnall* and his owne seruante
William Ballard at that time resident at *S. Lucar* in *Andaluzia*; that in the yere of
our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English mar-
chante of marchandise vnto the *Canarie Islands*. For by the sayd letter notice was giuen to Tho-
mas Midnall and *William Ballard* aforesayd, that a certaine ship called *The Christopher of Ca-*
di bound for the *West Indies* had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both coarse and fine, broad
and narrow of diuers foyes and colours, some arowes of packtreed, fire cerons or bagges of sope
with other goods of *W. Nicolas Thorne*, to be deliuered at *Santa Cruz* the cheefe towne in *Te-*
neriffa one of the seuen *Canary-lands*. All which commodities the sayd *Thomas* and *William*
were authorised by the owner in the letter before mentioned to batter & sell away at *Santa Cruz*,
And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne
backe into England good sope of *Dyehell* (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing vpon high
rocks, in those dayes much vsed to dye withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundredes of
his shimes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the
sayd *Thomas* and *William* were to make their abode at *Santa Cruz*, and to remaine there as fac-
tours for the abovesayd *W. Nicolas Thorne*.

The English
had an ordina-
ry trade to the
Canaries 1526.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one *Tho-*
mas Tison an English man, who before the foyesayd yere 1526 had found the way to the *West*
Indies, and was there resident, vnto whom the sayd *W. Nicolas Thorne* sent certaine attourne
and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands
of *Canaria*, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by *Thomas*
Nicola English man, who remained there the space of seuen yeres together.

Mine intent is particularly to speake of the *Canaria Islands*, which are seuen in
number, wherein I dwell the space of seuen yeres and more, because I finde
such variety in sundry wycers, and especially great vntuths, in a booke called
The New found world Antarcitike, set out by a French man called *Andrew*
Theuer, the which his booke he dedicated to the *Cardinall of Sens*, keeper of
the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the workes of sundry *Philosophers*, *Astrono-*
mers, and *Cosmographers*, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne tra-
uell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for
mine owne part I write of these *Canaria Islands*, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of *Canaria*.

The Iland of *Canaria* is almost equal in length and breadth, containing 12 leagues in length,
touching the which as principall and the relious, the *Spaniards* holde opinion, that they dis-
covered the same in their navigation toward *America*, but the *Portugals* say, that their nation
first found the sayd Ilands in their navigation toward *Aethiopia* and the *East Indies*.

But truth it is that the *Spaniards* first conquered these Ilands, with diuers English gentle-
men in their company, whose posterity this present daye inhabiteth them. Some write that this I-
land was named *Canaria* by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for exam-
ple, *Andrew Theuer* sayth, that one *Iuba* carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I
never learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in
my time, and with many of their children. For truth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are
in all the North-west lands, and some part of the *West India*, which serued the people in stead of
sheep for victuall. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I haue heard say that the rea-
son why they were called the *Canaria Islands*, because there grow generally in them all four-
square canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquour as white

English were
at the first con-
quest of the
Canaries.

as milke, which liquoz is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Islands some of the discoverers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skines made like unto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caves in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly love. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt bogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they use at this day, and thereof I have eaten divers times, for it is accounted exceeding wholesome.

Toucing the originall of these people some holbe opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, as well men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphem against the Romane gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Island is now the principallst of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of iustice and government of all the residue. This Island hath a speciall Gouernour for the Island onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Judges called Auditors, who are superiour Iudges, and all in one townly proceed as the Lord Chancellor of any realme.

To this city from all the other Islands come all such by appeale, as have sustained any wrong, and these good Judges do remedy the same. The city is called Ciuitas Palmarum, it hath a beautiful Cathedra church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Island there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councill house by themselves. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheate in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Island hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galdar, and the third Guia. It hath also twelue sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The planting
and growth of
sugar canes.

The manner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giueth forth fruit nine times in a 8 yeere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluice may come ouer euery roote being covered with earth: this roote bringeth forth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres befoze the peelding of profit, and not fire moneths, as Andrew Theuer the French man writeth.

The making
of sugar.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops & leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuyce thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great vessel made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a foynace of earthen pens of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Elicumas, and of the purging liquoz that drippeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it groweth is burned ouer with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watered and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, till age causeth the cane canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

Plantano.

This Island hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Baratas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Oranges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, & such like of diuers sorts, and many other fruits; but especially the Plantano which groweth neere by the sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly upward with the body, having maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth threescore three of those branches, which beare some moze and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating moze delicate then any conserve.

This Island is sufficiently provided of Oren, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Ducks, and Pigeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and be

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cause I haue particularly to treat of the other like Islands, I leave further enlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

The Island of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Island containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sower land in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike consisteth of height directly upward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which top is in forme of likenesse of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & somewhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thousand yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Sauine trees and Pine trees. Also there is a wood called trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to traueil thow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, sauing that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a penny. He singeth more sweetly then all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liueth but a small while. This Island bringeth forth all bushes, out of the which issueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out moreth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Island also bringeth forth another tree called Diago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision in the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a comend drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

This is the most fruitfulfull Island of all the rest for coyne, and in that respect is a mother of nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse upon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two towne, the one called Laroata, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes of rocky mountaines, come of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good like, flaxe, ware, and honny, and very good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Island is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

There is in that Island a faire city, standing three leagues from the sea, nere unto a lake called Laguna, where in are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Island with iustice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are other foure towne called Santa Cruz, Laroata, Rialeio, and Garachico.

In this Island befoze the conquest dwelt seven kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goats skinner, as the Canaria people were, and used such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped by against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a stasse in his hand, and a bessel of milke standing by him. I haue scene caues of 300 of these copies together, the flesh being dried up, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently euery Island spake a seuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Island of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the King of Spaine, unto whom they pay fifty thousand ducats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Islands toynely are one bishoppiche, which pay to the bishop twelue thousand ducats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue befoze declared.

Gomera.

The Island of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance five leagues: this is but a small Island containing eight leagues in length. It is an Earleboome, & the Lord thereof is called,

called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controuersie the vassals may appeale to the kings superiour Judges which reside in Canaria.

This Island hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port of harbour for ships, where oftentimes the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselves.

There is one Ingenio of Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Teneriff hath.

This Island yeeldeth no other commodity but onely of shell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arctique.

The Ile of Palma.

The Ile of Palma standeth twelve leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera North-westward. This Island is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute iustice. It hath also another petty towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Island yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof provided from Teneriff and other places.

Their best wines grow in a fosse called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelve thousand butts of wine like unto Palmes. This Island standeth round, and containeth in circuit nere five and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Teneriff haue, it standeth in twenty seven degrees and a halfe.

The Island of Yron, called Hierro.

This Island standeth ten leagues distant from the Island of Palma Westward: it is but a little Island, which containeth six leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefe commodity of this Island is goats flesh and oyshell. There is no wine in all that Island, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill.

This Island hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Island groweth a great tree with leaves like an Oliue tree, which hath a great cistern at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is covered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaves of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cistern, which cometh to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Island for all necessities as well for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

The only vine-
yard in Hierro
planted by Iohn
Hill of Taunton.

The Island of Lanzarota.

The Island of Lanzarota standeth eightene leagues distant from grand Canaria South-eastward. The onely commodity of this Island is goats flesh and oyshell. It is an earldome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earldomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Judges, which reside in Canaria, as I haue sayd before: because although the king hath reserved to himselfe but onely the thre fruitfull Islands, called Canaria, Teneriff, and Palma, yet he also reserved the rod of iustice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be euill incited of their Lords.

From this Island do weekly resort to Canaria, Teneriff, & Palma, boats laden with dyed goats flesh, called Tufinetta, which serueth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Island standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelve leagues.

The Ile of Forteuentura.

The Ile of Forteuentura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Eastward. This Island doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kin, goats, and oyshell: this Ile is fiftene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Island about one league distant from the maine Island, betwene both of the which it is nauigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of those Islands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

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Thus much haue I writtten of these seuen Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I haue sayd before, the space of seuen yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

The Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctiall line, and seuentie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif. Northward and Southward from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discouered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wilderness of sundry sortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypress, Cinatico, Barbazano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Some be they hold opinion, that betwene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discouered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yearly: it hath a citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong towne, and a faire Cathedral church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also iustice and government according to the Portugall use. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbon in Portugall to the kings superiour iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for shippes, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discouered the same. There are also thirtene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of diuers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers sortes, Pellons, Batanas, Dencings, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another little Iland called Porto Santo: the people thereof liueth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but little coyne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another little Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the prouision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great height where the forest trees growe. It is wonder to see the conuenance of the water to the Ingenios by Pipes through the mountains.

In the mid way betwene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a little solitarie Iland called the Saluages, which is about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for the birds.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Wintem, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldais, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldais professeth himselfe to haue bene the first inuenter of this trade.

Worshipfull Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discouerie for Carai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or industrie I may doe you seruice, I am ready to doe it, and therein to adventure my life to the determinest point. Truth it is, that I haue bene by some men (not my friends) euill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Navigation and Cosmographie, and that I haue bene the inuenter of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without iust cause, that I haue not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Archer for the Levant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very truth

eruerth, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I inuented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I toynded in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir Iohn Luttrell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to heepeing, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portsmouth, Thomas Windham had her away from thence, before I was able to stand upon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inuenter of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conuayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,

James Alday.

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set forth by the right worshipfull Sir Iohn Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole, and others: Written by the relation of Master James Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.



The shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, that is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred and fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portuall Carauel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and freighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the flecte were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was David Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small flecte was Master Thomas Windham a Norfolk gentleman boyne, burdwelling at Marlsheld-parke in Somersetshire. This flecte departed out of King-rode neere Bristol about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Sunday in the morning: and the Sunday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an anchor at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Alafia on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our merchandise to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and hauing refreshed our selues with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, copall, amber, Iet, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which roade we found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betwene England and France, dyet her frise as neere vnder the towne walls as she could possible, crauing aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing vs dyet neere, shot at vs a peece from the walls, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, between the maine masse & her foremast. Whereupon we coming to an anchor, presently came a pinasse aboord vs to know what we were, who vnderstanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wise, that we fully satisfied, and gaue vs good leaue to hyng our goods peaceably on shore, where the Alaceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite vs, and led vs with all curtelie. But by diuers occasions we spent here very neere thre moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malasios of Sugar Syroppe. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sickness. Our ships being laden, wee dyet into the Sea for a Westerly wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, so that we were dyet to Lancerora, and Fortuentura, where, betwene the two Islands, we came to a roade, whence wee put on land out of our ship 70. chestes of Sugar vpon Lancerora, with some dozen or fiftene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, suddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke vs prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceived from our ships, they manned our thre boates, thinking

Adm.

Santa Cruz.

The English were at Santa Cruz the yere 1552.

to rescue vs, and wermour of the chaling the enperceuing the which it was the gouernour receiued, the chances vpon our returned aboord land, the Cacah came to anker vidence in our much offendet as also in this they would vse good prouidence we were scuen entered into w Thames, and 1552.

A voy in Affric the C



be not hindered there, and receiue other should end though such as a good reason to speake vnder cōscience, or rather made the dominie places neerer, or res, where theye But forasmuch I will cease to simply and faithfully, as made diuing to speake of lesse, with also the And if her in fau'y touched, let the receiue prayse for whereby other m attempts.

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to rescue vs, and brake the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eightene, and tooke their go-
uernour of the Island prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But
chasing the enemy so farre, for our recourie, as powder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniards
perceiving this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew fire of them. Then a Parle grew, in
the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receiue their
olde gouernour, giuing vs a testimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there
receiued, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his mar-
chantes vpon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being
returned aboard, we came vnder saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Is-
land, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and
came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great or-
dinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee understood that the Portugals were
much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voyage the yeere before,
as also in this they gaue out in Engl: ad by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in those partes,
they would vse vs as their most all enemies, with great threats and menaces. But by Gods and
good prouidence wee escaped their hands. From this Island shaping our course for England,
we were seuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port we
entered into was the haven of Plimouth, from whence within short time wee came into the
Chames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October,
1553.

A voyage made out of England vnto Guinea and Benin
in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of
the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.



It was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voi-
age, that some memoire thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either
inquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barba-
roulnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in obliuion so
woorthie attempes, so much the greater to bee esteemed, as before neuer
enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present
they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same
be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of forie or siliemules here and
there, and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lobes of halfe the world, enuying that
other should enioy the commodites, which they themselves cannot wholly possesse. And al-
though such as haue bene at charges in the discovering and conquering of such landes ought by
good reason to haue certaine priuileges, prebeminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to
speake vnder correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and con-
science, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Chistian men, that such as in-
uade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to vse the trade of marchandise in
places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such pla-
ces, where they themselves haue at their owne election appointed the Portes of their traffike.
But soasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approue or improoue,
I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as
briely and faithfully as I was aduertised of the same, by the information of such credible per-
sons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omit-
ting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knownen: which neuer the-
lesse, with also the exact course of the nauigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voyage.
And if herein fauour of friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some haue bene harp-
ly touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendship, and giue place to trueth, that honest men may
receiue praise for well doings, and lewd persons reproch, as the iust stipend of their euill desertes,
whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest
attempes.

But that these voyages may be more plainly understood of all men, I haue thought good for
this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a brieue description of Affrike, being that great part
of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue
degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the mea-
suring

curring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe unto the Equinoctiall, and so south in manner directly East and by North, for the space of 26 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appear in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of *Africke* gathered by *Richard Eden.*

Tunis,
Bugia,
Tripoli,
Numidia.



In Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Africke is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdom of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with diuers other. Under this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beir, Gamelaro, and Mala, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rustie, ill people, liuing scattered in villages. The best of this part of Africke is Barbana lying on the coast of the sea Mediterranean.

Ilands of
Cantio,
Mala,
The deserts of
Lybia,
Barbana.

Mauritania.
The kingdom
of Fes & Ma-
rocco.

Tremisen.

Oram.
Merialquiber.

Sala.

Azamor.

The Ilands of
Canaria,
Guinea,
Aethiopians.

Marocco,
Fes.

Tremisen.

Guinea.

Africa & great.

Africa the lesse.

Carthage.

Prefter John.

Cape de Bona
Speranza.
Alcair.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Caesariensis, Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fella: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania Caesariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen of Telenfin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the sea Mediterranean, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Merialquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth unto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended about the Ocean Sea, unto the citie of Azamor and Azah, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Next Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialoso, Gambia, and many other regions of the Blache Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certayne lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chalker, and covered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it these seuen kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territory of Marocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temefine, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garer, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, known in old time, and severed from Asia, on the East by the riuer Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The higher part is now called Barbaria, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Africa the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia: On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterranean. In this country was the noble city of Carthage.

In the East side of Africke beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king Prefter John, well known to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery side: and hath vnder him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugal sendeth him yearly eight ships laden with merchandise. His kingdom consisteth with the red sea, and reacheth far into Africke toward Aegype and Barbary. Southward it consisteth with the sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of Iland, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between the great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegype, and the country of Aethiopia. In the which way are many inhabitable

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Thomas Windam. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

11

habitable deserts, continuing to the space of five dayes journey. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperour were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcazar. The chiefe citie of Ethiopia, where this great emperour is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire Amacaiz. citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are also many other cities, as the citie of Saba upon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great citie named Barbaregas, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Iherusalem to heare the wisdom of Salomon. This citie is but little, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiopia. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, upon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred dayes journey. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue said thus much of Africke it may suffice.

From Iherusalem
the Queene of
Saba came.

The earthly
paradise.
The trees of
the Sunne and
the Moone.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

In the yeere of our Lord 1553, the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished as well with men of the lastest sort, to the number of seuen score, as also with ordnance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: hauing also two captaynes, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portuguese, being in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wife, discret, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politicke captaine, was sometime in great fauour with the King of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a certour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermoze a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner neuer fauour-eth but flattereth, neuer promiseth but deceiueth, neuer raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as these squrels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was full matched with an unequal companion, and unlike match of most sundry qualities & con- ditions, with vertues few of none adorne. Thus departed these noble ships vnder saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchantes, and shewing herein a mulier of the tragickall partes hee had conceiued in his hyme, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that moze happy, yea and he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Island of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the Roze of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Islands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordnance: yet such as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set forth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but also other that should attempt the like: yet this ship to frustrate our voiage, for the king of Portugall was utterly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Madera, in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

Pinteado

Wasse,
Circus.

The Islands of
Madera.

The castle of
Madera.

After that our ships departed from the Island of Madera forward on their voiage, began this voiage captaine Pinteados sorrow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who wither flattered with him, & made him a faire countenance and the w of loue. Then did he take vpon him to coum and all alone, setting vought both by captaine Pinteado, and the rest of the marchantes, sometimes with opprobrious words, and sometimes with threatnings most shamefully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the voies and certain martiners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful marchantes, and trauing him as a commo man, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portuguese or Spaniard, to be diminished their honor, which they esteem above all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Islands of Canarie, continuing their course from thence vntill they arrived at the Island of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, where is great plenty in that Island, & in manner of nothing else. From hence following on their course the country of Guinea for the best, and carping somewhat too long (for what can be well minded in a commo wealth, where inequality with tyrannic wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fell with the great riuer of Sesto, where they might

The Islands of
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The Islands of
S. Nicholas.

The riuer of
Sesto.

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of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that dropeth in the night
from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the
water, not used before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more
dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the
perre coming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Win-
in post to Capitaine Pintado, & the rest to come away and to cary no longer. But Pintado with
the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had already
gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise
which should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With
this they againe either to come away forthwith, or els they intended to leave them behinde. When
Pintado heard this answer, thinking to persuade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the
court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake by Pintados Cabin, brake open his chestes,
spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckers as he had provided for his brach, and left
him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparel: and in the meane time
he had bene the dearest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers
did spie in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them:
and some bragging their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. When he perceived that they
would needs away, desired them to cary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were
left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship
home, with as much of an old saile as might serve for the same, promising them therewith to bring
Nicholas Lambere and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the
court to the mai chancery, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend
him life to returne with all haste to fetch the. And thus was Pintado kept alwayes against his
time favour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them, which
they sent for lacke of memento cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pintado
and most vilely viced. And of seuen score men came homie to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them
many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I have saide in commendation of
Pintado, to be spoken upon fauour otherwile then truth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto
the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to
reconcile him, at such time as vpon the king his matters displeasure (and not for any other crime
of offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for pouertie enforced to come into Eng-
land, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the
king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pintado, vpon malicious infor-
mations of such as enuied the mans good fortune: euen so may it hereby appeare that in some case
euen Lions themselves may either be hindered by the conceipt, or aided by the help of the poore
mase, according vnto the fable of Esope.

The copie of *Anthony Anes Pintado* his letters patents, whereby
the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and
imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had sustained of long
time, being at the last deliuered, his cause knownen and manifested to the king by a gray
Friar the kings Confessor.

The king doe glue you to vnderstand lord Francis Descazo, one of my counsell and ouerseer of
my house, that in consideration of the good seruice which Anthony Anes Pintado, the sonne of
John Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to
make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seuen hundred reys monethly, and euer
pay one alcayde of barley, as long as he keepeth a house, & to be paid according to the ordinance of my
court. Providing alwaies that he shall receiue but one marriage gift. And this also in such con-
dition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such
pension as might succcede them in this allowance, which is 6 yerres after the making of this pa-
tent, shall be first expired before he do marry. I therefore command you to cause this to be entered in
the booke called the Matricula of our household, vnder the title of knight. And when it is so entered,

The death of
Windam.
Pintado mul-
titude of the
mariners.

This Lambere
was a Londoner
whose
father had bin
lord Mayor of
London.

The death of
Pintado.

Pintado first
persuaded our
men to the voy-
age of Guinea.

Seven him-
dred reys are
ten shillings.
Nicapero haile
a bulgell.

let the Clarke of the Matricula, for the certificate thereof, write on the backside of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the lease wherein this our grant is entered. Which done, let him returne this writing unto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the two and twentieth day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the five and twentieth day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written vnder the kings grant

Your Patencie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good seruice of Anthony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seven hundred reis pension by the month, and one alcaide of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be payde according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of five yeeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entered in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

Anthonie Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Goncalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that whereby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Patencie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Goncalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbon, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

All these foresaid writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Lief, with whom Pinteado left them, at his unfortunate departing to Guinea. But, not withstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secret admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir Iohn Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yeere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. Iohn Lok.



In the first voyage I haue declared rather the order of the histoy, then the course of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath bene to shew the course of the same, according to the obseruation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of sayling, and instructions pertaining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendation due vnto other, neither in bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well obserued by art and experience, I haue thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly vied among them, and as I receiued it of the said Pilot, as I haue said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames

with thre gonther called the a ship of seuen on the coast of the Isles all

The first day we set off the next night after runne thre leagues

The 17 day commeth in the month southen in two and eight the mountaine east part of it: the north part is a rocke a lie the mountaine

The 19 day Canaries. The part is lowest. in the land. of the Ile of Pa And our course we had sight of Tenciffa and in seven and two south west off T and by East, and then: and it is with a gre at big yeere. And by the becalmed the ex the clocke at after

The two and thome West a Cape blanke, and and lands anterior and ateece.

From Gom and by East. The firste of seuen de las Barbas, north of Mouern has South south green and a half Blanke.

Then we we and twentie leagues sooner if we by reason that the said moneth at

The first of fourth day of D ree, reckoning south west off the


The fourth o now a halfe.

ig Aluals, of pa-
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September, in
the Anca Pitea.

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nere in the booke

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ain into your coun-
the king, that there
er be foule and for-
you may doe mapp
t glao: and to bring
ch as Peter Gonil-
sent.  pitten m

Nicholas Lief, with
But, notwithstanding
goe home, neither to
e of other: for almuch
ce mighte haue feru

Barne, Sir Iohn
in the yere 1554.

hillopp, then the coun-
fect information: In
ach beane to shew the
re custome of the na-
pilot, being one of the
a briefe declaration of
of captiuing, and misse-
o selfe the commendari-
dispose the other of this
forth the same, in such
uer it of the said Pilot.

ed the riuer of Chum-
toij

M. Iohn Lok. Traffiques and Discoueries.

15

with three goodly ships, the one called the Trinite, a ship of the burden of fuentcoy tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangelist, a ship of seuen scope tunne. With the said ships and two pinnesses (whereof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Douer fourteene dayes, the daies also at Rie three or foure dayes. Forouer last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

The first day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the start, bearing Southwell all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, untill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did rime the scope leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the Ile of Madera, which both rise to him that cometh in the Northnortheast part by right land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middle of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springes of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like unto coyne fieldes, & some white houses to the South-east part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine the west very ragged, if you may see it, and in the North-east part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a litle distance from the shoare, and ouer the said bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had sight of the Isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riseth round, & lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the North-west part is lowest. In the South is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill about that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera & the North-west part of the Ile of Palme seuen and fifty leagues. This Ile of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, & the North-west part of Teneriffa lie Southeast and North-west, and betweene them are 20 leagues, Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteucentura stande in seven and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, & lieth West-southwest off Teneriffa. And whosoever will come betweene them two Islands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good robe in the said part of the Island: and it standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and vpon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowne about all other Islands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of Nouember, from fixe of the clocke in the morning, untill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The two and twentieth day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth vnder West and by South. Vpon the coast of Barbarie fixe and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at thre leagues off the maine, there are fiftene fadomes and good shelly ground, and lande among and no streames, and two small Islands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, fixe and seuen fadomes deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there be many Spaniards and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coast is very low land. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and South-west and by South, till we brought our selues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues seuen leagues off: and there were the least holes of Cape Blanke.

Then we went South untill we brought our selues in 13 degrees, reckoning our selues fixe and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of Nouember, by reason that the nights are short there. Neuerthelesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, untill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our selues 30 leagues off the holes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being West-southwest off them, the which holes be 30 leagues long.

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in fixe degrees and a halfe.

Robert Guinch
was master of
the Iohn Euang-
gelist.

The Ile of
Madera.

The Ile of
Palme.
Teneriffa.
The Canaries.
From Madera
to the Ile of
Palme.

Gran Canaria.
Forteucentura.
The Island of
Gomera.

Teneriffa.
Snow.

The coast of
Barbarie.
Cape Blanke.

The riuer
del Oro.

The crossiers
or crosse stars.

Rio Grande.

The ninth day of December we set our course East-south-east: the fourteenth day of the said moneth we set our course East, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves thirp and five leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selves seutene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being East-north-east of us, and the river of Sesto being East,

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the South-east, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily known, by reason of the rising of it to like a poppe-head. Also toward the South-east there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a bige barke, & the Southermost like unto a gibet: and upon the maine are foure of five high hills rising one after another like round hommocks of billocks. And the South-east of the three trees, by anotherwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in five degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the river of Sesto, & remained there untill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before us the pinnelle to the river Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the coming of the Iohn Evangelist.

At the river of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This river standeth in five degrees, lacking a terece. From the river of Sesto to Rio Dulce are five and twentieth leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The river of Sesto is easie to be known, by reason there is a ledge of five or six rocks in the South-east part of the Rode. And at the entering into the hauren are five or six trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narrow at the entrance into the river. There is also a rocke in the hauren mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betwene Cape de Mont, and Cape de las Palmas, lieth South-east & by East, North-west & by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shall haue in some places rocks two leagues off: and that betwene the river of Sesto and Cape de las Palmas.

Betwene the river of Sesto and the river Dulce are five and twentieth leagues: & the high land that is betwene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the river of Sesto, and that is South-eastward of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rocks: and to the South-eastward lieth a headland called Croke. Betwene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. Toward lieth a headland called Croke. Betwene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the South-eastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right over against S. Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To the South-eastward of that rocke you shall see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the East-south-east of the island, is a rocke that lieth about the water, and by that rocke goeth in the river Dulce, which you shall know by the said river and rocke. The North-west side of the island is flat sand, and the South-east side thereof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or fourteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to hying the Island and the North-east land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Januarie, we came from the river Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like bige waves, a cable length a piece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terece.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire pleasant without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and five leaues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, untill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still bigger and higher, untill you come to Cape Trepointes. Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the North-west part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bighe of a bay, is a castle called Arre, pertaining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and sixtene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westmost point of Trepointes. South-east and by the South, North-west and by North. Also the Westmost point of Trepointes is a low land, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and upon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a cast of trees,

Cape Mensurado,
the river of
Sesto.

The river of
Sesto.
Rio Dulce.

Cape de Mont.

Cape de las Pal-
mas.

The land of
Cakeado.

Shauo.

Croke.
S. Vincens har-
borow.

The river
Dulce.

Cape de las
Palmas.

The coast of
Guinea.

The castle of
Arre.

and there was
The 12 d
Cape Trepo
is a great lea
and the Cape
they kepte him
of three piece
The next day
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Cape Trepo
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and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samina or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samina is a great ledge of rocks a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Capitaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a horse. But when they received the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffick no more, but shut off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordnance, and no more.

The thirteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where Captain Don John dwelt, whose men entertained us friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastward of the castle of Mina, or otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the month. Here we made sale of all our cloth, saving two or three packages.

The 26 day of the same month we weighed anchor, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seven leagues Eastward of us, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed us to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perceow, and another place named Perceow Grande, being the Eastmost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere vnto it, named More Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirtieth day of February, a gale by along till we came within six or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About right of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, we did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoever shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the current setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called Delos Potos, where you may haue fresh water and ballast enough, and plenty of many Elephants teeth. This riuer runneth in foure degrees, and almost two tercies. And when you reckon your selfe as farre thot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, untill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest, and by West, untill you come in five degrees, and then Northwest. And in six degrees, we meet Northierly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as was said before, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermoze betweene Cape de More, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

The 22 day of April, we were in 8 degrees and two tercies, and so we ran to the Northwest, leaving the wind at North and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, untill we were at 18 degrees and a tercie, which was on May day. And so from 18 to two tercies, we had the wind at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Islands of Capeverde Eastnortheast of us, we iudging our selues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 22 degrees, we had the wind many Gallies to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West, and North, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selues about 100 and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there we met with the wind at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

In 23 degrees we had the wind at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course North, the wind being at the Southwest, approaching the Ile de Flores East of us, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the wind at North, and so we ran Northnorthwest, then we met with the wind Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the North, and then we cast about, and lay North, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, iudging the Ile of Coruo South and by West of us, and six and thirtie leagues distant from us.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May the commens with John Rafe, and he thought it best to go North, and iudged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Ile de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Also, that on the fourth day of September, under nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

Also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 25 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnetle

The towne of Samina.

The pledge made Sir John Yorke the first year.

Cape Corea.

The castle of Mina pertaining to the king of Portugal.

Perceow, Perceow grande, Moore Rodondo.

The currants, from Mina homeward.

Rin de los Potos. A riuer. Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The Ile de Flores.

The Ile of Coruo.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre. How the compasse doth varie.

and when the Elephant warerh faint, he falleth downe on the serpent. Being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body beareth him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be another kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the painters use in certaine colours.

Sanguis Draconis.
Cinnabaris.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Parthes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignesse passeth the boile of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some writeth that an Elephant is bigger than three wilde Oren or Buffes. They of India are black, or of a colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiopia or Guinea are hyawne: the hide of skinn of them all is very hard, and without haire or hystles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. But men saw one drinking at a riner in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Three kinde
of Elephants.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marvellous docillitie, of their fight and use in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first scene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tuskes, with the use of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him read Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. We also writeth in his twelfth booke, that in olde time they made many goodly images of iuoy or Elephants teeth: as tables, cressels, postes of houses, calles, latresses for windows, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuoy, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chairs, iures, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuoy gate. The wisdomes thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the nature of fairenes of mans skynne: insomuch that such as went about to set forth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this powerfull Eburament to candeface, that is, to make iuoy white with ink. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautiful nymphs, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuoy necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and Iuoy, it may suffice.

Moyses of
Algypt.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and manner of liuing, with an other brieue description of Africa also. It is to be understood, that the people which now inhabit the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the middle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great & large regions about the same, were in olde time called Ethiopes or Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and bredd with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

The people of
Africa.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountains, replenished with diuers kindes of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and savage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogeculi and Phrygi, which wander in the wilderness, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians call Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean, Southward also they reach to the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, inasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beastes as the Capocole. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same river which the Portugals call Senega: for this river is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marvellous and very strange that in some of this river: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of hyawne or tawny colour, and low stature, which thing also our men continue to be true.

Libya interior.

Getulia.

Ethiopia.
Nigritæ.
The river Nigritis of Senega.

Melanogeculi.
Phrygi.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no marriages, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sakhiodaphniæ, Odrangi, Mimæes, Lynxamæes, Dolopes, Aganging, Leuci Ethiopes, Kileci Ethiopes, Alceci Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolome that they are given to the kingdom of Nubia. There are certaine Christians under the dominion of

Garamantes.

People of
Libya.

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 of Capricorne.
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 and each, &c.
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 eirly color. For
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closed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ
 pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none
 other then aire vehemently moued, as we see in a paire of bellows, and such other.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voyage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that
 in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the vaines of the moone. The which
 thing, although it be strange and insensible to vs that inhabit cold regions, yet doeth it stand with
 good reason that it may be so, forasmuch as the nature of stars and planets (as writeth Plinie)
 consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

And, that the Poone giueth heat vpon the earth the Prophet Dauid seemeth to confirme in
 his 121. Psalm, where speaking of such men as are defended from evils by Gods protection, hee
 saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the
 Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Poone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water,
 which they call Spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the
 great pillars of Churches: insonmuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great
 danger of drowning. Some saie that these should be the Cataracts of beaues, and put them in great
 opened at fowes fount. But I thinke them rather to be such flurions and eruptions as Aristotle in
 his booke de Mundo saith, to chauce in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene
 often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of
 fire, and such eruptions and beaking forth of fyrings, that the mouthes of riuers are opened.

Whichepooles, and flurions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the midst of
 the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is sudden-
 ly lifted up and carried about with the Poone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare
 that such waters be lifted by in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in another place at
 another time. And hereunto perhaps pertaineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard
 Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de
 Plata, his shippe by pinnelle was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe
 farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I con-
 sider of her mighty power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to
 her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Among things moze our
 men saw and considered in this voyage, woorth to be noted, wherof I haue thought good to put
 some in memory, that the reader may as well take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge
 of the history. Among other things theretofore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this
 may seeme strange, that their pynces & noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnies with pre-
 cious knots in diuers founes, as it were hatched or marked, thinking that to be a decent ornament.

And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especially their women, in maner
 laden with collars, bracelets, hoopcs, and chinnes, either of gold, copper, or iron. I my selfe haue
 one of their bracelets of Iron, weighing two pound and five ounces of Troy weight, which make
 eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women do weare vpon her arme. It is made of one
 whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carued, with a hole in the midst,
 wherewith they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as ma-
 ny on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made
 lame therewith, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legges great
 shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars,
 bracelets, garrlands, and girvles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women
 weare on their bare armes certaine foyleeues made of the plates of beaues golde. On their fin-
 gers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or two, like vnto that which chil-
 dren make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for ex-
 change of their wares, were certaine doggs-chaines and collers.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any
 value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They
 that shall haue to doe with them, must vse them gently: for they will not craquie or bying in any
 wares if they be euill used. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced,
 that at their departure from the first place where they did traffick, one of them either stole a muske
 or, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that would haue hindered their bargaining
 in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they couide make with full
 sail, the same of their misusage so prevented them, that the people of that place also, offended
 thereby, would bying in no wares: insonmuch that they were enforced either to resigne the Car, or
 pay

The stile of
 Clements
 Winde.

The heat of
 the Poone.

The nature of
 the starres.

Spouts of
 water falling
 out of the aire.

Cataracts of
 beaues.

Vehement
 motions in the
 sea.

Strange
 things.

The power of
 nature.

They rase
 their skinnies.

Fine irones.
 A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Doggs chaines
 of golde.

A muske.

Their houses.

Their feeding.

Flying fishes.

A strange thing.

Their bread.

Their wheat.

The Sunne.

Their drink.

Graines.

A bird that
sleaves to
ships.

A maraca.

A man.

A secret.

The death of
our men.Five blacks
brought
into England.

pay for her at their price, before they could traffique there.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and covered with boughes. Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty. There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men tasted of their fishes, hoping to prouide some thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten forthwith as some say. Notwithstanding otherwise, that if they be salted immediately after they be taken, they will last uncorrupted ten or twelve dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the climate of temperate regions.

They vse also a strange making of bread, in this manner. They grinde betwene two stones with their handes as much cozne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantite of water, and make thereof very thicke dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfulls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme of straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the little finger of a mans hand, or little lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that haue lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh little bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer than it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulness the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestacions as they otherwise receiue by the seruente heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplacion to consider the contrary effects of the Sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the iuice that dropeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches every euening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground vnder the trees, that the dropes may fall thereon. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches euery euening, because they are feared up in the day by the beate of the Sunne. They haue also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the shew of a huske.

Many things more might be saide of the manners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Affricke. But it shall suffice to haue saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas I spoke speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to haue holes by the side, as in beede is hatch, as it is brought thither yet was I afterward enformen, that those holes were made to put strings of twiggcs through the fruite, thereby to hang them up to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foorce from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the Philisians Grana Paradisi.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes were maruailously ouergrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such biggnes that a man might put his chumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainly affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles haue bene seene in ships returninge to Ireland, but these shelles were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the rocke, and in manner couered with the said shelles, which in my imagination should greatly hinder her saping. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Broomes or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betwene the planks, which they eate through in many places.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that when they sailed thither in seven weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then thre weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is euer at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the climate of the colde regions, as betwene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinke.

The colde and Regions may be as much as behen and preferueth

This is also of Equinoctial line people very blacke line are very cen heads, as they of heau: the cause

It is also woop they ouerooke of Parch. And co

The first

London.



continued in the directing our coun they leagues.

The first of Nov our Master, This

The second day

The third day leagues long, and a

the fourth day high land like a sad lower with certain

(same day at 11. of Sano, towards the

Portugals, it riseth

afternoone we were of Madera to the

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The fourth day

the fifth day leagues.

The 7. day we re

The 8. day in the is a very high Island

Isle of Palma, whic

The 7. day we pe

Palma, about 12. lea

the 10. day we came not in sight

This day also we

the other Islands, a

The colde and moyst aire both somewhat offend them. Yet doubtelesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, for as much as vehement heate resolutely the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserveth the same.

Colde may be better abided then heate.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, under the Equinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreme hot, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are under the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as they of Africke haue, but of the colour of an Olive, with long and blacke haire on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they outooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.



Don Sunday the thirtieth day of September we departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the haven of Newport with two good shippes, the one the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made unto the River de Sestos in Guinea, and toother hauens thereabout.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before we coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arrived wee directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues.

The first of November we found our selnes to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Southwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a highland like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West end of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lyeth in thirty and thre degrees. The same day at 11. of the clocke we rayded the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since we left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight we were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West end of it, and by means of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed under the Isle of Madera, untill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde coming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteen leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

The 6. day in the morning we rayded the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike upon the top like a loafe of sugar. The same night we rayded the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

The 7. day we perceived the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and by share of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of us, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southward 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we

September.

October.

Porto Santo.

Madera.

Tenerif.

Palma.

Gomera.

Ferro.

we could not double the point of the Ile of Ferro, except we would have gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe five hours Eastward to the end we might double it upon the next boord, the winde continuing South-east, which hath not bene often scene upon that coast by any travellers: for the winde continually there for the most part North-east, & East North-east: so upon the other boord by the next morning we were in a manner with the Island, and had room enough to double the same.

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as we could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was South-east and by East, but by the same winde we could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25 leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30 leagues, the 10. & 11. leagues, the 12. & 13.

The 12. day we sawe a saile under our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that we went room to have spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that we could not see the shippe nor any of us the other: we shot off divers pieces of the Hinde, but he heard them not: at after noone we shot off a piece which we heard, and made her answer with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake up, and we were within 4 leagues of the shoare upon the coast of Barbary, and were sounded and had 14 fathom water. The Barke also came room with us and there anchored by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge truly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the shoare, which is white like chake of sand, and very deepe unto the hard shoare: there immediately we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for upon that coast, which they call Pergosse, the French men call them Saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing up of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shewed us such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16 leagues to the Eastward of the rivier del Oro.

Rivier del Oro,

The 13. day in the afternoon we spied a saile coming towards us, which we iudged to be the saile that we sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, we called the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towards him, and manured out our Shalke in the case to lapp him about, or in discrete what hee was, and wee our selves within halfe an houre after wayed also, but after the saile had shewed us, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that we could not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoon the winde came about, and we went our course South-east and by East, to goe cleare off the coast, we ranne that night 17 leagues.

The fourteenth day in the morning was very foggy: but about twelue a clocke we espied a Caruall of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Shiffe to him with five men, and without any weapon saving their Dares. The Caruall for haste let slippe her ancre, and let saile: and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tarpe for no weapons, and in the ende overtook the Caruall, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteeen or fiftene men aboard, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to us, they let fall their ancre, for wee had call ancre to cause the winde was not good: I caused then the Shiffe to come for mee, and I went aboard of them to see that no harme should be done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare us for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapners of figges, two small pots of oyle, three pipes of water, foure hogheads of saltfish which they had taken upon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store upon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serve twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee gave them, and three or foure great Canes which they sent aboard of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seven Pioloets, which was twice as much as they willingly would have taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused us to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the rivier del Oro, as the Portugals tolde us. There were five Carualls more in this place, but when they sawe us, they made all away for feare of us.

The 15. day we stode still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40 leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right under the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25 leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The 18. day we ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelue of the clocke by the reckoning of our

in Caruall taken,

Great store of fish upon the coast of Barbary.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a half.

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The 12. day

The 12. day

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The same moun

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phones teerly at a re

pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

The 12. day our Pilots reckoned us to be thwart Cape Verde.

The 13. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we hailed into the land South-east, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 3. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to have bene a ship, and thereby induced it to be the river de Sestos, which light as soone as we observed, we came to an anchor & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anchor, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rocks about 2. English miles from us, one great rock, and the 3. other small ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shoare, and so wayed and set saile East South-east along to the East as the river de Sestos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In the 24. hours I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were under saile, and had withall shoare of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East South-east all along the shoare, within two leagues always of the same, and found the land all as at the first, full of woods and great rocks hard above the shoare, and the billow beating so foie, that the seas broke upon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discern it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boat could land there. Thus we ran until 12. of the clocke, and then theyooke the Sunne and after lodged themselves to be 24. leagues past the river de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we hailed into the shoare within two English miles, and there anchored and found fittene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might well have rid by an Oar-men, all that after-noon we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that the might goe to Sestos, because the wind blowes alwayes contrary, and the Current runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against us.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard above the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clocke, and we being farre into the sea, met with divers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in every boate one man and no more: we gave them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4. of the clocke our boats came to us with fresh water: and this night we anchored against a River.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade we sounded all the way, and found sometimes rocks, and sometimes faire ground, and at the South-west found 7. fadoms alwayes at the lead. So in fine we found 7. fadoms and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we anchored in a manner before the mouth of the River, and then we sent our boats into the River for water, which went about a mile within the River, where they had very good water. This River lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the River de Sestos, and is called in the Carde River S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discern that it is a River: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lieth a ledge of rocks, which is much broader then the River, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rocks and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the River, and being within it, it is a great River and divers other Rivers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entering the sea do goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

There are neere to the Sea upon this River divers inhabitants, which are mightie bigger men and go all naked except some thing before their private parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barkes of trees, and yet it is like a clout: for the barkes is of that nature, that it will spin small after the manner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like upon their heades being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heades are clipped and shorne of divers sorts, and the most part of them have their skin of their bodies raced with divers woollen, in manner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their heades, which in the most part be very foule and long hanging downe low like the hood of a goate.

The same morning we went into the River with our skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we rooke that day one hog-head and 100. li. weight of Oranges, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manellios, and

Ccc

Mar-

Cape Blanke.

Cape Verde.
The coast of
Guinea.The Current
setting East-
ward.River S. Vin-
cent.Cloth made of
the barkes of
trees.The Negroes
race their
hair.Oranges of
Guinea
Elephants
teeth.

Margarita, but they desired most to have basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth 30. li. waight, we gave them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the river with our Skiffe, and tooke some of every sort of our merchandise with us, and showed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarita, which yesterday they did buy: but we it for the basons they would have given us some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day we took not by estimation about one hundred pounds waight of Graines, by the means of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell anything but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtil, that for a bason he would not give 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer us small vishuils, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking beside that wee would have followed them, and have given them their owne things. But after that wee perceived their fetch, wee waped our Grapnel and went away, and then we went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a thevese of them about us, and at the first they were afraid of us, but in the end perceiving that we were no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand and be familiar with us, and then we went in to their Townes, which were like to twenty small houses, all covered over with great leaves to their houses, and all the doors open, and a scaffold under the house about a yard high, where they and baggage, and all the things open, and a scaffold under the house about a yard high, where they woyke many pretty things of the barkes of trees, and there they dye also. In some of their houses they woyke pylon and make saice barres, and divers other things to woyke their boates, and other things withall, and the women woyke as well as the men. But when wee were there divers of the women to shew us pleasure danced and sung after their manner, full ill to our eares, their song was this:

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these woyes they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small bogges, and small hennes: other beasts we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboard our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made us signes that if when we had slept we would come againe into their river, we should have store of Graines, and so showed us his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would have done something because the Captaine sent for us, I required the Spaster to goe on shore, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and earied aboard my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so little: so when the Spaster and the rest came into the river, the captaine with divers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then he made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so reasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Spaster perceiving, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke not about 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shore to the little Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourde, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men buy their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, having but one bow and two of these woyes, and went aboard the boate and came away from them: and so soon as they were come aboard we waped and set sail, but the wind was off the shore, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

This river is called River S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbs 20. miles witheth there every 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbs: the most while wee were there ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

This countrey as farre as we could perceive is altogether woody, and all strange trees, whereof we knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves like great dockes, which be higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow upon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 37. paces long, and they grow upon the same like to trees, and that to neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceive by the water marks.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Divers of the women have such exceeding long beards, that some of them will lay the same upon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women have not such beards.

The description
tion of their
Townes and
houses.

Diago the
name of a
Captaine.

The latitude
of S. Vincent
river is 4. deg
rees and a
halfe.
Reason of
ebbing lowly.

Long pease
stalkes.

Long trees
with beards.

At this place
found it to differ

This night at 5
the boats to come
with their wine at
tack in 6. Tunn

I could not p
and wile, that the p
the great ships of

There are many
I observed some

Bezoar
Manc
Croce

Zerani
Begge
Begge

Borke
Counte
Veede

Brekeke
Diago

the woyes they
at the last time long

The 18. day to
the sea, the men the

which the thought
happily before it is

the river, which in
the 19. day as to

to tell what they ha
the proceeded along

The 20. day the H
what, at noon, as it

if we would goe a sho
mother to be, and by

and made a fire upon
they did in divers othe

In all the places
the the always runn

shore, and many of th
The 21. day, altho

of the coast, that we
grow to be, as there be

The 22. day, we ranne
longly;

The 23. day about
almost all of it, we

was a league or more
which were 4. leagues

land, as it were close
were a Bay, whereby

land in the sea; and
were a river, before it

with overrunning a river
This Cape has pale

river de Sestos in the
a great shoale else where

where we anchored

At this place all the day the wind blew off the sea, and all the night off the land, but we found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marked at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the wind came upon the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North North-west off the shore: yet we stayed and hallooed off about midnight wind all night into the sea, but the next morning we hallooed in againe to the land, and made in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde took in as much.

I could not perceive that here was any gold, or any other good things: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they give themselves to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graine, but in this place I could not perceive two Tunnes of graine.

There are many houses in the Countrey, but the people will not take the paines to take them. I observed some of their words of speech, which I thought good here to be remembred.

Bezow, bezow,
Manegote afoye,
Crocoo afoye,
Zeramine afoye,
Begge fuche,
Begge come,
Borke,
Counkeky,
Veede,
Brekeke,
Diago.

Is their salutation,
Graines enough,
Dentes enough,
Have you enough,
Give me a knife,
Give me bread,
Give me your peace,
No lycen to be,
But found in empty
Rote.

Their Captaine, and some call him Dabou. These and other words they speak very thicke, and oftentimes repeat one word after another together, and at the last time longer then at the first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, the men thereof us that there was a river about of us, where there were Graines to be had: but we thought it not good to keep there, least the other ships should get before us. This river hapning before it three great rocks, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a little tree right by the river, which in height exceeds all the rest: we hallooed this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shore, about twelue of the clocke there came out to us 3. boats full of graine, they had graine, & brought some with them for a sheke, but we could not carry there. We proceeded along the coast, & ankered by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde having ankered by us amongst rocks, and shule ground, lost a small anchor, so none, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to us, making signes, that if we would goe a shore, we should have Graines; and where they ankered at night, there came another to be, and brought Graines, and showed us them, and made signes that we should stay, and make a fire upon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell us where we should land, and so they did in divers other places upon the coast, where they saw us anker.

In all the places where we have ankered, since we came from our warring place, we have found the alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rocks hard about the shore, and many of them a league off the shore or more, we ran this day 11. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sope out of the coast, that we were not able to runne above six leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to us, as there had done other times.

The 22. day we ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne six leagues.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westmost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues, and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastmost part of the Cape, which is 4. leagues from the Westmost part, and upon the very corner thereof lie two greene isles, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be known. Four leagues more beyonde that there lieth a small land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land: there goeth in a great Bay, as there was a river, before which place we ankered all that night, which we did, least in the night we should encounter a river, where the last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

The Cape Das palmas lieth under foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the river de Sefos is the greatest Bay of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is a great Bay else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran all wayes to the Westwards,

The language
about the River
of S. Vincent.

The tides and
nature of the
shore.

The point of
Palmas.

* That was
the year 1554.

not bigger, and we left aboard with the Master certaine Manillas, wherewith he bought 12. coeth aboard the ship, in our absence: and having bought these of them, we perceived that they had no more coeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought five small hennies, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboard, and then waped, and went East our course 18. leagues till within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the wind comming againe off the sea, we fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we sawe was a great redcliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller redcliffe, and right about 24. boures, not about foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the redcliffe aforesaid to have right upon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it full of red clifses as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well upon the clifses, as other wise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a river to the Eastwards, and no clifses that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that have bene there, haue not bene vsual, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly North-west, and South-west.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is all along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which were a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boates is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night past, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: upon the first sight of the Cape we discerned it a very high land, and all groven over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the uttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceived the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not about a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and upon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwar the same Cape to the Eastward, there lieth hard by it a round greene hummocke, which commeth out of the maine.

The third Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a bigg land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the third Cape commeth out a little head of point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboard the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land South-east, and being past the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east.

About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east. About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east. About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east.

About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east. About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east. About two leagues from the Capes, the land runneth againe East North-east.

This day we anchored for feare of overshooting a towne called S. Johns. We ran this day not 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked upon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, to the Westwards of them two great greene hills ioyning together, so that betweene them it was like a fauote: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforesaid Towne to be, and therefore we manned our boates, andooke with vs cloth, and other marchandise, and went aboard, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore we went aboard againe.

From these two hills aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the sea almost a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North North-westward, and the land in this place lieth North North-east along the shoare: but the uttermost point

point of land in that place that we could see, lay Northeast, and by East from us.

After that we were with a small gale of wind runne past that veremost head-land, we saue a great red cliffe, which the Master againe iudged to be the towne of S. Iohns, and then we took our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceived that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and so we went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waied vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, wherewith on the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, we let fall our grapnell, and after that we had tarried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of vs, to shew vs that they had golde, and they shewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shew their Capitaine thereof: and we gaue them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels, and then they brought vs a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making vs signes that so much they would giue for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we tarried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall vnderstood, that all the best places were before vs, we departed to our shippes and wayen, and came along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay fourth a ledge of rocks, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainly was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not well differenc it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of
Don Iohn.

The first day in the morning we perceived it to be the same towne in verbe, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last peece the Portugals at that place took away a boate from them, and after shot at them with great bales, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnell almost a balse shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boate came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwaras they came and waied to vs also to come in, because they perceived the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediately the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could we perceive any boates, but that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

We hauing stayed here a good space, and seeing that they would not come to vs, shalld our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Capitaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his bart in his hand, and fire call men after him, one by one with his bart & his target, and their barts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Capitaines stoole: we saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moue his cap, nor leant bowled his body, and saue him downe very solemnly vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare about the loynes, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwix their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a bal her, and some like a great wide purse of beaues skines.

All their cloth, cottes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very prettily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as barts, fishhookes, hooking pyons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodkniffe, which be on both sides receruing sharpe, and bended after the manner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their targets bee made of such pills as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrapped about them, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and they bee bound with a string, and kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be made of the bark of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

Their house
pans.

When the Captain came into him, and hee the Angel, which hee saide was the son of Ihu: so the Angel weight, on a peece of the real.

He shewed the About two of and brought with and after made m stoe of gold, which Captaines, well fished downe his late downe, and s one fourth part, an gell and twell, e g which hee offered is grew very late, weight about faw for balons fire our

The first day in the morning we perceived it to be the same towne in verbe, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last peece the Portugals at that place took away a boate from them, and after shot at them with great bales, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnell almost a balse shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boate came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwaras they came and waied to vs also to come in, because they perceived the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediately the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could we perceive any boates, but that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

The seventh day ounces, so that we many of the people to fetch them some but goe thence with desirous to goe againe to thep tooke eighthe made, were departed

While they were guile, with three more three ounces, &c. with none when I was ounce of golde.

This fellow, as f and was gotten into

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gave them unto him, and hee sent againe for a weight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angells, which he would not take, neither would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of baffe: so that wee solde that day 74. basons unto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angell weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

He shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great cotes, which I received, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which him deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men under 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, every man stucke downe his dart upon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sat downe, and sent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a weight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angells weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight aforesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons six ounces and a halfe and one right part.

The first day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and lunced, because they had no boates to come to vs, and so the young man which was with vs the night before was sent aboord, who seemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portugall, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his coming he offered vs, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his weight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balade: and then the Captaine perceiving that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not giue the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they sawe that the boats were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gave them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boats came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Master Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part sixe and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seventh day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with vs before noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs signes to fetch them some latten basons, which I would not because I supposed not to crisse our time, but goe thence with speede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crise made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a litle Portugall, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde five basons vnto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugals, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugals were bad men, and that they

made

Go. Portugales
in the castle of
Mina.

The English
in anno 1554
tooke away 5
Negroes.

This lan-
guage formerly
partly to be
corrupt.

Height of the
castle of Mina.

Don Johns
towne be-
hind.

made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and before he told us, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them: he told us further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small caruell, and further, that Don John had warres with the Portugals, which gave mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, where hence our men were beare to the last yeere.

This fellowe came aboard our shippe without feare, and as soone as he came, he demanded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answer, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboard, we wayed and set sayle and a litle after spied a great fire upon the shoare, and by the lighte of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of overshooting the towne of Don John we there anchored two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch up a towne here, if a ship overshoot it. This day we tooke seven pound, and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to have basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as knives, hozserailes, hoznes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold away, a dagger, a har, &c.

They shewed us a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was coarse wooll, and a small thred, and as thicke as woad, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Divers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of divers colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,
Dasse, dalle,
Sheke,
Cowtte,
Cracca,
Bassina,
Foco, foco,
Molta,

In their salutation,
I thanke you.
Golde.
Cut.
Knives.
Basons.
Cloth,
Much, or great store.

The eighth day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not have the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don John, and then it cleared up, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, upon the hill about it: then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Johns towne, and there anchored in seven fathom water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceived that the current went with the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

The towne of Don John is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had anchored, to see if any man would come unto us: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and anchored with our boates nere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to us who made vs signes that that was the towne of Don John, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboard, and I gave him one ell of cloth and he departed, and thus night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came forth a boate to us, who made signes that Don John was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Denis, and brought with him gold to shew us, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place John Sawill, and John Makeworth, andooke the friends, and went to the other towne and there anchored, and tooke cloth and went to shoare with the boate, and by and by the boates came to us and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed us a weight of an angell and twelve graines, which they would give for so much, and not otherwise: so I then and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Johns towne, and

no nothing, having

The trench day
and hauling by them
their elles, and the
I did conclude with
a quarter of an our
cloth upon the shoare
and layde the cloth
downe from the co-
hale as he could at
some knavery, and
the Hinde, and per-
up to the toppe of the
Chry I being desir-
her, and when I ca-
I made as much ha-
in all haste, and we
day, and had given
cloth, and three bal-
of an angell and 12
the Portugals came
with them warning,
conspired with the
recovered their bo-
but hurt no man, ar-
whereupon we layde
a shoare againe, but
and shot at them, but
as we with their half-
them, and when we
fell us any thing for
that we could not
keep the barke as
be in like case layde
John de Viseo stande
that there are not part
of the countrey, and
there would be had
Portugales. The
the last towne that
hill, and halfe a league
to the whar could the
could we thought the
the castle two this pl-
are full of wood, and
large and bigger, for
houses of the coast, &
the language used at
quisite, which they
The same this day
ware, whereupon we
sayle and went forth
then in the other tow-
see no houses. Thus
continue to the tow-
in Colonocheast, and
groes, which would
would not stay, but
land, the sayed am-
10

no nothing, having answered that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shore, and there came out a boat with good store of gold, and having opened the matter off a long time, and having brought the measure to a nagle less then three ellens, and their weight to an angel and twenty grains, and could not bring them to more, y^e we conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth upon the shore as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and I kept the cloth all aboard upon the same peece by peece, and by and by one came running ashore from the towne to them, and spake unto them, and shortly every man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knavery, and being warned by them to come ashore, yet we would not, but went aboord the Hinde, and perceived upon the hill 30 men which we judged to be Portugals: and they went up to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselves, having a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hare did,ooke the Hinde board and went toward her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two peeces of ordnance which I marvelled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and kisse comming from the shore in all haste, and we met aboard together. They shewed me that they had borne a shore all that day, and had given to the two sonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three parden and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had delivered him 3 parow of cloth more and the weight of an angel and 12 grains, and being on land did carie for his answer, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill upon them, wherof the Negroes a little before had given them warning, and had them to go away but they perceived it not. The sonne of Don Iohn recovered their boate and set off from the shore, and the Portugals shot their calivers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ship perceiving it, shot off the two peece of ordnance among them, whereupon they layde halles in both the boates, and in the skiffe and manned them well, and went ashore againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten leagues and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rocks and from the hills shot at us with their halfe bakers, and the Negroes more for feare then for love shooke by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subjection unto them that they durst not tell us any thing for feare of them we went aboard, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but Iooke the boate in the night and went aboard the hark to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceived the towne to be in the safe lappe with Portugales, so we layed and went along the coast. This towne of Iohn de Viso standeth upon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath bene burned, so that there are not passing five houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the country, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their golde, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subjection is so great to the Portugals. The 11 day running by the shore we had sight of a little towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne upon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne upon the shore: whether we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leave the towne upon our departure. Along from the castle unto this place are very high hills which may be seene above all other hills, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffs by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelve men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few rivers: their language differeth not from the language used at Don Iohns towne: but every one can speake thre or foure wordes of Portugall, which they used altogether to us.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shore to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knavery intended against us. The 12 day therefore we set saile and went further along the coast, and desired more townes wherein were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke upon us, but we could see no boates. Two miles beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rocks continue to the westernmost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runneth in East northerly, and a sandy shore againe: upon these blacke rocks came downe certaine Negroes, which wound us with a white flagge, but we perceiving the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shore: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it

The Portugals
of the castle of
Iohn de Viso
were here.

The towne of
Don Iohn de
Viso.

seruant seeing these men to eate the therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waighes and scales, and a chaine of golde about his necke, and another about his arme. They owners of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light upon the shoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we calicured, which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with vs.

Portugals
brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Capitaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wines also, because their towne was 8 miles up in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboard, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboard, and I sent him two, of whom he took but one, and so came aboard vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goat and two great rootes, and I gave him againe a latten basin, a white basin, 6 manillas, and a bottell of Palm-elle, and to his wife a small caskett. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heere not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anchor about five leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & took 4 li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the capitaine desired to haue some of our wine, and offered halfe a nuchel of gold for a bottell: but I gave it him freely, and made him and his raine drinke besides. On this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and took 4 li. 4 ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we took 3 li. 6 ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we took 8 li. 7 ounces and a quarter. The 22, 3 li. 8 ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Capitaine who had layen all this while upon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were visited a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bells, and took 1 li. 10 ounces of gold. The 24 like wise we sold bells, shewers, and chimbles, and took two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of small bris and other things, and then perceiving their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and understood that she had made some sales. The 26 day we received out of the Hinde 4 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day upon the request of a Negro that came unto vs from a capitaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and took 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no wages of vs, but at night they sent a man aboard vs, which lay with vs all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we took 8 li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and took one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two callers that off upon the shoare, which we iudged to be either by the Portugals or by the Negroes of the Portugals: we manned our boates and armed our selues and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for ballast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and having no gold, sold us to our men for their handkerchieves and nightkerchieves.

The 1 day of February we wayed and went to another place, and took 1 li. 9 ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but having viewed our victuals, we determined to tarry no long time upon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew so wye. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4 day to come off the shoare, we set sail and came along the shoare to the Medway: upon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winds come off the shoare as *Westerly*, and so continueth till 8 of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide of current upon this shoare, it goeth continually with the wind. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to haue met with some English ships, but found none.

February.

They returned
for England.

people of trumpets very brauely: so when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, wanted them to come under our Lee, which they desired shortly: then we demanded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had sent, we answered, none but fishermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the riuer de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saued none but the master and two of the crew, and certaine others which were soe burned which they left a shipe there. Then they desired to come aboard of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leave. Then the capitaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboard very friendly, desiring vs to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not water, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed vs that wee were fiftie leagues past the riuer de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boats because they would haue our commodities of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market: and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would understand that we were behind, and so would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore hauing considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to giue vs water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their owne boats and pinnasses.

The riuer of Sestos.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their countie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboard for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and increased vs very friendly, desiring vs still to keepe his company, promising that what vs. would be in his ships, or other things that might doe vs pleasure vntill the end, we should haue the one hulse of it, offering vs if we would to tucke his flaggs, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anchor, and to send our boat on shore with the Admiralls boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she came to an anchor to seaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this while the boats continued on shore.

The first day of January our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fiftene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirty men with vs and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with barquebushes, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, pattizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: we found two Elephants which wee strooke diuers times with barquebushes and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

An Almaine taken on elephants.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andree, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the riuer, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

Rio de S. Andree, Capitaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine v^lls Negroes not accustomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in some places at the entering. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the Recliffes, and went for ward in sailing the 9 day also.

The 10 day we came together to confer with capitaine Blundel Admirall of the French ships, Hieron Baudet his vice admirall, and Iohn de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their lieutenants, and agreed that when God should send vs to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accords and doe as one of the two the market of the other, but certaine of our men to make the price for all the red, and that we should make sale for euerie shippe. This

night our boats going to the shoie met with certaine Negroes, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anchor.

The 17 day all the day we took but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines. And we took by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negroes called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no houses would come out to us, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I took my boat and went along the shoie, and passed by divers small townes, and was wanted to come on shoie at 3 places, but the sea went so high upon the shoie, that it was not possible for us to land, neither could they come to us if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would have come unto us, but the Land-moath went so fast that it overthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so loud, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and carried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day we came within Maker-shot of the castle, & straight way they set forth and I made to deserv us, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negroes Dondou. And thus there is two great rockes like Islands, and the castle standeth upon a point which stretch almost like an Island. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seven leagues before we came to the castle, I saw land, until we came to the castle, and then we found the land high againe. This castle standeth about five leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I took the boat with our Negroes and ranne along the shoie till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no houses at them, neither a my traffique to be had. At these places our Negroes did understand them well, and one of them went a shoie at all the places and was well received of them. This night we anchored at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I took our boat and went along the shoie, about 3 leagues beyond the Castle: most part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a small towne and certaine houses which belonged to the same towne, but the Negroes in a long time would not come to us, but at the last by the perswasion of our own Negroes, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George our Negro a shoie, and after he had talked with them, they came aboard our boats with out feare, and I gave to their captain a balon, and two strings of Beagares, and they shewed us about 5 buxats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that we would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then every man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to give more than the price which should be set by us all. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negroes were very glad of our Negroes, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us.

The Negroes here shewed us that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippes we took to be the Rocherage: for the Frenchmen of our company judged her to be there about 12 at time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelve sayes named the Schamer all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the river De Sestos, besides these 3 which at this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Esjoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captain is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roen Viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Baudet.

The other is of Hunkleur whose master is called Iohn de Orleans.

The thirteenth day I went along the shoie with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and from a Dale and a fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanna, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negroes were well known, and the men of the towne wrote for us when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. And after this, our Negroes came aboard with other Negroes which brought a weight with them, which was so small that we could not give them the half of that which they demanded for it.

The Negroes here told us that there were five Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they lived in feare of them,

them, and we told them we were very glad.

The 17 day we were so unfortunably

Then we departed points with men and here to have found after them were divers Negroes, specially one much so, and so did they the captain and him from them: which caused our men to come with all the rest of us, and stayed to 12 at the English ship at the Cape took away.

The 18 day we were Negroes to give them angel-buxat: so the spirit.

The nineteenth day gold, and I for my part took one and the Portugals would be with us barquebusses the come no nearer to us our traffique.

The 20 day we met with the Admirall, with foure crumpeets, and pendants very far in the river to watch that there were certain of this place.

This 21 day we met with three found had done with the other

The 22 day we were and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about 12 Portugals shippes were come to us, giving us very glad of their coming we were glad of it, and were very glad, and for them all the extremitie of us there of.

The 24 we went a point of the towne to buy

The 25 day we bring shippes out of ordinance went to our shippes, and the night, so that night we could: we were necessary of the Portugals, and shippes ready for fight.

The 26 we came in

them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shoie and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negroes were so vnrre asonable, we sold 80 Spanellios for one ounce of gold.

Then wee departed and went to Shamua, and went into the riuer with flue boates well appointed with men and ordnance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negroes on shoie, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our much ioy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that he should not feare the Portugals, for we would defend them from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bales and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shoie with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. And here the Negroes shewed vs that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negroes againe, which Robert Gayush took away.

Shamua.

The Negroes brought home by our men.

*Note.
Robert Gayush.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negroes to giue them for euery fuffe two yards and thyee nails of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-vuchat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duchats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortye, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shoie euery man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Partes here tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negroes shewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebusses shoot off in the woods by vs which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no neerer to vs, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare vs and so make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our flue boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admiralls, 12 of them in their murrions and cossets, and the rest all well appointed, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of white and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waite vs, but we heard no moze of the Portugals. This day the Negroes told vs that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westward, and there found many Negroes with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shoie againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negroes with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to ply to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our selues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their coming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bales whereof the Negroes were very glad, and requested vs that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising vs that if they came by land, they would aduertise us thereof.

The 24 we were a shoie with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I had the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day we being a shoie, our ships had deseried the Calles of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordnance to call vs away, and we threwe euery man his caske a shoie for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, so y that night nothing was done. We set sail and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee iudged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our ships ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the shoie and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker,

Five Calles of Portugals deseried.

men into the Port. So we tooke out of her foure bales, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and let her on fire, and after wards ran along the coast.

The thirde day we went in to the Shoie, and spake with certaine Negroes, who told vs that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargain with them they were so unreasonable.

The 3^d day I went to shoie but did not traffike.

The 4th day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negroes to any reason, and came to another place which standeth upon an hill. Februarie.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shoie the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negroes who then began to aske for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarrying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me besoye hee came to the boate and seemed to be the gladdest man aliuie, and so did all the company that knew me, and I gaue him a reward as the manner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to giue another, promising the next day to giue him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4th day going on shoie, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our market, but yet I tooke five ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negroes perceived the difference in Cloath betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceived that being there where his Cloath was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorry.

The 6th day there came an Almadoe Negroes aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchanises: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come thome: so he required a pledge which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The 7th day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negroes and we loone concluded of price. I tooke this day five pounds and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamama at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shoie, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamama would not suffer them. George our Negro.

The 8th day we tooke nine pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9th day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10th day three pound.

The 11th day came to vs Jerome Bawder the Vice admiral of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and said he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to be with, which hee refused to doe untill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and came to Sea: and must come no neerer to vs, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound five ounces. The Frenchmen followed by the English.

The 12th day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to vs laden with cloath, and would haue made sale, but I would not suffer him, and there fore tooke him and sent him aboord of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14th day we tooke of some Negroes 4 ounces of gold.

The 16th we came to another towne.

The 17th day I went a shoie and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Caste, and the other two at Shamama. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so hee did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships did so neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to stay for sale.

The 18th day certaine of the kings seruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to us from another towne, of whom we took two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Argones that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagoua.

The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall ships at anchor, and the day by night we fetched Sharmia.

Lagoua.

The Portugall ships.

The third day we had sight of one sail ship, of about two hundred tonnes, in the weather of vs, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two moze a little off her, the one a ship of five hundred oz moze, and the other a pinnace: and these were a new fleet at that present arrived out of Portugall. Either upon the way, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde coming to the South-south-west, the Hare going roome with them fell three leagues to the leeward of vs. These Portugalls gave us the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till due at night, but did no good against vs. At last, we perceiving the Hare to be the same of his company, because his maine top-mast was spent, determined to cast our best course: but the Hare was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company. So that we took in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceived, he looked to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to us: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of beating their top-mast overboard: but this was a simple excuse.

Ships of Port.
Lagoua.

The fourth day, being past from our waiting place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land.

Cape Mensurado.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hare, and I thinke the willfull Galle ran in purpose to lose vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 17 day we fell in sight of two small Islands, which lie by our reckoning two leagues off the land of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Islands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set North-north-west, or els they may be much deceived.

Two small Islands by Sierra Leona.

The 19 of April we met with two great ships of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The 14 we were directly under the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died John Vanderwood.

The first day we were in the height of S. Michael.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of vs, which was a French man of 90 tonnes, who came with vs as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and coming neere vs perceived that we had bene upon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weak, as in deed we were, came neere vs, and thought to have layed vs aboard, & there slept by some of his men in armour, and commanded vs to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stiffe, crosse barres, and chaines, and arrows, so thicke, that it made the upper works of their shippe sit about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and tore his shippe miserably with our great ordnance, and then he began to call a sterne of vs, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gave him four of five good pieces moze for his farewell: and thus we were rid of this French man, who did us no harme at all. We had aboard us a French man a Trumpetter, who being sick, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

A French ship.
aboard.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuern, and so to Bristol, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the land, and so go into Seuern, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

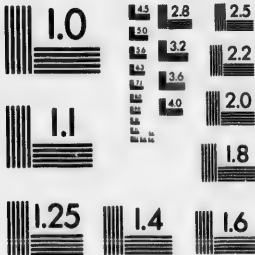
The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrived safely in Plymouth, and with us was our good arrivall.

The



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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The third and last voyage of M. William Tourson to the coast of
Tunis, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

The thirtieth day of January, the yeere abouesayd, we departed out of the countie of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are theſe :



- 1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
- 2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.
- 3 The Tyger.
- 4 A pinnelle called the Vnicorne :
 bound to the coast of Guinie.

2 The Christopher. And
 3 The Tiger.
 4 A pinnette called the Vnicorne : being all bound for the Canaries, and
 from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.
 In the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one cal-
 led the Vnicorne, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and

from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.
The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and so the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoist forth their boats, and to come and speake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false charrat-parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in thei: we therefore caused one of them to fetch vp his bills of lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine wisch him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the difference of his bills of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Master of the Vnicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshhead of a French mans, and within in French.

When they had considered that they had thus much French mens goods within their Shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waiving what charge we had of our Passers, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case p'rolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commoditie which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to carry them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that hauing all their sailes aboord, we kept the company onely with our fore sailes, and without any ronne sailes aboord, so that in every two dayes sailing they would haue hindered vs more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seize the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further, and so they returned into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, for feare of a stay by reason

And as for carrying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift vs out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I helo it not in any wise conuenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certaine of our company not being here with satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answer, that to carry them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one month longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that every man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessities, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we took out of them so many teene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnette.

Five cakes of rozen.
A small halser for ties; and certine chestnuts.

It is to be un-
derstood, that
at this time
there was
warre betwixt
England and
France.

The French
mens goods
seized in the
time of the
warre upon
the loss of
Sales.

M. Will

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Ten tunne
A quancie
Shall-line
Thesnuts.
Dine coul

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of their beefe o
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tooke for the re
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The Tyger
Aquarius, and
The first day
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goods they had.

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About eleven o

The 11 day
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The 12 day
same towne. And
the gouernour
quiring vs to co
vs their owne I
went to the tow
that day. The
pinnisse mende

The 14 day
which were in a
piece, the rest
came to an an-
cients the Admirall
to him he recei-
Flanders. And
caused one of his
quire me so fur-
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forth still, cere-
the flagge :
to whom I spoke
bell ordinance I
parted, and cau-
to me againe, and
and made them
ing they sent for
my man should

The Christopher tooke out,
Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogthead.
A quantity of Aquauitz,
Shall-lines,
Chelnuts.

Six double bales with their chambers. And their men broke in the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles : and cast some of their beefe ouer boord, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gaue them a compass, a running glasse, a leade and a line, certaine Leade and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gaue them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ranfome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot botome the Riuer of Bordeaux, they were not able to let him a shope againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke fixe or seuen tunnes of wine, one hogthead of Aquauitz, and certeine rozen, and two bales he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe sauing W. Crompton who sent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to carry them into England, which shing neither we nor our Master would see into, because we thought it not good to vnmann our ships going outwards, considering how dangerous the time was : so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the freight of that which we had taken, and for their ordnance, rozen, aquauitz, chelnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towne her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleuen of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Island we perceived that it was the Ile of Tenerif, then in deed we had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif : and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordnance to salute the towne and the castle the gouernour and capitaines of the Island sent to vs which were the capitaines of the ships, requiring vs to come a shope. And when we came to them they receiued vs very friendly, offering vs their owne Jennes to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew vs : and we went to the towne with two English Marchantes which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboard to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English
Marchantes
liggers in the
Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the roade the Spanish Fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof fixe were ships of foure hundred and fixe hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordnance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed : and I being gone vnto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furl my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboard) Francisco shewed me : and because I refused to furl it, and kept it hoist till, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot diuers harquebush shot about the ship, and ouer the flagge : and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboard our ship to see her : to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoot the best ordnance I had choosow their liues. And when they perceived that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I thew vnto the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully : and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their Generall was very coy that any man should require me to furl my flagge, and that it was without his consent : and therefore

The Spanish
West Indian
fleet of nine-
teene saile.

46 The English Voyages, Navigations, M. Wil. Towrson 3.

he requested me not to thinke any vngentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misbecome him selfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found our selues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the height of Cape Blank.

The 22 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Southward of Cape Verde.

The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and were aboord her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-South-west, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, at other we ran in South-west, and besides the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Island, and besides that two or three Islands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers sortes of sea-fowle, and of pigeons, with other sortes of land-fowles, and so many, that the whole Island was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Island had bene of chaffe; and within those Islands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eightene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceived the bay, and understanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, so far if there were any place to trade in there.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Island, where we got certaine fowles like unto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe andooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and carried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse, & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negroes came to vs, and the night before our pinnesse brought vs word that there was a very faire Island. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw upon the maine certaine Negroes which waied vs on shore, & then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, mulke, & hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others in five moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

When we perceiuing the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboord the Tyger.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, fure leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portugise, who tolde vs that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other nine moneth past. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and a quarter of golde.

The 12 we set saile to go to the riuer de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same riuer.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and deliuered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to see the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandise with vs, and went to the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was bozne in Lisbon, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this riuer in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he tolde vs further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and five weeks past there were two French ships at the riuer; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 16 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reason of the unholosome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, we determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

Rio del Oro.

Francis Castelin.

Cape Verde.

Foure Islands.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape Verde.

A faire Island where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, mulke, and hides.

Cabo de Monte.

The riuer de Sestos.

M. Will.

The 21 we went in with our

The 23 day we set saile to go to the

The 25 we set saile to go to the

The 27 we set saile to go to the

The 29 we set saile to go to the

The 31 we set saile to go to the

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The 3 day we set saile to go to the

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The 13 day we set saile to go to the

The 15 day we set saile to go to the

The 17 day we set saile to go to the

The 19 day we set saile to go to the

The 21 day we set saile to go to the

The 23 day we set saile to go to the

The 25 day we set saile to go to the

The 1st wee came to the river de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and ^{Rio de Potos,} went in with our cooke, and tooke 1 a small Elephants teeth.

The 2^d day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set sail to go towards the Mina.

The 3^d we came to Santa, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

The first Aprill we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set sail and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs untill night, and brought themselves all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came by to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by means of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leeward of vs. We cacked and came into the weather of the Admirall, and three moze of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answer. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and calling about he shot at vs, and then was shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thorow. They shot diuers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnelle, because it was night, kept out their sides, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or moze, and would not lay him aboard because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnelle kept about and came to vs, and after wards being neere the shoze, we thye kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

They desired
five saile of the
Portugals.

The night,

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboard of vs, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the end we cleared her without any moze hurt, but the was in hazard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that Iooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roomie with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had understood that they had bene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could haue no sight of them, and halled into the shoze.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set vs thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was Laguna. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shoze and tooke our Negro with vs. And on shoze we learned that there were foure French ships vpon the coast: one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Laguna: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Laguna: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

Laga

Perinnen,
Weamba,
Perecow,
Egrand,

When we had intelligence of these netues we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to wape: and having bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the French vnder saile, halting off from Weamba to whome we gaue chase, and agreed in the night for one of our shooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three leagues, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5th day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 110 tunnes, another called the Venerable of 110 small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, and appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Bauille a ship of 20 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admirall aboard, the Christopher the Vice-admirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came neere them they waped, and the Christopher being the heartiest & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge was so fast that wee could not catch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee boarded, and our men entered and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall:

The English
boarded the
Frenchman
for

for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeburge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consage together, and had bene upon the coast of Mina two moneths and odder dayes: howbeit the Roeburge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboard, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gave chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day untill theye a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therefore seeing that we brought our selves very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and hope about againe to go with the shoie.

The 7 day I sent for the capitaine, marchants & masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of every ship into the pisse to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the pisse, and would have sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired vs to save their lives in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sink the ship, and divide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the pisse, and divided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leaving them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

The 15 of April, moving our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leave the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weacher ward of this place: and if any of them both should have sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

We remained in this place called Egrand, untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke; and five of them died. And here we could have no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at vs.

The 3 of May not having the pinnelle sent vs with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we sold French cloth, and gave but three pards thereof to every fuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had bladders of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the pisse at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnelle with them, onely to carry newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don John.

The 10 day in the morning we set saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the capitaine of the Christopher came to vs, and told vs that they could find small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnelle went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine worth the tarrying for.

The 14 our great pinnelle came to vs, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her back to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a shoie with our boats, and took but one ounce of golde.

The 19 day having set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried three dayes, but took not an ounce of golde.

Fifty pounds
of golde taken
in the French
pisse.

Benin.

Our men die
of sicknesse.

At Perenine.

Mowre.

The 21 w
The 22 w
the Capitaine
with the Neg
himselfe lap.

The 23 w
John would c
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they had done, and to us

the Tyger.
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the Tyger and the Christo-

ing to doe at Perinne

into her, and sent her back
of golde.

with our boats, and took

and there we carried

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Johns towne,

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shoze, but the Negroes would not come at vs; then the Captaine of the Christopher and I took a skiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negroes, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don John himselfe lay, to aduertise him of our coming.

The great towne of Don John,

The 23 we went a shoze againe, and the Negroes tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don John would come downe: so we carried there untill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negroes made vs signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher took his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negroes came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almado, which he iudged came from the castle, and caused all the Negroes to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went a shoze andooke certaine men with him, and then the Negroes cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they saw that, theyooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shoze at Don Johns towne, andooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negroes could come to me, which caused us to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I sent one man vp to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negroes went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to vs. When we saw that, weooke twelve goats and foure ene heynes, which we found in the towne, and went aboard without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboard, I found our pinnelle come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & nine ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

Cormatin,

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shoze for ballast, and the Negroes would haue beaten the company from the shoze, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

to fight with the Negroes.

The 26 day our pinnelle came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleuen ounces of golde: and John Shirife tolde vs that the Negroes of that place were very desirous to haue a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of Iune the Tyger came to vs from Egrand, and the pinnelle from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie by to Shamima, being not able to cary any longer upon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of dyinke.

The 7 day we had sight of one of the king of Portugals ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning Iooke our small pinnelle, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure carauels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selues well shot toward Shamima, & the Tyger with vs, but the Minion & the pinnelle had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and hauing brought our selues in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to ray for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamima. At night the Minion and the pinnelle came up to vs, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather the castle, and we waited in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and she and the Christopher finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ships to haue fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to haue gone, and hearing that their owne company would accuse them, but not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnelle, which could receiue no victuals from the other shippes, but from vs onely, weooke out all our men, and put twelve Frenchmen aboard, and gave them victuals to bring them to Shamima.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamima, and the Christopher within two leagues

Notes.

leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so come, that in differene dayes we have plied to the windeward but twelue leagues, which befoze we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the capitaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accozd which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hamra, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promised to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hamra againe, but there neither the capitaine nor the Negros durst traffike with vs, but intiled vs from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them such victuals as we could spare, putting fiftene of them to the ranfome of fixe crownes a man.

The 23 of June our pinnesse came to vs from Hamra, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Capitaine thereof was become subiect to the Portugals we turned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugall chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, wherein he gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

The 25 day, about thize of the clocke at afternoone, we set sail, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shoze againe, and made our reckoning to be eightene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selues to be eightene leagues to the weatherward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the errer came current that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceived our selues so abused, we agreed to call about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

The seuenth of Iuly we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to haue sought the road to haue ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Island of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Island, and with the current were put neere the shoze, but could haue no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their sails to rowe from the Island, which did little good, but in the end the winde put us thize leagues off the shoze.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger call about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Island againe, and of putting our selues into the same danger that we were in the night befoze: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered vs with lightes againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no moze. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to call about againe for the Island, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Island of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selues directly vnder the line.

This Island is a very high Island, and being vpon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and dreight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the same South end of the Island to the Westward thereof lieth a small Island, about a mile from the great Island.

The thirde of August we departed frō the Ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the Southward.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The 13 day we fell with one of the Isles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being intimated by a Scottish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coast, that there were victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 14 day in the morning we manned our Chiffe, and went a shoze, and found no houses, but we saw fouze men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could find

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinnesse.

Shamma burnt by the English.

Their returne homeward.

The current.

S. Thome Island

The description of the Ile of S. Thome.

The Island of Salt.

none, but great store of them: but had great store.

At night the we all waped, for our going people of the Island to see.

The 24 day and the shippe was to go backe to him to take the leake, also, and we for.

The 25 we via, S. Vincent, West, South.

The 26 we had Philip Ionger, and tolde us her very weak day we could not if we could not we could disch.

The thirde day me, to view the in her, whereof the ship, agree away.

The fift day The eight day her by 25 degre.

The 27 we The fourth

The fift day were so weak for Vigo, being

The 10 day land, and feare knowing the hope of friendship make, that by Portugall know

trouble vs: and come out againe of time, and mces of obedience ring our pieces was thicke, and was gone with shot a head of v

As the time leagues North not above five a ship to seeke a

The 16 day West, & West, our mains sail and then we m

none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take above three or foure of them : but there we had good store of fish, and upon a small Island which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Upon the same Island we left the Scottish man, which was the occasion of our going along at that place, but how he was left we could not tell : but, as we judged, the people of the Island found him sleeping, and so caried him away : for at night I went my selfe to the Island to seeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboard vs, & tolde vs that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her about the water, and therefore requested vs to go backe againe to the Island, that we might discharge her, and giue her up : but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could find the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were whole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not above thirty sound men.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Isles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthoni; which foure Isles lie the one from the other North-west and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Island of S. Anthoni, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Iones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboard vs, who had beene aboard the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Island, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her : but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Island of S. Vincent and S. Anthoni, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboard the Tyger, with the Master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men : and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner : so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could saue, and then to put the ship away.

The first day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eighth day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her up 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Isles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our selues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixt day the Christopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a merry wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape : besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble vs : and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and loss of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondered, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England : the hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put forth more sailes then we in the night, and was lost a head of vs, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues North-west and by West from Cape Finister : and at the same time in our ships we had not above sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weak company for such a ship to seeke a foyren harbour.

The 16 day, about six of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the West-South-west, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, fore-saile, and byer-saile, & were forced to keepe a hilling, untill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready anolbe course of a foyre saile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding

The great inconvenience by late staying upon the coast of Guinie.

The Tyger given up.

Extreme weakness of our men.

our felues far thor into the Seaue, we bare with our owne coast; but that foze saile continued not aboute two houres, befoze it was blown from the parr with a feare, and then we were fozen to lie a hull againe, vntill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an other bonnet to our foze parr, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie,
betwixt Sierra Lioma and the furthest place of the Mine.

Mans of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of diuers sozes, but the most latten.
Pots of course tinne, of a quart and moze.
Some wedges of pyon,
Pargarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some yosse tailed.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low pryce, and some kersie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with brassen handles.
Some great brasse basons graued, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboozes.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
Some lauers, such as be for water.
Great knives of a low pryce.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe pryce, or any other chests.
Great pynes.
Course French coverings.
Packing sheets good soze.
Swordes, baggers, frise martels, and gowues, clothes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, are beads, hammers, best pieces of pyon, sleight belles, gloues of a lowe pryce, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to M. Iohn Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Benjamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyago to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

First, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to vnderstand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make to your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true eleuations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

It is thought good, that hauing a soze vpon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it should serue to great purpose: wherefoze you are especially sent to consider where the soze might be best placed, and vpon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

- 1 That the ground so serue, that is to saye to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.
- 2 That moile of earth the ground is of.
- 3 That timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.
- 4 That provision of victuals may be had in the country: and what kinde of our victuals will best serue to continue.
- 5 The place must be naturally strong, or such as may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.
- 6 How water may be provided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the soze shall stand, or neere to it.
- 7 That helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

The English
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To mouue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a foze, and to note how he will like it; but vse your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderstand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serue that you aid and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.

Worshipfull Sirs; Since the arrivall of M. Pee and Buttol Monioy (as I vnderstand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes sh; may be repaired of those hurts she hath received by the last storme: or in the moneth of January also, if the wind will serue therfoze. Wherefore for that your worshipps shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that haue perswaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertise you thereof, trusting that your worshipps will weigh them, as I vnderstand rightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I vnderstand by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these haue not bene the first that I haue abiden, neither trust I they shall be the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pee can do moze for her strengthening then I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shall stanch for men to lie vnder in: the which soze, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a shift of apparell vnder, nor yet a vnder place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afoze this slaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those leames, and become in the state she was befoze; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my iudgement, with that little experience I haue had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnreasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by means of the vnreasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby haue decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great stande of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnreasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weeping and forsaking this (as I may well terme it) calamity and vneuitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Again, forasmuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnelle in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be so small effect for this time, because I want both vessel and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and treuell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not failing out accordingly, to lose both port and water, as the proverbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, so that she of force, by want of provision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with vs a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtful, and though we met her, yet will the men not carry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worshipps might vnderstand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet vs) foure great ships, of the which one is accounted 700 tonnes, & other pinnelles: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premises: the sequell

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we presently set saile,
and them, but we came
they had gotten the castle
e profited little. In the
e the 22 in the morning
des from Don Luis, for

at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne and Pacheco minding to
traffike with vs, at which said day came two gallees rowing along the shoze from the castle, min-
ding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the gallees to the castle againe.
The *Pregon* being glad of that required vs to goe to *Moure*, which is some 3 leagues behind,
and whether would they come so? that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained
for the marchantes that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio
don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboord the *Opinion*. And the 25 in the morning came the
two gallees from the castle againe unto vs, the weather being very calme, they shot at vs and hit vs
3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shoze, at which instant we discried the ship, & the
carauell comming towards vs, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere unto them as we
could: but it was night or euer we met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them.
The next day vying to the shoze, at night we agreed to go with *Cormancin*, but the next morning
being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 gallees, hauing no wind at all,
and the carauell hard aboord the shoze. Then being calme, came the 2 gallees rowing to the sterne
of the *Opinion*, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance
happened in the *Opinions* steward-rooms by means of a barrell of powder that tooke fire, where with
were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners: which the gallees percei-
uing, began to be moze fierce vpon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that
without present remedie there was not able to beare saile, and presently vpon this the great ship
sent her boat to the gallees, who suddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went a-
board the *Opinion* to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were soze discom-
forted. Whereupon we deuised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the *Pregon*
neither would nor durst traffike so long as the gallees were on the coast: it was therefore agreed
that we should prepare our selues to depart to *Rio de Sestos*, and so we departed that day. The 14
of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it
was, and sent our boates on land to know the truth, and we found it to be *Rio de Barbos*, which
is to the Eastward of *San Andre*, and there remained in getting of water untill the 21, where
we lost the day before 5 of our men by means of ouerthrowing our blacke pinnasse. The 22 we
departed from thence to *Rio de Sesto*, where we arriued the 2 of June, and the 4 we departed
from *Rio de Sesto*, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the *Stert* in
the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weak. We haue not at this present a-
bout 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many moze very
sore hurt and sicke. *Walter Burton* hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God streng-
then him) is so weak that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall re-
ceiue a briefe of all the goods sold by vs, & also what commodities we haue receiued for the same.
Thus I leaue to trouble your worship, reseruing all things els to our generall meeting, and to
the byinger hereof. From aboord the *Opineroles* the 6 of August 1563.

Your obedient seruant

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voyage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758
pounds. Graines 22 butts full.

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for
the setting forth of a voyage to *Ginea*, with the *Minion* of the *Queens*,
the *John Baptis* of *London*, and the *Merline* of *M. Gonson*.



This meeting were these chiefe aduenturers, Sir William Gerard, Sir William
Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Caselin. Where
it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to *Deprford* to *Op. Gonson* for
his letters to *Peter Pet* to goe about the rigging of the *Opinion* vpon the *Queens*
maiesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to *Gil-*
lingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that every one of the five partners shall forthwith call vpon their partners to supply to-
wards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10 s. 6 d. for euery 100 li. value.

Also that every one of the five partners shall forthwith bying in 50 li. towards the furniture
of the premises.

Likewise it is agreed that if *Op. Gonson* giue his consent that the *Merline* shall be brought a-
board from *Bristol* to *Hampton*, that a letter be written whereunto his hand shall be, before or
after be giuen for the same,

The

Two gallees.

Moure.

Cormancin.

Speech hurt
done in the *Op-*
inion with fir-
ing a barrell of
gunpowder.

They returned.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke
pinnasse.
Rio de Sesto.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe Relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir Iohn Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I have used all possible indour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth.



The opinion
of the Queene.

After Iohn Hawkins, with the Iesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ship of 700. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordnance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the fozealle, a marvellous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand being a forsworn beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, he met the same day with the Spinon a ship of the Queene's Maisties, whereof was capitaine David Carlet, & also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who bailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine peces of ordnance for top of their meeting: which done, the Spinon departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in Mr. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at North-east about 9 of the clocke at right, and continued so 23 houres together, in which storme Mr. Hawkins lost the company of the Iohn Baptist asforesaid, and of his pinnasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being soe beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swallow, to his no small reioicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, having put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at South-west. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The King and
Prinking of the
Sperture bound
for Guinea.

The 26 day the Spinon came in also where he was, for the relaying whereof he gave them certaine peces of ordnance after the custome of the Sea for their welcome, but the Spinons men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, who at their departure from Mr. Hawkins upon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept company two daies together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the powder in the gunners roomes was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewith all lost 3 men, besides many soe burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediately to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunk before their eyes. The 30 day of the moneth Mr. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Spinon having now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anchor, and set saile on their voyage having a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of November they had sight of the Island of Madeira, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to have bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Spinon being 3 or 4 leagues a head of us kept on her course to Teneriffa, having better sight thereof then they had, and by that means they parted company.

The asforesaid Sir Iohn Hawkins passing on his voyage by Cauo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing over the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata upon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the euill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anchor without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was capitaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the sea, with certaine peces of ordnance, and we returned him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that he had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals galleies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned unto the Spinon: also, that capitaine David Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betrayed by the Negroes at their first arrivall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubtes of bringing home the ships: which was most to be full for us to understand.

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The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called The Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.



The 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Gibralt.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: so we followed our course to the Islands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Island called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres we had sight of another Island called Madera, which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat, and set master Edward Fenner captaine of the Ship Flower aboard vs, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Courise and others of the sayd Shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent vs.

The 28 day we fel with an Island called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Island, and on the East side thereof we came to an anchor in 40 fadome water, within a bafe shot of the shore, in a little Bate wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Bate and houses were distant from a little towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Bate, we might see an Island called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the Ship Flower for that she could not set into y^e road where we were at an anchor, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare more roomer fr^om the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anchor in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces, which caused her to come roomer with vs, and came at last to an anchor by vs, And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed captaine of the Ship Flower wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to understand the p^{er}mitte of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courise master of the Ship Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliver the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conueied to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as n^{er}e as they might, for setting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to the that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conueied unto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conueiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, until they had answer of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards buried himselfe, and lepte into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we receiued, And he saluted vs, and demanded what our request was: we made him answer, that by misfortune we lost the company of our Admirall, and being bound to this Island to traffique for wines and other things necessary for vs, we here mⁱⁿd to stay until he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs answer, that he would with all diligence cary it, and delivered it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and delivered it unto him, and also gave him foure reals of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answer of it, he tooke his leave and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and understood our meaning, some of them they to up their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made us very courteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we refusing them rowed backe againe aboard.

The 30 day the Governours brother of Santa Cruz came aboard the Ship Flower with six or seven Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gave them foure pieces of ordinance.

distance for a farwell, and bestowed upon them two chelines with other things.

The said Governours together promised our Captaine that hee should have sufficient pledges the morrow following, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shoze.

The first day of January our captaine sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter a shoze, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Island is a marvellous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off moze like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knownen that ever any man could goe by to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in January, as it is in England at Epiphonmer, yet is the top of the said hill winter and Sommer seldom without snow.

In this Island about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a little called Ansgona.

The third day wee departed about the Western point of the Island, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Pedro de Soules, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Island called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our coming, and we also of his sight.

In the said road we found Edward Cooke in a call ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had treacherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the said towne for our provision, 14 burs of wine, which cost 15 duckats a bur, which were vnted vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there took in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanco, which is on the coast of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanco. But having no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanco, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shoze. The land is very lowe and white sand. Upon the fall of the said coast between how you behold in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 callis of the lead you may be on ground.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanco, directing our course South and by East, & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about five leagues from the shoze. The said land seemed unto vs as if it had bene a great number of shippes vnder saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammocks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shoze, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke aske. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the bzim of the water.

Passing along this coast we might see two small round hills, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great shoze of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hills.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westernmost side of two hills in 10 fadome of water, where you may ride in five or six fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the winde off the shoze. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboard vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curfise the master, and dined aboard of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aloft, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and others of the companie went without armour: for he said, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were civil: so that hee would needs giue the venter without the consent of the rest: to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shoze, where, we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negroes naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the coming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out after wards.

There went a shoze the Admirals skiffe, and the Pay Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, John Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

They meet
their Admirall
againe.

A good naturall.

Cape Verde.

The foolish
raillures of Wil.
Bats perswas
ding the com-
panie to land
unarmed.

At their commu-
rowes: our Capta-
me demanded pledg-
men. Our 5 men
Curfise: these men

Our men being
and marchandise
and were againe,
chose very well,
marchants were co-
and in the meane
with the Negroes,
the 3 Negroes with

Our boate then
these which they
themselves sicke, &
ward percelling el-
doubting the wor-
lum. And when he
her would fetch the
boate, one of them
him and leapt into
blow a pipe, and y-
master Wormes fl-
into the Sea and st-
on shoze, and took
backes and left the
boates, that they c-
God) they got from
soned arrows: a pos-
and except the possi-
out away, hee diet
ken, wherefoever
nwap the Donachie,
meat nor drink.

The Negroes be-
liam Bats, and Lo-
the, y thereabouts.

The 20 day we
the sayd John T-
the Negro which
gris and a mantell

The cause of se-
whom they detain-
they went and set
of them. And being
ran as fast as he co-
fall downe, either
was come and fell
ers: for they choze a
grime to the towne.
called Androwes is
so) we thought he

Our Generall
thing that they
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English shippe which
game, we should
ture.

ient pledges
went not that

oze, who were

like a cloud
hath not bene
in 28 degrees
said by Min-

gona.

of 14 leagues
ules, in which
there at an an-
we set sail

our Admirall,

oppersmiths of
Cruz, upon the

of wine, which
10 buckets,

and there took in

coast of Guinea,

5 leagues from

ce, and at the fall

the land is very

2 of 10 fadome,

pp East, 8 South

s, and about five

number of shippes

some high some

3 leagues of the

two saw much fish

out a league one

nd in all our dayes

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ound is faire, and

an anker, our Ge-

was William Bar,

ward Fenner, and

rein was Capitaine

to goe along, which

me into marchants

the people were

er without the com-

being in the shippe

the where the land

landed to their loss

to them the number

of, Edward Fen-

Howard, William

41

At their coming to the shoze there were 100 Negros of vyward, with their bowes and arrows: our Capitaines and marchants talked with them, & according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tomson, & John Curiso: these were deliuered them, and we received 3 Negros into our Admirals Skiffe.

Our men being a shoze among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what wares and marchandise we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negros answered againe, they had riuet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our capitaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith sent aboard one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went ashyp, our five men were walking on the shoze with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staid in the other boat by the sea side, hauing the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselves sick, desiring to goe a shoze, promising to send other two for them. Capitaine Haward perceiuing that our men had let the Negros come a shoze, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two of three of the Negros followed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to flap him, and he made signes vnto them that hee would fetch them more vyinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue staid him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shoze beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and making Wormes sound by him, suddenly dyed the way out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the sea and swamme a shoze, and presently the Negros laid handes on our men that were on shoze, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tooke all their apparell from their backs and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our bowes, that they could scarce set hand to any Dare to rowe from the shoze, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their bowes, although many of them were hurt with their poisoned arrowes: and the poison is incurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and draw blood, and except the poison bee presently sucked out, of the place where any man is hurt hee shortly wither away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt of pyricke, whersoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh vnto the heart, and taketh away the stomache, and causeth the partie maruellously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor vyinke.

The Negros hauing used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and John Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate of skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd John Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they carried with them two harquebuses, two car-gets and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what rancome they demanded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shoze and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among foure or fiftie of them. And being come within a stons cast of the sea side, William Bats dyake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had coyne him in picke: for they tooke againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them carried our men a- gaine to the towne, and the rest shot at vs with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the final of the leg, who being come aboard, (for at that our Surgeons could not) we thought he would haue died.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent againe to them, and offered them anything that they desired for the ransom of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giving vs this answer: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before we came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and until wee did bring of send them againe, wee should not haue our men although wee would giue our three shippes with their furniture,

There is much
gold & graine,
the commodities
of Cape
Verde.

The Negros
treachery.

A French in-
terpreter for
Cape Verde.

The danger of
poisoned ar-
rowes.

The numbers
of the Negros.

The

Fenner.

e to the place
ing of our two
the Negroes,
and bring them
em. So wee
me his life had
himselfe: one
at we lost, and
s of the bignesse
rde 86 leagues,
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regue within the
neere till you be
found five or six
nt a shoare againe,
their coming he
in a paire of shoes,
ogue from vs, and
rees. And if you
doubt her most point
e the middle of the
ere is three fadome
e in the Dale to the
30 persons, which
all them there was
they haue none, &
e of his gentlemen,
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Land into Portugall
wel entertained, and
much paines for vs in
s a fish which swim-
not in this Island but
ber, and it is here al-
and brought they haue
ll with another Island
is in the midst of the
the fadome, water and
d another Island called
about five leagues out
oad, and a small towne
come to anker, and our
per fire at vs two pe-
leagues from the towne
me to an anker in 14 f

Within an houre after we had ankered we might see diuers boylemen and footmen on the land
rising and rising and running to and fro.

The next day being the 8th of February, a great companie of their boylemen and footmen
appeared on the shoare side, vpon whom our Generall sent to vnderstande whether they would
quietly traffike with them: And they sent him word againe, desiring that they might speake
with him, promising that if he came to traffike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that
he should haue anything that he or the marchants would with reason demand.

When this answer was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole
companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made re-
adies for receiving the assistance of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double bale in the
head of his pinnette, and two single bales in the head of the Shiffe, and so sent to the May-floure
and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Shiffe,
and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore boylemen or more, and two hundred
footmen ready to receive them. Our Generall marvelled that they came in so great a number
on all manner, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and
they answered him with many false promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and
that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to traffike with him, declaring also that their
Captaine was ready to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and
speake with him himselfe.

With this answer the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnette to rowe to
them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, ope-
ning their hands and knees a bowe, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much
humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchantes
to come on land to them, wherunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen
and Marchantes. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generalls contentment,
promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and
therefore desired our Generall and Marchantes to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of
their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for
their answer the next day following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his ba-
les, carriers, and baggage-busses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off five or six pieces
of great ordnance, and so came aboard to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them depar-
ted, leaving those that were left to watch and to receive the note, which about foure or five a clocke
in the afternoone was sent, and it was received. But all the purposes of the Portugals were vi-
luminously to betray vs (as shall appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friend-
ly to treat with them.

The treason of
the Portugals
in this story to
our men.

There was to the Westward of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point
set by the sea side, where they had certaine Caravels or shippes and also two Brigandines,
whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made ready foure Caravels, and both the bri-
gandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordnance as much
as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and sailing towards vs: so
that the land being high and the weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the
way close vnder the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships cal-
led the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure rode
neerer them then the other two by a bafe shotte, so that they made a sure account either to haue
taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such
vilanous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other,
and made such a noise, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they
might heare vs from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had clipped
them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordnance primed, or any other thing
in a readinesse.

They came to neere vs that they were within gunshot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to
see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which
cry we were all amazed, and straightway they shot at vs all the great ordnance that they had, and
their barquebusses, and carriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of
them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gaue a great shoute, and so
continued hallooing with great noises. Still approaching neerer and neerer vnto the May-
floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made ready one piece of ordnance and shotte

F f f

at

at them, which caused them somewhat to flap, so they charged their ordnance and shot at us fresh by againe, and while they shotte this second time at us, we had made ready three pieces which we shot at them, but they approached still so neere, that at last we might have shot a shafe arrowe to them. Whereupon we having a gale of winde off the shore hoysed our stayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towards our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at us, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to worpe away like traitorous villains, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we do to them we know not.

The Ile of
Fuego.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to flap there no longer, but immediately set sayle towards an Island called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Island of S. Iago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anchor the 12 day of this month, against a white chappell in the West end of the said Island, within halfe a league of a little towne, and within a league of the about of the detremost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a marvellous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yerres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mill.

Corton in
Fuego.

About a league from the said chappell to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Whence they have none growing here, but a certaine tree that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good beane, but they have here good store of rather beasts and goates. Their merchandise is cotton, which groweth there.

The Ile of
Braus.

They returns
sparry.

The inhabitants are Portugals which have commandement from the king to trade neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to do. There lieth off this Island another called Iha Braus, which is not passing two leagues out, it hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

The 25 day of February we departed towards the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then we might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cuervo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anchor in Cuervo quer against a village of about twelve simple houses: but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused us to payne our anchor after us, we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cuervo and cast anchor, but a storme arose and continued seven or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anchor, and after the storme was layd we came againe thinking to have recovered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoilen it: so that we accompt our selves much beholding to the honest Portugals.

April.

The 18 day of April we cooke in water at the Island of Flores, and having anchored our cable was fretted in funder with a rocke and so burst, where we lost that cable and anchor also, and so departed to our coast.

Then we set sayle to an Island named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciafa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

May.

May.

The 29 we came to an anchor in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 23 fadoms water against a little towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene wood, which by their speeches is more better then the wood of S. Michael of Tercera.

3 Portuguese
Galleys of
400 tonnes.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being detutute of a cable and anchor, our Generall caused us to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great shippe and two Caravels, which we judged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selves for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Gallies, upon her burden of foure hundred tonnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

As soone as they ping our course, and shot at us all her hurt some of our Caravels came of great shippe, and she gave us the yet notwithstanding could doe all the rest in God, and wretches.

The next day the four great Armada least 100 tonnes together came before us as soone (as we poss, so that the

Our Captaine binnace ready to and as soone as thinking to have our shippe that the being a very final Then came by sell together.

Then our shippe spore. And as they ving to fall aftern little winde, it was were come up to a head of her, so that she had her selfe a

Then came the ordnance.

The May-flower and halfe all that come, they gave

In these many they were indeed labour to repa and helpe of God

This night the shippe, and with and sende them our enemies sawe and gave us a great of els to sinke what dismayed, and booye us if given us that day first with pride.

They had made and that being

The next day which did us much

Then we directed to our own

The third day

As soone as they were within shoote of vs, they waied vs againe with their swordes, we kee-
ping our course, the greater flippie shot at vs freely and the Carauell also, and we prepared our
swords, and made all things cleare for our safeguard as neere as we could. Then the great shippie
shot at vs all her broad side, and her foure greatest peece that lay in her sterne, and there with
hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other
Carauells came off the shoare, and two other pinnelles full of men, and deliuered them aboord the
great shippie, and so went backe againe with two men in a peece of them. The ship and the Ca-
rauell gaue vs the first day three sights, and when the night was come they left off shooting,
yet notwithstanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee
could doe all the night to mend our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our
trust in God, and resolving our selues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such
wretches.

At night the
two were one
English ship
and 7 Portugall

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aie the said Portugals
four great Armadoes of Carauells more which made seven, of which 4 three of them were at the
least 100 tunnes a peece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these
together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauells came to lay
us aboord (as we imagined) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that pur-
pose, so that the Gallias came by in our harbour side, and the Carauell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and Master perceiving their presence, caused our gunners to make all our or-
dinance ready with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haile shot: so the ship and Carauell came up,
and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at vs as much ordinance as they could,
thinking so haue layde vs presently aboord: whereupon we gaue them such a heate with both
our sides, that they were both glad to fall aserne of vs, & so paused the space of two or three houres
being a very small gale of winde.

Then came up the other five and shot all at vs, and so fell all aserne of vs, & then went to coun-
sell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great
space. And as the Portugall shippes and Carauells were coming to vs againe, our barke min-
ning to fall aserne of vs and so to come up againe, fell quickly upon the lee, and by reason of the
little winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippie and Carauell
were come up to vs, and the falling in among them made reasonable strife with them, but they got
a head of her, so that she could not fetch vs: then 5 of the Carauells followed her, but we saw the de-
scend her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippie and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their
ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof
and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was
come, they gaue over their fight and followed vs all the night.

In these many fights it could not other wise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as
they were inderde) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much spoiled: yet for all this we did our best
indour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie
and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vs to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and
spoiles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to boyle out their boate
and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when
our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came by to vs againe
and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and whooping, making accompe either to booyde
us or els to sinke us: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see vs any
whit dismayed, when they halloved we halloved also as fast as they, and waied to them to come
and booyde us if they durst, but that they would not, seeing us still so couragious: and hauing
giuen us that day foure sights, at night they forooke vs with shame, as they came to vs at the
first with pride.

The 7 Portugall
depart with
shame from
one English
ship.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed,
and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs fire men in her boate
which did vs much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of June we were
neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard.

The third day we had sight of a shippie which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his
coming

So being mounted upon the Jenner, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire Stride upon the Sea-side where was a tent provided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkeie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordnance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other convenient tents for my servants.

The Souldiers environed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towards night, Iooke my horse and traueled ten miles to the first place of water that we could find, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traueled till end of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traueled as long as day light would suffer about a 6 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traueled in like order but eight and thentie miles at the most, and by a River being about six miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediately after came all our English marchants, and the French on horse backe to meete me, and before night there came an Alcaide from the king with little men, & two mules laden with victuall and banker, for my supper, declaring vnto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Spaetie, and that his pleasure was I should be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meeet me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

About seuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traueled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good will of themselves: for some of them although they spake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not deuise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Spaetie, and her Realme.

His counsellors met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sat in his chamber with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Spaeties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Spaetie great thanks, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundment, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellors to conduct mee to my lodging, not bring farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being dailly well furnished with all kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I thoroughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Spaetie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to vize her Spaetie with any demaundes, more then conveniently hee might willingly consent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better serued with lackes, then hee in comparison from vs.

Further he gaue me to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maiesty of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Angustion that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how little account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maiestie of England.

In Barbary they have no fumes but the lodge in open houses where they can find water.

The singular humancie of the king to use Ambassadors.

The Spaniards and Portugales were constrained by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadors.

The king of Spaine sought to disfigure the Queene & her Ambassadors.

We shall not come to my presence as you have done, and shall daily: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message.

After the end of this speech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Puscians as he had.

The king of
Barbarie sent
into England for
Puscians.

Then I presented him with a great bafe Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Puscians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to please them, and that I did not doubt but upon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with prouision of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conscience wherein he bygeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift be-
stowed vpon
our Ambassa-
dours.

The same night being the first of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a shooe bagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabbath day he did let me rest. But on the monday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musike. Likewise on the tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a like bed complaining of a soze leg: yet after long conference he walked into another chamber, whereas hauing a faire banketing-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboard the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eightene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewen me his hozes and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his soze legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

Iune.

The officers of
the king to our
English mers-
chants.

The 13 of Iune at five of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subjects map with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prizes and to make sales as occasion should serue, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

Like wise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thozow the straites into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turkes dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well liking of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captiues, shall be sold within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercoure & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his maiesty to haue special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found little store of salt-petres in readinesse in Iohn Bampton's handes. He answered me that I should haue all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

A good pro-
fit.

The eightene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewen me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I moued him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and

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The 23. day
and Alcayde
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the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerion, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompes and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammer, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoure, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I presented two bills of Iohn Bampton which he had made for prouision of Salt-peter: also two bills for the quiet traffique of our English Marchants, and bills for sugars to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I moued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not attend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre vpon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter. That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the duke.

The Thursday I was appointed to vray the 300. kinetals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of Iuly, I got the King to forgive all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me vpon Sunday.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Vpon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that vpon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

So the Friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & where as motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demands which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the priuileges which were on the behaile of our English marchants requested, were with great fauour and readinesse yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iewes there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

And touching the priuate affaires increased vpon betwixt her Maiestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maiesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my seruice performed.

The Emperour of Marocco his priuileges to the English.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Iohannes Thomas Freigius in Historia de cado Sebastiani Regis Lusitania.



Venerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrarat, Comiti Indiarum: qui cum Vissiponem tribus instructis nauibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promissit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum diuisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eosque ducebat Aluarus Perezus de Tauara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Indiarum, &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prelio ceciderunt, fuerunt, preter regem Sebastianum, dux de Auero, Episcopi Conimbricensis & Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Indiarum, Christophorus de Tauara, & plures alij. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

There came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent vnder the conduct of the Marques of Ireland: who being arrived at Lisbon with three tall ships,

Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully induced to this title.

ships proffered his service to the king, and promised to attend upon him in the warres, &c.
He divided the whole Armie into 4. squadrons: upon the right wing Rood the first Squadron, consisting of men tightly armed of skirmishers and of the soldiers of Fangier, General of whom was Don Alvaro Perez de Távora: the left of noble Squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, under the command of the Marques of Ireland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slain in this battell (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Aveiro, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Ireland sent by the Pope as his Com-military general, Christopher de Távora, and many others. cap. 13.

It is further also to be remembered, that divers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slain; and among others Sir Christopher Lyster was taken captive, and was there long detained in miserable servitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his many good parts being in the yeere 1586, employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Sireighs of Magellan for the South sea, as a Captain, (wherein he showed singular resolution and courage) and appointed after ward in divers places of special command and credit, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize upon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the prouince of China learned through the Portugals there imprisioned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

Fuquien

Cinco.

Canan.

Chequeam.

Xuriamu.

Chelin.

Quianci, or,
Quinzi.

Pachin.

This land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdom by it selfe, but these many yeeres they have bene all subject unto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquico, the other seven are reasonably great, the best known whereof unto the Portugals is Cincoo, in respect of a certaine haven lying therein, whither in time past they were wont for merchandise to resort.

Canan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer unto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discovered by the Portugals before any other shire in that prouince: this shire hath in it seven Cities.

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey towne therein are too too many to be spoken of. The fourth shire is called Xuriamu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other towne therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I will say nothing.

The fifth shire hath name Chelin: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was heretofore of ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, until the whole region became one kingdom.

The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principall Citie thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceived that the standing of Quinzi more neere unto Liampo then to Cincoo or Canan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinzi shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Vrnan, the 11. Sichua. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. have, were are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the towne therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China, proportionally be compared with mightie kingdoms.

In the one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Turan, as you would say, a governour, and a Chian, who is a vizier, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see iustice exactly done. By these means so brightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed Countreies in all the world.

The king himselfe dwelleth above in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language,

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as by the name thereof I am advertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that under five monethes you are not able to traualle from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder thre monethes in poste at your best businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are litle of body, but swift of foote. Many doe trauelle the greater part of this journey by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Rivers commobious for passage from one Citie to another.

The King notwithstanding the hugeness of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that every Poone, for by the Poones they reckon their monethes) he is advertised fully of what soever thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole prouince being diuided into thire, and ech thire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawn in euery chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth euery Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once euery moneth arrive one Poste out of the thire. Who so cometh befoze the new moone sayeth for the deliuey of his letters until the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. thires againe.

Befoze that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to passe throughe many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited nere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shall see some Towne, borough or holtyr, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue civilly. Neuerthelesse such as dwell abrode are verypoor, for the multitude of them euery where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer seene in Portugal nor else where. I haue one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefoze these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the sea water increaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engaued after the maner of Rome-wozkes. But that we did most maruillie at was there withall the hugeness of the stones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did see many set vp in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to litle purpose, where as no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, banded with sundry stones set together: but paued, as it were, whole stones reaching from one pillar to another, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serue also for the high way. I haue bene allowed to beholde the hugeness of the aforesaid stones: some of them are six. paces long and upward, the least 12. good paces long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paued with fouresquare stone, except it be where for want of stone they vse to lay byckes: in this voyage wee traualled ouer certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paued then in the plaine ground. This causeth vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foode of ground is left vnfilled: small flocks of cattell haue we seene this day, we saw onely certayne oxen wherewithall the countrey men do plow their ground. One ore draweth the plough alone, not onely in this thire, but in other places also, wherein is greater flocks of cattell. These countrey men by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good merchandise throughtout all China. The dungfarmers seek in euery streete by exchange to buy this durty ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of beemes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennies are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennies flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two fo of their money, that is, 5. ob. sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquico and farther off from the sea-coast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape: We haue had in all the Cities we passed throughe, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants wherof eat neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for

for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chinese are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on porke, which, the latter it is, is unto them the lesse loathsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I have set downe, better cheape than you sometimes buy them for the great plenty thereof in this Countrey. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other unclean meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially nere vnto the gates, the which are marvellously great, and covered with iron. The gatch: uses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls upward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their townes is in the mighty walles and ditches, artillery haue they none.

The Streets in Cincio, and in all the rest of the Cities we haue scene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderful to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely erected, the which are layd with stone: in each side of the Streets are pentiles or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the Streets is neuertheless such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously shoe by shoe. As they ride they must needs passe vnder many high arches of triumph that crosse ouer the Streets made of timber, and carued diuersly, covered with tiles of fine clay: vnder these arches the Persers do better their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue these arches at their doozes: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louceas. I will first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Louceas is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Louceas. And for that amongst them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principalls, being not able to aduertise you of all.

The manner how gentlemen are created Louceas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commandment of the king. The name Louceas is more generall & common vnto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louceas as doe serue their prince in weightie matters for iudice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, reueliers and such like, whereof there be in euery citie, as also in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Louceas are serued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue said, into 13. shires, in euery shire at the least is one gouernour called there Turan, in some shires there be two.

Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or iudges, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Turans themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Fewer is lesse in euery shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boioughs and towne no: well to be numbred, these visitors where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do iudice there: finally busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of Louceas, whereof moze shalbe said in another place.

ouer and besides these officers, in the chiefe Citie of each one of these aforesaid 13. prouinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings reuenues. And althoate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasurer of the reuenues in that prouince, & to send these reuenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he not without doing by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iudice.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiasfi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of iudice. Who although he be somewhat inferiour in dignitie vnto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iudice, whosoever seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might iudge this Anchiasfi to be the greater.

Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taisiu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Each one of these Magistrates aforesaid map both lay euill doers in prison, & deliuer them out againe, except by fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet all together. And if the deed deserueth death, all they together cannot

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Anchiasfi, or, Heasfi.

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determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the Chian wherefoever hee be, o? to the Turan:
and oftentimes it faileth out, that the case is referred vnto higher power. In all Cities, not onely
chiefe in each shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do studey
at the prince his charges, wherefo? at the peeres ende they resort vnto the head Cities, whither
the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudge-
ment o? the prisoners.

The Chians go in ciuile euery yere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete
not but from three peeres to three peeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them
to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe and were accordingly, and
be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and
girde, whereby they are known to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by
the king. Their examination done, and trial made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont
to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vnto banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chi-
neans fashion is to end all their pleasures with eating and drinke) and so remaine chosn to do
the king seruice in matters of learning. The other examiners founde insufficient to p?ceed
are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceived to come of negligence and
defaile, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yere when this
kinde of ac?e was, we found many thus punished, and demanding the cause thereof, they saide it
was for that they knew not how to answere vnto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see
how these Louteas are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shire
they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto iudice tremble thereat. At their being in these pla-
ces, when they list to mooue, be it but euen to the gate, these seruitors doe take them vp, and carry
them in seats of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for
their owne businesse abroad, o? to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office
they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seats is
thiered by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not,
for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue also in their company cer-
taine Sergeants with their staves either siluered o? altogether siluer, some two, some foure, o-
ther five, other eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The moze p?ncipall and chiefe Louteas
haue going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staves, and a great many catch-
poules with rods of Indich canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being pauced, you may
heare as farre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellows serue al-
so to apprehend others, and the better to be known they weare siluered girdles, and in their
caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine cables hang-
vnto staves endes, wherein is written in siluer letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea,
whom they follow. In like maner they haue borne after them hatters agreeable vnto their titles:
if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be pealow:
but if he be of the better sort, then may he haue two, three, o? foure: the p?ncipall and chiefe Lou-
teas may haue all their hats pealow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The Lou-
teas for warres, although he be but meane, may not withstanding haue pealow hats. The Turans
and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this before them leade three o? foure ho?les
with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eat their meate sitting
on stools at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanly, although they vse neither table-clothes
nor napkins. Whatsoeuer is set vnto the boord is first carued before that it be brought
in: they serue with two sticks, restraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we
do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. As is the nation only
curst at meate, but also in conuersation, and in courtell they seeme to errede all other. Likewise
in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they saue passe all other Gentiles and
Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best furs that may be
found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it
be racing and drinke. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot
at pikes with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other do
dye to shoot. The pike is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath
of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Cassack, the which is knit about his head: in this
sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full retorne home againe. The
inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and as we
are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at euery word, *Then Tansoo*, that is to say, The hea-
uens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for
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none are bound moze to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the same place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they vp the image of a certaine Loucea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the diuel much moze highly painted then we doe vs to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to pray for losses: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answer that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becometh a diuel if hee haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same diuel changeth him into a beaust, or a dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, so him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They haue mozeouer another sort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and also on the walls do stand many toles well proportioned, but bare headed: these beare name Omichofon, accomptes of them spirits, but such as in heauen do neither good nor euill, thought to be such men and women as haue chastly liued in this world in abstinance from filth and flesh, fed onely with rice and salates. Of that diuel they make some accompt: for these spirits they care little or nothing at all. Again they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall blessings, but if hee do euil, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good vnto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our manner of praying especially pleased them, and truly they are well pough disposed to receive the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perissh not for want of helpe.

Our manner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought vs to write for them somewhat as concerning heauen, the which we did so their contentation to such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do the idolatry they laugh at themselves. If at any time this countrey might be toynd in league with the kingdome of Portogale, in such wise that free access were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone conuerted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomitie, a vice very common in the manner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: As I said, the countrey were toynd in league with vs.

Furthermoze the Louceas, with all the people of China are wont to solemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one another, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their dayes in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like manner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was bozne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the manner which the Chincians doe obserue in doing of iustice, that it may be known how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be moze bounden then they to deale iustly and in trueth. Because the Chinich king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome so great, & the shires so many, as tofowe it hath bene said: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Sherriffes, be appointed to suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermoze to keepe the state in moze securitie, the Louceas that gouerne one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leaue their wiues, children and goods, carrying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their coming whether they doe finde in a reasonable all things necessary, their house, furniture, seruants, and all other things in such perfection and plenty, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well serued without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louceas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferior Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louceas haue the managing of iustice, and receiuing of rents, bound to paye an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no euil rule kept in the Cities: ech one as it becometh him.

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Generally all these doe imprison malefactours, cause them to be whipp'd and racked, keeping them by and within by the armes with a cord, a thing very vsuall there, and accompanied no shame. These Loureas do the great diligence in the apprehending of theues, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape at all in any City, towne or village. Upon the seauers: but the shoare many are taken, and sooke there: as they are taken, so be they first whipp'd, and afterward layde in prison, where they after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there was of them aboue the scope and ten. If happily any one, hauing the means to get food, do escape, he is let with the condemned persons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in such wise as he ordereth to shalbe said.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipp'd lieth grouelous on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes shew a great deale of blood, 20, or 30, spoile the flesh altogether, 50, or 60, will require long time to be healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Loureas obserue moreover this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence neuer so great. Thus do they also behaue themselves with vs: for this cause amongst them can there be no false witness, as easily amongst vs it falleth out. This good cometh thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the euidence, and heare witnesses, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossas, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heauen, by the Moon, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuertheless they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be used of any one, by and by with the least euidence he is torment'd, so be the witnesses be hyngeth, if they tell not the truth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleueed without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the truth by force of torment and whips. Besides this other obserued of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his aboue keepeth them so lowe, that that they dare not once stirre. Again, these Loureas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of flatterers they haue, not trusting any others, do write all great processees and matters of importance themselves. Moreover one vertue they haue worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so well regarded and accounted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue measure in giuing audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the vsuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs so patiently, that they caus'd vs to wonder, knowing specially how little any advocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For wheresoever in any towne of Chysendome should be accused unknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would haue: but we in a brachet Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great aduersaries cast into prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and honour for not doing iustice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murder is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proued, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theues and murderers are imprisoned, as I haue said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happily escape by bribing the Gaoler to giue him meate, his processe goeth further, and cometh to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the prisoner is brought in publicke with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose by therein, nailing the boord fast together: one handfull of the boord standeth by behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the felon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do live. The boord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & kee letting them to eat & comodiouly, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, so that in fine there is no remedy but death.

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are broughed immediately before the Turan, who put of hand giueth sentence. Other not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a year in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. The cruell be- fore by the king, the chest is 6. handfule high, the prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the couer of the chest is two boozes, amide them both a piller-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to moue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he bodeeth at a hole in the bottom of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole iourney: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do lodge or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried fto Cinceo, 7. daies iourney, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, & their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquico, we came many times abroad, & were broughed to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked vs of our Country, and our fashions, & did write every thing, for they be curious in nouelties about measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were broughed abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquico is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seme by the breadth thereof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with hyck & couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwell therein. The staires they vse are so easily made, that one may go them vp and downe a horse-backe, as if soones they do: the streets are paued, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, every one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner every artisan painterh out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth vpon water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serue for streets to the cities vse.ouer the streames are lundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made leuel with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the channells are so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barge they haue, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed vp with gates, so do they shut vp all the gates of the City. These fire ames and barges do ennobly very much the City, and make it as it were to seme another Venice. The buildings are euen, wel made, high, not lofely, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a woild to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built euen, as I haue said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the coming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in euery shire for his gouernors, as I haue erst said, standeth a tower built vpon 40. pillers, each one whereof is but one stone, each one 40. handfule of spans long: in breadth of compass 12, as many of vs did measure them: Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seme impossible to worke them: they be more ouer to iouere, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

We are wont to call this country China, and the people Chincans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderstood vs not when we called them Chincans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chincans, wherefoze I prayd them that they would tel me, for what occasions they are so called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, y they haue no such name, nor curt had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answer being asked of other nations what countrymen they were: It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al vnder one, each kingdom neuertheless enioyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the prouinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China vnto Chincans, is not heard of in y country. I thinke that the neerhess of another prouince therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants thereof Cochincelles, first discovered be- fore China was, lying not far from Malacca, did giue occasion to each of the nations, of that name Chincans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Ggg 2

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Parai

Tamen the
proper name
of China.

I have heard moreover that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallasce, covered alwayes, except it be on some of their festiual daies, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, covered neuertheless as it is, all the nobilitie of the City come to doe it every day reverence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallasces of the Ponchiafimi, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reverence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

I have likewise understood that the City Paching, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going backwarde pale. In the suburbs be many walled marchmays of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was mooted about, and in the mores great floze of fish, whereof the king maketh great games.

the marchants of all sorts. They too made great gains, great store of filth, whereof the king maketh great gaine. It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battell withall, belies the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Nevertheless their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding to whom ship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding to whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where the might see them all, and looke to whom she liked best, was to be married, stood in a place where the might see them all, and looke to whom she liked best, him she chose to husband, and if happily he were of a base condition, she became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obserueth in the marriage of his sonnes.

They haue moreouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to maruelle at them be-
ing Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer
saw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this: answered it was, that in euery
City there is a great circuite, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke,
not able to trauaile for age, nor having any other meanes to liue. These folke haue in the afore-
said houses euer plenty of rice during their times, but nothing else. Such as be receiued into these
houses, come in after this manner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to
the Ponchiaffi, and prouing that to be true be twelfth, he remaineth in the afore said great lodging
as long as he liueth: besides this he keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore
be relieved without going a begging.

as long as he liueth: beides this they are not troubled with any sickness, but are
be relieved without going a begging.

I said before that China was full of riuers, but now I minto to confirme the same aneto: for
the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were
so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very
deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keepe it good
after this manner. Where the riuers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of
boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are
so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serue they for other then to take small fish. By the riuers
they make leynes of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfulls under water, and one above
to keepe and nourish their fish in, vntill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing
for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they car
their fish by and downe the riuier, euery day reuoluing the chest with fresh water, and selling their
fish in euery City, towne and villiage where they passe, vnto the people as they neede it: most of
them haue net leynes to keepe fish in alwayes for their prouision. Where the greater boates
cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well
watered, there is so great plenty of diuers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: althowgh we
were amazed to behold the manner of their prouision. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the
dung of Buffes and oren, that greatly fattereth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and
April at what time we saw them do it, neuerthelesse they told vs that they fished at all times, for
that usually they do feed on fish, wherefore it becometh them to make their prouision continually.
After we had passed Fouquien, we went into Quicin River, where the fine clay vessel is made,

When we had passed Fouquen, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay becometh
as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built upon the foote of a hill,
whereby passeth a river navigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on
each side of the river we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of
merchandise, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other ne-
cessaries. Going downe this river Southward, we were glad that wee were neere unto a wa-
ter Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight
dayes, for our iourney lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we

Pochan, OJ,
Pachin.

**Chet and
Iris.**

Marriage of the king children

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came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicim, wherein alwayes remaineth a Turan,
that is a gouernour, as you haue seene, though some Turans do gouerne two of these shires.

That Turan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was bozne in this
Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien shire: nothing it auailed him to be so great an officer. This
Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talk of his
death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citty Quanche whither we came,
the river was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so little where weooke water, that
we needed small boates. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to rotnere the walls with
the streame, we came at noone to a bidge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two
mightie cheines. There stayed we vntill it was late, but we saw not one go either by thereon or
downe, except two Loucas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe
there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bidge opened in many pla-
ces, and barges both great and small to the number of fife hundred began to passe: those that
went by the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the
bidge, then was it shut up againe. We heare say that every day they take this order in all princi-
pall places of marchandise, for paying of the Customs vnto the king, specially for salt, whereby of the
greatest reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bidge
where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To
say the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are used certaine iron instru-
ments. The bidge consisteth of 12. barges, there stayed we vntill the evening that they were
opened, forsomuch as oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see vs, so many in number,
that we were enforced to go asloe from the banke vntill such time as the bidge was opened: how-
beit we were neuertheless thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in o-
ther Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate vpon vs, that it was
needfull to withdraw our selues: yet were we here much more molested for the number of peoples
this bidge is the principall way out of the Citty vnto another place so well inhabited, that were
it walked about, it might be compared to the Citty. When we had shot the bidge, we kept along
by that by the walls vntill we came to another bidge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great
deale then that other bidge ouer the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two
nages with more quiet, being out of the plesse of the people. These rivers do meet without at
one toger point of the Citty. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all
thought them at the least to be about three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser
river, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language
Parai, that serue for the Turan, when he taketh his voyage by other rivers that toyne with this,
towards Pachim, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erl said, all this
Country is full of rivers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found
some chambers set forth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and
all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Quicim shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that side we kept at our
sted entry chereinto, traupling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. At king what
people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theenes & men of a strange
language. And because that vnto sundry places neere this river the mountaines doe appproch,
whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into
Quicim shire. To guard this river whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught
with salt, fish pouyed with peper, and other necessities for that countrey, they do lay in diuers pla-
ces certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night on both
sides of the river, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though
the raueniers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the least thirtie, in some
two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept usually vntill you come to the
Citty Onchio, where continually the Turan of this shire, and eke of Canzan, maketh his abode.
From that Citty upward, where the river waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous,
there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with
merchandise, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I
did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so little of their secte, that
they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am
a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines
lesh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinith
Cities

Alas Cerechi.

The Kings
reuenues.

Parai.

Fish pouyed
with peper.

Great things
comming
from the
North.

Cities the reliques of Mahomer are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellows be, I enquirement my selfe of them, and learned the truth.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted unto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a little Towne standing in the haurns this family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, every one to worship and follow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heed thereto, untill such time as the Moores perceiving that many followed them in superstition, and that the Lourea favoured them, they began to forbid wholly the eating of swines flesh. But all these countrey men and women choosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leave off eating of porke, by no means would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do live thereby: and therefore the people complained unto the Mogistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Lourea against their king. In this countrey, as no suspicion, no not one traitorous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily aduertised thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Lourea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaves unto the king. To this City came by happy nien and women therscope and odde, who at this day are brought to fine men and feure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundred, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, haue their Moscheas, whereunto they all resort every Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whilst they doe live that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines fleshy, and yet many of them doe eate thereof piously. They tell mee that their native Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, whereof many kings, and the Indish countrey well knowne unto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our seruants (our seruants were Preuzarees) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded vpon the Persian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderstand them. I asked them whether they converted any of the Chinifh nation vnto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they converted the women with whom they doe marry, persuading me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselves do laugh when they do their idolatry.

I haue learned moreover that the Sea, whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to traualle, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leauing on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes to ward the South: and of all likelihood it is euery so, because that these Moores, the which we haue seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shew themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neerer to Pachin, where the riuers are frozen in the winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe ouer them.

We did see in this Citty many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes.ouer them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Cattles continually kepe with shouldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chinese, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, untill the second yeere of our Empire. The Mogores be in like manner white, and heathen, we are aduertised that of our side they border vpon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee sawe in them some tokens, as their manner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine beames of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North parts, as many times I haue heard say, confining with Germanie.

As for the Brames we haue seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, hauing as yet her haire tied vp after the Pegues fashion: this woman and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them wel enough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we

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ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, foze that her countrey was not
distant from thence aboute fure dayes Iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way foze
vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first thre daies the way lieth
ouer certaine great mountaines & wildernesse, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence
two dayes Iourney moze to the Brames countrey. Wherefoze I doe conclude, that Chenchu is
one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alrea-
die faid, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the prouince
of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campa, and Cochinchina.

This citie, chiefe of other streene, is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things ne-
cessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, foze it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much floze,
that the market places are neuer emptye. The walles of this citie are very strong and high:
one day did I see the Loureas thereof go upon the walles to take the viewe thereof, bozne in their
seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of hoylemen that went two and two:
It was tolde me they might haue gone thre & thre. We haue scene mozeouer, that within this
aboyefayde Citie the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in
diuerse partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houles, that they
may be knowne, foze that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neere-
nesse in blood vnto the king, as soone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place
neither increaseth noz diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth
them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundan-
tly, as he doth to his gouernours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long
as he liueth any charge of gouernement at all. They giue themselves to eating and drinkeing,
and be foze the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we
had not scene before, we might knowe him to be the King his collin. They be neuertheless
very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time we were in
that citie, so much honour and good intertainment any where as at their hands. They bid vs
to their houles to cate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to goe with
them, they bid our seruantes and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstand-
ing the good lodging these Gentlemen haue, so conuoluous that they want nothing, yet are they
in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, where-
foze the king doth his collins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and
thus he shutteth them vp in thre or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and
to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe
liue be fozebloden that instrument, the Curtysans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musi-
cians and can play.

This king furthermore, foze the greater securitie of his Realme and the auoyding of tumultes,
lettereth not further in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Danie great
estates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Loydlike, and doe beare the
port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they
haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well prouid-
ed foze, as afterward also lodged at the kings choyces, and in pension as long as they liue,
payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed foze that pur-
pose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue scene, except it be such
as be of his blood. A Nephew like wife of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually
within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, euen as his other collins do,
remayning alwayes within doozes, serued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters.
On their festiual dayes, new moones, & full moones the magistrates make great banquets, and
so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is
walled about, the wall is not high but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals
of Goa, the outlide is painted red, in euery square a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of tim-
ber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high
streets no Lourea, be he neuer so great, may passe on hoylebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst
this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, al-
though we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house are glazed greene,
e the greater part of the quadrangle set with sauage trees, as Oks, Chestnuts, Cypress, Pine,
apples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are
kept Stags, Oren, and other beasts, foze that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue
sayd. One preheminece this citie hath aboue the rest where we haue bene, & that of right, as we
do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through
euery

Southward
from Chenchu
to the sea.

Auains.

Chenchu.

Goa is a city of
the Portugals in
the East Indies.

private matters appertaining to religion are decided. The sects of their clergy men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation of authority except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe give benefices unto inferior ministers, and doo grant licences for many things as to eat flesh upon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like privileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisdom and learning, made in Japan for his genery and birth, hath so large a Dominion and revenues so great, that euen so he beareth the petty Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This Gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forsaking of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in wooden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed ouer with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambears much like unto a Bishopps Mitre, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Japan the diuerse titles of honour, whereof in that Island is great plentie, each one particularly known by his badge, commonly seene in sealing by their letters, and daily altered according to their degrees. About this Vo euery Noble man hath his Solicitor, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they strue among themselves who may vnder him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any revenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Japan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath bene already said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemy vnto peace and quietness, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Judge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuersie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish reles, wherein he may commaund the noble men to assist him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuertheless at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuersies are decided either in the Temporal Court, as it seemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebels are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, where soeuer he be, is advertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the Messenger whether it may bee lawfull for him to kill himselfe: the which ying when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparell and launcing his booy a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserue them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his seruants, and friends home to his house, to preserve his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Judge, who first setteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, untill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Island, as Cangozima a hauentowne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Island. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Iaponish. In Meaco are said to be ninetie thousand houses inhabited and upward, a famous Vniuersitie, and in it five principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other five notable Vniuersities there be in Japan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure haue in them at the least three thousand & five hundred scholars: in the last are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and possessed with five princes, the whereof are vassals vnto the first, yet he himselfe subiect vnto the Iaponish king, usually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholles there be many in diuers places of this Islands. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Island, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters than famous travellers. For confirmation whereof, as also

Petrus Massius
de rebus Japo-
nicis.

for the knowledge of other things not conceived in the premises, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late conveniently made latine, by Petrus Massius my olde acquainted friend, entreating the same, De rebus Japonicis. One whole letter out of the sife booke thereof, specially treating of that countrey. I have done into English words for words in such wise as followeth.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Iesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

The last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote unto you from Hirado, how Cosinus Turrianus had appointed me to traualle to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the barus was great, the labourers few, and that I should haue for my companion in thatourney Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended so long a voyage, to signifie vnto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Iapans manners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me vpon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretect of religion, that craftie auersary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pittie this Nation.

The inhabitants of Iapan, as men that neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in these Geography diuised the whole world into three parts, Iapan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Iapans receiued out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they neuertheless concerne all other nations in comparison of themselves, and standing in their owne conceits doe far preferre themselves before all other sorts of people in wisdom and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the sople, vnto the things estloones erst written, this one thing I will adde: in these Islands, the Sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come forth except they breake vnto the eiles. Whiche winde most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Iapans dread such kind of feares like of nothing at all. The countrey is full of silver mines: other wise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slothfulness of the inhabitants: howbeit Oren they keepe and that for tillage take quely. The ayre is wholesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with scrow and teares, estloones rooting vnto with pins, as all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a little behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare baggers and swords, the which they vse to lay vnder their pillows when they goe to bed: in their courtrous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Pens apparell diuersely coloured vnto a wozone downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made handsomely like vnto a halle, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and cheste they doe eschue. The marchant, althoughe he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer so poore, retaineth their places most precisely they stande vpon their honour and worthinesse, ceremoniously striuing among themselves in courtliness and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want, though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their instances vnto them, especially girles, so many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other like wise of meane calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom althoughe they haue issue, yet for a trifle they diuozle themselves from their wives, and the wives also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much used among them. In great towne most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their vsuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea sles fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they vse great diligence, especially in dining one to another, in such that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe vse to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouths with little forks, or counting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they drinke water and

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hot as they may poſſibly abide it. Their houſes are in danger of fire, but ſurely made and cleane, laye all ouer with matting-pallets, whereupon they doe both ſle in ſtread of ſtooles, and lie in their cloathing rich beſet with their heads. For feare of deſtroying theſe pallets, they goe either bare-footed without ſhoes, or wear ſtraw pantofles on their buſkins when they come abroad, the which they lay aſide at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the moſt part do paſſe the night in banketing, muſicke, & vaine diſcourſes, they ſleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacia there is good ſtope of beads, but they be very little, and may be compared vnto our pears.

In byrting vp their childzen they ſle woyn onely to rebuke them, admoniſhing as diligently and aduertiſing hopes of free of ſeuē yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine ſtrangers, of whom moſt curiouſly they loue to aſke euen in trifles what ſoſtaine nations doe, and their ſaſhions. Such arguments and reaſons as be maniſeſt, and are made plain with examples, doe greatly perſwade them. They deſeſt all kinde of theft, whoſoeuer is taken in theſe fault may be ſaine freely of any bodie. No publike priſons, no common gaules, no ordinary Iudges: priuately each houſholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne houſe, and the puniſhing of greater crimes that deſerue death without delay. Thus vniſſally the people liue in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres paſt (as in their olde recozdes we finde) all Iapan was ſubiect vnto one Emperour whole royall ſeat was Meaco, in the Iaponiſh language called Cubucama. Due the nobilitie rebelling againſt him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greateſt part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remaneth and the reſidue in ſome reſpect doe make great account of him ſtill, acknowledging him for their ſuperior. Thus the Emperour of Iapan, in times paſt but one alone, is now diuiſed into ſixtie ſix kingdomes, the onely cauſe of ciuill warres continually in that Iſland, to no ſmall hinderance of the Goſpell, whilſt the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one courting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermoze in the citie Meaco is the pallice of the high prieſt, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his houſe 366 Idoles, one whereof by courſe is euery night ſet by his ſide for a watchman. He is thought of the common people to be holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe ſet one foot to the ground, he looſe his office. He is not ſerued very ſumptuouſly he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his miniſters are ſhauen, they haue name Cangues, and their auctoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama ſendeth them for Embaſſadoys to decide controuerſies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeeres ſince of there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to interate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguazo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cauſe moze then the other, brought to paſſe that the ſoſeyayn king of Bungo ſhould keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguazo. Wherefoze he had for his reward of the king of Bungo about 30000 ducats. And thus farre heretof.

But his
almes are be-
ry good.

I come now to other ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, that you may ſee, deare hetheren, that which I ſaid in the beginning, how ſubtilly the deuill hath deuised the Iaponiſh nation, and how diligent and ready they be to obey & worſhip him. And firſt, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Chriſt our Redeemer, but alſo of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and utterly abſiſhed out of the Iapans hearts. Moreover their ſuperſtitious ſectes are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him beſt: but the principall ſectes are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaſians. Wherefoze in this countrey ſhall you ſee many monaſteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but alſo of Bonzii women diuerſly attired, for ſome doe weare white vnder, and blacke vpper garments, other goe appareled in aſh colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from theſe the Amidanes differ very much. Again the men Bonzii ſo; the moſt part dwell in ſumptuous houſes, and haue great reuenues. Theſe fellows are chaſte by commauement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the miſt of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon ſtandeth a wooden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpwart, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, ſitting on a wooden roſe goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and hallies for them all to dine and ſup together, and heis wherewith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the evening the Superintendent giueth each one a theme for meditation. After midnight befoze the altar in the Temple they do ſay Patens as it were out of Xaca his laſt booke, one quier one verſe, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giueth himſelfe to meditation one houre: they ſhauē their heads and beards. Their cloſters be very large, and within the precinct thereof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, ſo; by that name ſome of the Iaponiſh ſaintes are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Moſt of theſe Bonzii be gentlemen, ſo; that the Iaponiſh nobilitie charged

charged with many children, use to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most courtesly bene, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell vnto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinke it selfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They buy to like wise money to be repayed with great vsury in an other worlde, giuing by obligation vnto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to sell.

Iambura,

There is another great company of such as are called Inambura, with curled and starting haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called vp thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or thre thousand in a company, vnto a certaine high mountaine to doe penance there, theeseoysen bapes voluntarily punishing themselves. In this time the deuill sheweth himselfe vnto them in sundry shayes: and they like young graduates, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set forth with white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus arrayed they range abroade in all Iapan, to set out themselves and their cunning to sale, each one beating his balon which he carrieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their coming in all townes where they passe.

Gengui,

There is also an other sort called Gengui, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stolen things are, and who were the theues. These dwell in the toppes of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold winde, and raine they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe by most high rockes and hills, and go ouer very great rivers by the onely arte of the deuill, who to bring those wretches the more into error, addeeth them to goe vnto a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at noontide or in the euening cometh that deuill, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe vnto them: this sheweth himselfe in the byaines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them after ward.

The deuill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe vnto the Iapanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heauen and to enjoy Paradise, thither went he to see that light, and hauing seene the deuill followed him (so by the deuill perfwaded) into a denne vntill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murthered. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne vswayed from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him priuily into that denne with his bow & arrowes, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man fell downe to worshippinge the deuill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a fore in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne cracking the force so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceived by the deuill after that sort in time past. Thus deliuered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for multitude of Abbeyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a subtle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuillish: he is said to haue found out the Iapanish letters used at this day. In his latter yeeres this him subtle buried himselfe in a fouresquare graue, foure cubites deepe, severely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his hodie wearied with continuall businesse, vntill many thousand thousands of yeeres were past, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Iapan, and then would he rise vp out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diuers provinces, for that the people are perfwaded that whosoever is liberrall and beneficent to the beautifying of that monument, shall not onely increase in wealth in this worlde, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themselves to worship him, live in those Monasteries of Abbeyes with shauen heads, as though they had forgiuen all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sort of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I say) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, of thereabout

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besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence upon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochai. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great wardnes, those do they instruct in all the peritues of pynters, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chivalrie and eloquence, and to send them abroad into other provinces, actived like pong pnters, to this ende, that salving themselves to be nobly boyne, they may with great summes of money borrowed under the colour and pretence of nobilitie recurre againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Japan, that if any scholar of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently bieth for it. Nevertheless these counsellers leave not daily to vse their woonted wickednesse and knauerie.

North from Japan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of savage men clothed in beards skinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold up with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Japans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgeyrie haue they none. In their breasts they are sayd to carry looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest upon their shoulders. Seruice and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heauen. Co Aquita a great towne in that Japonish kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much rejoyce for marchandise, and the Aquitanes like wise doe trauell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabitants.

Such more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Japans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselves to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought forth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kins women and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vail on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie crimmed up in white mockabo: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dyed. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparelled. Then as farre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, hauey clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii of thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke upper garmentes. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineapple, he sheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly goe out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii follow him singing the name of that devill the which the partie deceased chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great balon is beaten euen to the place of fire in stead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staues endes full of paper roses diuersly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking euer now and then their staues, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shewer say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After at this, eight bearded Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, where in the name also of that dole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns crimmed with the former inscription, ouercast with a fine baile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two young men clothed in ashe colour beare pineapple torches, not lighted, of three foot length, the which torches serue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, three square, blacke letheren caps tied fast vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the devill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemn, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, couered with a very fine white baile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought forth the corpes sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayd: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an upper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doethinke to be saved. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set forth, the youngest wher of carrieth like wise a pineapple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all followeth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

Wher they are at come to place appointed for the obsequie, at the Bonzii is the whole multi-

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cude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle raile about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably vnto the four partes of the world made with four gates to goe in and out at, is bigged a hole: in the hole is raised good stoe of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waued roofo: before that stand two raised furnisshed with diuers kindes of meates, especially dyie figs, pomegranates and Cartes bles good stoe, but neither fish nor flesh: vpon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and good stoe, in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is ready, the coye wherewith the litter was caried, is thowen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present strue to take the rope in their handes, vying their aforesayd clamours, which done, they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thyle. Then setting the litter on the wood built vp ready for the fire, that Bonzies who then is master of the ceremonies, saith a verse that no bodie there vnderstandeth, whirling thyle about ouer his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall haue at any time an ende, and shoboweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his chyldren, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thyle ouer the dead corpes, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they thow in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpes to ashes: his chyldren in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paid each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part five duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest haue tenne Julies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxx. The meate that was ordeined, as soone as the dead corpes friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as serued at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day retorne to the place of obsequie the dead man his chyldren, his kinred and friends, who gathering by his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set vp in the same pot couered with cloth, in the midst of their houses. Many Bonzii retorne likewise to these priuate funerals, and so doe they againe the seuenth day: then carie they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a foursquare stone, wherein is wrytten in great letters byawen all the length of the stone, the name of that deuill the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his chyldren reioyce vnto the graue with roses and warme water that the dead corpes thurst not. For the seuenth day onely, but the seuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meane sort two or thre hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darke long without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellows are such, as hauing religiously with much deuotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselves. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeves, then preach they in publique a sermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for euery body wondereth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe byars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and so embarke themselves in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpouse, or els doe cast themselves ouer-board headlong into the Sea. The empty barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that follow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore tohne, six men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineapple for a perpetuall monument, hanging by many thysses of paper in stiches all the roofo ouer, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee trauesled that way at what time foure or five olde women came footth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the deuill counterfeitereth

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serfaieth Christianitie) who partly scorne at vs for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our
small deuotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reuerence or wozship done there-
unto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or thre wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are wont
to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well prouided for. The Pulpit is e-
rected in a great temple with a like Canopie ouer it, therein standeth a costly seate, befoze the
seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Iapans resorteth
to their owne doctozs in diuers Temples. Up goeth the doctoz into the Pulpit, and being set
downe, after that hee hath loylike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so re-
adeth a setue wordes of that booke we speake of, the which be expounder afterwarde moze at large.
These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to dyaue with their speech the minde of
their hearers. Wherefoze to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke,
that the people bee brought vnder the colour of goodnesse to enrich their monasteries, promising
to each one so much the moze happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater calles and
charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of super-
stitious Sects and companies, and the diuersities thereof amongst themselves: yet in this prin-
cipally all their Superintendents doe trauell so to perswade their Monies in their owne tales
and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by eueralasting saluation,
nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtilties, as in going grauitie, in
countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Iapans minde are so
wouled in wicked opinions, & doe conceiue thereby such trust and hope of eueralasting saluation,
that not onely at home, but also abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almost they run
ouer their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Kaca, wealth, honour, good health, and eueral-
lasting toyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God,
that either doe bying the Gospell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe for-
saake idolatrie and ioine themselves with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the deuill,
troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so inturiously, so hardly, so harpe-
ly bereft of their kinned and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and
prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constan-
cie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in leopordie.
So much the moze it standeth you vpon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend
specially these Iapanish flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Sacao the eight and twentie day of January: Aloisius Almeida first for busi-
nesse, but afterwar let by sicknesse, staid there some while, but I parting the next day from
thence came thitherne leagues off to Meaco the last of Januarie. Of my comming all the Chri-
stians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our com-
panie at Meaco: his yeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haire shew him to be seuentie, so vehem-
ently is his litle body afflicted and wome with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Iapanish so skillful-
ly after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king
is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly
bookes also he hath done into that speech, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffereth him.
To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserve vs all continually, and to giue
vs ayde both rightely to interpret his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of
February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by
his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemeth in my
iudgement one of the principall and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to do it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Iapan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

Amongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Cantea a Chinish haue in Cathaio & the Mo-
lucas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Sonria-
um are very famous. Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere Chi-
na, from whence the Chinish nation haue their prouision for shipping and other necessities requi-
site for their Raue. There staid Balchazar Gago a great traueseller 5 moneths, who describeth
that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey full of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals,
besides great store of ietwels and pearle, well inhabited, the houses built of stone, the people rude
in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured ruggs, with two ore hoynes, as it were, made of fine cy-
pres hanging downe about their eeres, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their fore heads.

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De reb. Iap. lib. 4.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not understand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the deuil in the forme of a beate beast, offering themselves up to him.

Santianum,

Santianum is an Ile neere vnto the hauē Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that woorthy traueiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xavier, who after great labours, many injuries, and calamities infinite suffered with much patience, singular ioy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes vpon a desert mountaine, no lesse voye of all wooldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 3 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially traueill, and wonderful works in that region, of other many little Isles (yet not so little, but they may right wel be written of at large) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogic-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

Linus.



Concerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is wakened among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

The situation and limites of China.

Michael. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is grown so common among vs, reducing blunders and manifold particulars into order, I will especially ayme at the truth of things received from the fathers of the societie, which euen now at this present are conuersant in China. First of all therefore it is not unknown, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdome of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Islands, as our native Japon, & the Ile of Manilia stand moze Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdome, we may appoint the first towards the West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. If of the continent next adjoining vnto this Ile trendeth towards the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the cirtle called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Nowbeit, from that place descending Northerward, it stretcheth forth an huge length, in so much that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps an inhabitant that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at least 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Nowbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdome, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed the longitude. This kingdome therefore is without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iurisdiction containing in dimensions moze length & breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant alimder: yet none of the all entioeth any one kingdome so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquire into his revenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertility & greatness of his dominions, & also by reason of the seuerer collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed vpon his subjects, not only for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for euery person in each family. It is likewise to be understood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to leue vnto himselfe any peculiar revenues, or to collect any reues within the precincts of his seigniorie, altho power belonging only vnto the king: where as in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we haue before signified. In this most large kingdome are contained 15 provinces, euerly one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdome. Six of these provinces do border vpon the sea, namely (if I may vse the names of the Chinians themselves) Coanum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xanum, Paquin the other 9 be in-land provinces, namely, Quianfi, Huquam, Honan, Xienfi, Xanfi, Suchuan, Queicheu, Lunan, Coanfi. Amongst all the foresayd provinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North,

Chinians Call theographers.

The rich revenues of the King of China.

Fifteen great provinces in China.

The seats roial of the King of China.

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and Nan together by the T provinces kingdome Leo. I where their ter of admir and Paque bee built thwarthe the sayd enuironer euerall str vs (Mich often ben as I haue Europe r the infinite fully d and famo haue rece a third kin dignities which are most nobl the Portug a word of into the p: foresayd p: into both rain princ their place province ca moze then townes nor can scarce trie farmes all the lan families in that some (upon the w habitie: f: riners, & i might easi Nowbeit, ch zens & the c very strange kingdome to for they do al cerne. And b the kingdome hind, warre, these most es copen: Aethi Africae wit there benefi the speak

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Coantum, Poquien, Cho-
niely, Quianfi, Huquian,
the foresayd prouinces,
of his court in the North,
and

A description of China. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

89

and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were wont to be resident al-
together at the South court: but afterward, by reason of the manifold and cruell warres moued
by the Tartars, they were constrained to desire their princely seate and habitation in that extreme
prouince of the North. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that those Northren confines of the
kingdom doe abound with many more fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of souldiers.

Leo. I haue heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reposed of,
whereby the people of China doe repress and drive backe the Tartars attempting to invade
their territories. Michael. Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is most woorthie
of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerie prouinces, Xienfi, Xanfi,
and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to
bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any rivers, their channells being ouer-
thwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences, yet is it not vnlike, that
the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopp'd and
emurconed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne na-
turall strength, and inaccessible heighth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemye. Linu. Tell

The warlike
munitions of
China, & a mar-
uillous wall.

vs (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue
often bene informed, or no? Michael. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom,

Abundance of
inhabitants in
China.

as I haue bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who hauing scene sundry prouinces of
Europe renowned for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe not withstanding greatly admire
the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and con-
fusely dispersed ouer the land, but most conueniently and orderly distributed in their townes
and famous cities: of which assemblies there are diuers kinds among the Chiniens. For they

Cities and
townes.

haue certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of
a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not privileged with the
dignities and prerogatives of cities. To these may be added two other kinds of lesser townes,
which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that
most noble citie standing neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chiniens Coanchefu, but by
the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, the
word of their proper imposition. Vnto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher
vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Anlam, but by the Chiniens Hianlanhien. At the
foresayd prouinces therfore haue their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu,
vnto both of which the other townes may be added. Howouer, in euery prouince there is a cer-
tain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates haue
their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole
prouince called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is
more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferior cities. Of walled
townes not endued with the privileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garrisons
can scarce be numbred: ouer & besides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of col-
erie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in
all that land. Now in the sea, in rivers, & in harks there are such abundance of people, and of whole
families inhabiting, that euen the Europeans themselves doe greatly wonder therat: in so much
that some (albeit beyond measure) haue bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling
vpon the water as vpon the land. Neither were they indued so to thinke altogether without pro-
babilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious
rivers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being euery-where very common, it
might easily bee supposed, that the number of water-men was equal vnto the land-inhabitants.

The Chiniens
rivers greatly
inhabited.

Howbeit, that is to be understood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so full with citi-
zens & the countrie with peasants. Leo. The abundance of people which you tell us of seemeth
very strange: whereupon I coniecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be wholesome, and the whole
kingdom to be at peace. Michael. You haue (friend Leo) full iudicially coniectured those three:
for they do all to effect, & which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to dis-
cerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rise among the Portugals, namely, that
the kingdom of China was neuer visited with those three most heauy & sharpe scourges of man-
kind, warre, famine, & pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there haue
bene most terrible intestine and civile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is re-
corded: sithens also that some prouinces of the sayd kingdom, euen in these our daies, haue bene
afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foresayd
three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may
not speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselves are witnesses,

Wholesome aire,
plenty & peace
in China.

Chinian Noyses.

that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that live vnto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and graue personages: neither doe they vse so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Iapon, are atchieued by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let euery nation please themselves with their owne customes, & potions. Now, in fruitfulness of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable vnto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandize, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdom is most large & full of nauigable riuers, so that commodities may easilie be conueyed out of one prouince into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Part throughout the whole kingdom) that they are verily persuaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with marchandize: which notwith- standing is to be vnderstood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are some kindes of marchandize, where with the land of China is better storied then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kindes of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I haue heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of masse gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaves, were brought vnto vs for marchandize: and one of these loaves is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, letters wherein nice and delicate games are caried vpon their seruants backs. Neither are these golden loaves onely brought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold- twine and leaues of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and crenellate gold into plates and leaues. There is also great store of silver, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that euery yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Canram by the Portugal merchants to buye wares, at the least 400 Sesterium thereof, and yet nothing in a manner is conu- eied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitive or desirous of any marchandize from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the silver mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumsp- ction vsed in digging the silver thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre vp the courteous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their silver which they put to vses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all dross, and therefore in trying it they vse great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and o- ther mettals, and also of their quick- silver: Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into diuers countreys. Hereunto may bee ad- ded the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues. But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that euery husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice: so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preferuing of silke-wojmes, and in kerming and weaving of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great solemnite come forth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Puluerie eree, with the leaues whereof Silke-wojmes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremo- nie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, al- though the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one euery yeere com- ming vnto vs, are laden especially with this freight, and it is vsed not onely in India, but caried e- uen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also diuers & sundry stufes woven thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weaving, and do very much resemble our weauers of Europe. Whereouer the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & mulke, which is very principal & good. What he denieth his name frō a beast of the same name (which beast resemblēth a Beuer) frō the parts whereof brewed & purified pro- ceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beards (because they are like vnto the gorges of soules) Papos, & conuery great

The city of
Coanchetu, alias
Canram,

Great abun-
dance of gold
in China.

Great store of
silver.

Pearles.

Great store of
silke in China.

Silke brought
into Iapon.

Spices, Cam-
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plenty of them into India, & to vs of Iapon. But who would beleene, that there were so much golfe
pine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like unto linnen; which
wee our selues do so often vse, & which also is conueied by sea into so many regions: Let vs now in-
treat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be
esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world: whereof vessels of all kinds are very curi-
ously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the
cleanness, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glo-
rious, and more costly, but none so free from uncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of
glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleeme, but may easily be broken in pices. This matter
is digged, not throughout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene prouinces
called Quianfi, wherein continually very many artificers are employed about the same matter:
neither doe they onely frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and
such like, but also certaine huge tumers, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cun-
ningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out
of the realme, but are vsed onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this
matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while
it is yet new, golde also being added therunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most
beautiful. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they go, with
great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to vs of Iapon and into India, but also into sundry
prouinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and sundry
plants, the rootes whereof be right wholesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are
brought vnto our Isles of Iapon, and vnto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may
be reckoned, which (by a synecdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to
expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you
may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is
conueied by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. By
speeches uttered immediately before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this king-
dome is beneficiall not to it selfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those
fruits which pertaine to perely sustenance and common food, they can scarce be numbred: albeit,
of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of coynes, wines,
and oiles the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the
name of an Olive tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine.
The prouince of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from o-
ther places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and
those not vnplesant liquours, which may serue in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching
coyne, there is indeed wheat sown in all the prouinces, howbeit rise is in farre more vse and re-
quest then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine
and coyne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

Leo. You haue discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfullnesse of China, whereof I haue often heard,
that it is no lesse pleasant then fruitful, and I haue bene especially induced so to thinke, at the sight
of the Chinian maps. **Michael.** The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they
that haue seene the mediterranean parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most
amiable countrey, adornoed with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with
wonderfull variety of riuers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; di-
uers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are deuised into sundry
places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I haue spoken a
word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is imbued with excellent
wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes,
they lightly regard the customes, or fashions of other people. They vse one and the same kinde of
vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betwene the apparell of the magistrate & of the com-
mon subiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the manner of wo-
men, do curiously beaue their daire locks hanging downe to the ground, and, hauing twined and
bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing sundry caps therevpon, according to their
age and condition. It seemeth that in old time one language was common to all the prouin-
ces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronounciation, it is very much altered, and is diui-
ded into sundry idiomies or propieties of speech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, a-
mong the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very same
kinde of language vsed throughout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue sayd) the speech
of each prouince differeth not a little. Whereof this people is most loyall and obedient vnto the
king

Orison wood's
whereof cal-
culation is
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Three qua-
lities of porcel-
lan,

Pans.

Sugar.

China fit a man
ner destitute of
coyne, wine, &
oile.

Chinian
maps.

The disposi-
tions & maners
of the Chin-
ians.

Their last
stage.

Wherefore
vnto their la-
pours,

Their labors
and industry.

Painting.

Guns.
Painting.

Naviga-
tion.

The Tartars
conquered
China.

Military
discipline.

The literature
of China.

Three degrees
in learning.

king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For where as the common sort doe apply themselves unto the discretion, and becke of interiour magistrates, and the interiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, and framing and composing all their actions and affaires unto that leuell: a worlde it is to see, in what equallity and indifferency of iustice all of them do leave their lives, and how orderly the publike lawes are administered. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to treat of the government. *Linus.* Tell us now (*Michael*) of the industry of that people, whereof we have heard great reports. *Michael.* Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Eastern nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry deuices out of golde, silver, and other mettals, as like wise of stone, wood, and other matters convenient for mans vse, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine workmanship, are very wonderfull to behold. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, using either the penkil or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embroiderers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appear in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in manner infinite and most difficult, the portraictures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with marvellous facilitie they daily publish huge multitudes of books. Unto these mechanicall & illiberal uellous facillie they daily publish huge multitudes of books. Unto these mechanicall & illiberall creates you may add the more; that is to say, navigation and discipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing even as farre as India, subdued some part thereof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many prouinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselves within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betwene the people of China themselves, and also against the Tatarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his successors, for a long season, vsurped the government thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tatarian race being worne out, and their stocke and family being utterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift up their heads, and to aduance themselves, inioyning for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignitie weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would proue notable and brave soldiers, if they ioynd vse and exercise vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily obserue in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruell Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and gouernours keeping each man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are subiect vnto the kings lieutenant general for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subiect vnto the Turan or viceroy. Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not vnjustly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberrall sciences, and especially naturall and morall philosophy are studied in China, and that they haue vniuersities there, wherein such ingenious artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, vpon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy doe, aboue all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselves a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and towne, yea, and in petty villages also, there are certaine schole-masters hired for diuents to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is also) in manner infinite, their children are put to schole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are iudged to be vnsit for the same purpose, and are trained up to manerly and to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselves to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conuerse in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be contained in euery page, and where each letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the manner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences; that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Quinquages of the first degree are called Siu-fai, of the second

Quing, illed the minded to them by the polican or recour to another se there is co ty of Can mencement death, as are subie Court on second deg ticular pro the king b euen with chiefe mag while tran to diuers artes. For of, which, where in si pest, moze but herein other book tiall affair rare to be h dayes of th mitted to Sun and them. L are are, strict pou excell. ing and ex ly king be him creati haue iudged uery prouin second is th warres, m dence in ome order cording to prale. How the-roy, peeres cag strangers, Judges m mong their ly Magistra specially th faults of the out of the of, they do ed they inst it is, that al

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Quingui, and of the third Chinzu. And in each city or walled towne there is a publique house
called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and petty schooles that are
minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence of the same propounded unto
them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is moze elegant and refined, are, in each city, graced
with the first degree. Of such as aspire unto the second degree trial is made onely in the metro-
politan or principall city of the province, whereunto, they of the first degree, every third yere, haue
recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of
another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe vndergo a moze seuerer examination. Now,
there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous ci-
ty of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act of com-
mencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many trodden vnder foot, and quelled to
death, as we haue bene most certainly informed. Whereover they that sue for the highest degree
are subiect unto a most seuerer and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings
Court onely, and that also every third yere next ensuing the last yere wherein graduates of the
second degree are elected in each province, and, a certaine number being prescribed unto every par-
ticular province, they do ascend unto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with
the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled
euery with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the
chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they haue attained unto this third degree, being a
while trained up in the labours of the reaine, and in the precepts of humanity, they are admitted un-
to diuers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chiniens be altogether destitute of other
artes. For, as touching moztall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts there-
of, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conuerfant in the hands of the foresayd students,
wherein such graue and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men vnder the light of the Gos-
pell, moze can not be desired. They haue books also that intreat of things and causes naturall,
but herein it is to be supposed, that as well their books as ours do abound with errors. There be
other books among them, that discourse of herbes and medicines, and others of chualry and mar-
tiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and
rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the
dayes of the new moone incient to euery moneth are truely disposed and digested, and are com-
mitted to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the
Sun and Moone: and whatsoever knowledge in this arte was of Iapon haue, it is deriued from
them. Leo. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) enriches our books increasing of the same
arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, in-
struct you be as touching their maner of gouernment, wherein the Chiniens are sayd greatly to
excell. Michael. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and vnto that all their learn-
ing and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one on-
ly king beares rule ouer so many provinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by
him created to aduise and minister publike affaires. For (to omit them which in each Towne and City
haue iurisdiction ouer the townsmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in e-
uery province. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchafa: the
second is the Kings Fokkerer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieu-tenant general for the
warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore haue their place of resi-
dence in the chiefe City of the province: and the two former haue certaine associates of their
owne order, but of inferior authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, unto whom, ac-
cording to the variety of causes, the Gouernours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe ap-
peale. Howbeit the three so named Magistrates are in subiection vnto the Tuzan, that is, the
Viceroy, appointed in each province. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three
yeres together: yet so, that for the gouerning of each province, not any of the same province, but
strangers, that is, men of another province, are selected: whereof it cometh to passe, that the
Judges may giue sentence with a farre moze eie and inuincible minde, then if they were a-
mong their owne kinsfolke and allies. Quier and besides all these, there is an annual forre-
ign Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duty it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and es-
pecially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the
faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, every yere, are sent
out of the Kings Court, for each province, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes there-
of, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and vpon them which are imprison-
ed they inflict due punishment; or, being found not guilty, they dismitte them unpunished. Hence
it is, that all Magistrates greatly feare to be called in question by the Chaien are well kept
within

The first de-
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The second
degree.

The third and
highest degree.

Note the ex-
traordinary
honour con-
ferr'd by the
great King of
China vpon his
learned gra-
duates.

Small philo-
sophy.

Natural philo-
sophy.

Excellent as-
tronomers in
China.

The politike
gouernment
of China.

Three prin-
cipall magi-
strates in e-
uery province.

Two Senates
of Counsellors
ordinarily hold
in China.

The causes of
Peace in China.

Learning the
only way to ho-
nour in China.

The stately &
formidable
procession of
the Chinese
magistrates.

The houses of
the Chinese
magistrates.

The magi-
strates bar-
ges.

The manner of
electing ma-
gistrates in
China.

Degrees unto
honour.

within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate of honourable assembly of grave counsellors, unto the which, out of all provinces, according to the necessity and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed unto the Senate of Paquin. Whereover there are every yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in each province, to goe unto the king: and every third yeere all the Gouernours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time trial is made of them that aspire unto the third degree: byon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one under another, it can scarce be imagined, what sweet peace and tranquillity flourisheth throughout the whole realme, especially citizens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the manner is there) to the punishment of the bastinado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, unto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they haue attained unto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and dutifull the common sort are unto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them haue fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending byon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of them carrying Palveres, Baces, and Barile-axes: some trailing yron chains upon the ground: others holding great robes of staves of a certaine kinde of reede, whereupon the malefactors are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings scale peculiar for each office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles unto the people whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and shoutes, which betwene the Magistrates themselves, being carried in a chaine upon the backs of foure men, five men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leaue a bzaue and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one above another, which in the kingdom of China and in our Isles of Iapon also are not ordinarily used for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty towers of nine stories high are built) or els for the residence of Cities. Howbeit in other regards these buildings doe shew forth no small magnificence: for they haue their cisternes for the receipt of raine-water, which are adorne with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they haue also their places designed for the administration of iustice, and diuers other convenient roomes to bestow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the sayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and so long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constrain them to tell the truth. The sayd Magistrates also haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in bzaude and length not much vnlke to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour unto them. The rowers, sitting upon galleries without the hatches or compass of the barge, doe moue it on forward with their oares: whereupon it cometh to passe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth sufficient room for the Magistrates themselves to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as convenient and handsome, as in any of their fore sayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchens, and such other places necessary for the provision and storage of victuals. *See.* All these things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the stately and renowned kingdom of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is obserued in the obtaining of magistracies.

Michael. You haue enquired of a matter most woorthy to be known, which I had almost omitted to treat of. The Chinians therefore doe use a kinde of gradation in aduancing men unto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Seniors of Paquin. For first they are made Judges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeal, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend unto the superiour, untill they haue attained unto the highest dignity of all: and immediately after

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high capacity, hath alwayes lived in great errors and ignorance of the truth, being distracted
 into sundry opinions, and following manifold sects. And among these sects there are three
 more famous then the rest: the first is of them that profess the doctrine of one Confucius a
 notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most up-
 right and incorrupt manners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithy and largely, which
 about all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all
 Magistrates embrace, and others also that give their minds to the study of letters, a great part
 whereof Confucius is sayd to have invented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his fol-
 lowers and clients, upon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselves at the
 common schoole, which I have above mentioned, and befoze his image, which is worshipped
 with burning of incense, and with tapers, they doe thys bend their knees, and bow their heads
 downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do per-
 forme. The summe of the sayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as
 their guide, and that they should diligently endeavour to attaine unto the vertues by me befoze
 mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly government
 of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-worthy, if
 Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed
 so much unto the heavens, and unto fatal necessity, nor yet had so curiously increased of wor-
 shipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be ex-
 cused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine
 among the Chinians appoacheth so neere unto the truth as this doth. The second sect is of
 them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose
 opinions, because they are well known amongst us, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; espe-
 cially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our graue visitor, they are notably refuted. This
 doctrine do all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with us at Japon are named
 Bonzi. For this I doe byfide and by the way give you to understand, that all words of the Chi-
 nians language are of one syllable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more syl-
 lables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe
 shave their beards and their heads; and doe for the most part, together with diuers of their asso-
 ciates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession
 have in their Kalenders bene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certayne prayers after
 their manner, either upon books or beads, using other ceremonies after the manner of our Bonzi.
 These men have some meking of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the pu-
 nishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errors. The third sect
 is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certayne other man, to be adored, as
 they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Pyeths after their kinde, howbeit they let their
 haire grow, and doe in other observations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect
 of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are
 not much addicted unto learning, their religion prevailing onely among the common sort, the
 Pyeths of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and servile life amongst the Chinians, inso-
 much that they kneele downe befoze the Magistrates, and are not permitted to sit beside them,
 and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abused unto the punishment of the bastinado:
 whereas in our Isles of Japon it is farre otherwise, Pyeths, even of false religion, being had in
 so great honour amongst us. *Leo.* I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes
 place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolve us. *Michael.* That foreyn super-
 stition was brought into China what time the Tartars invaded the kingdome, and usurped the
 government thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tar-
 tars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not better be expelled and rooted out
 of the kingdome, but remaining still there, have propagated their posterity, though not their
 religion. These therefore are followers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine
 martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is now become
 stale and almost worn out, they doe live altogether after the Chinians fashion, their preces-
 sors being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. *Linus.* Now
 (Michael) let vs heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set
 most happy footing in that kingdome. *Michael.* I could say much concerning those most wun-
 derfull and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Japon by the letters of the fa-
 thers: howbeit I will make a byfide rehearsal of all things, that I may not seeme altogether
 to have abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society
 arrived in our Islands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort

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 n planted in
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most carefull how they might insinuate themselves into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the middle of this endeavour and travell Francis Xavier, a most devout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call Sangiam) leaving an example unto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who used all means, and left no practise unattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings unto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which having a long time executed the office of ambassadors doe ordinarily every third yeere present themselves before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is marvellous care used, that they may not easily espye and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Whereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contempters of other nations, and most constant obseruers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there was wondrous labour and diligence employed above thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, until in the yeere one thousand five hundred fourscore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, utterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending upon the providence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan of Aice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Aice-roy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the noveltie thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie access unto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their journey for the inner provinces, to convert more people unto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approving of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then five yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seventy persons were baptized. But the enmy of mankind, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication unto the Caen and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to have the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing unto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might banish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they used great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard unto the estate of their Common-wealth. For the Tutan of Aice-roy calling the fathers unto him, and (to let passe other accidents) using courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not convenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted unto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or unto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthie of compassion, that the Tutan of Aice-roy, in the extreme and maritime borders of the province of Coantum, assigned unto them a new habitation at the city called Xaueco, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, bled themselves, and as we are informed by their last letters, they have even now layed the foundation of their first building, and have also begunne that they are like to live much more peaceably and conveniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, even as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sowne with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruites may be reaped with gladnesse. *Leo.* It is even as you have sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selves much bounden unto you.

An ancient custome whereby
of observation,

The Chinians
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other nations.

A Letter

M.T

A Letter
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A Letter

M. Thomas Steuens. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

99

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies,
by one Thomas Steuens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas
Steuens : Anno 1579.



After most humble commendations : These shall be to craue your dayly blessing,
with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being;
according to your will and my duty. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from
Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presu-
ming thereupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of
my departing, which neuerthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I
saie that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our
comming : insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our place, that the kings prouisi-
on and ours also might not be in vaine. Neuerthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the
fourth of Aprill five ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and sculiers, there were a
great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that
many women also passe very well. The setting forth from the port. I need not to tell how so-
lemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that
they go in the manner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto
Santo neere vnto Madera, where an English shippe lay vpon ours (which was then also alone)
with a few shotes, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance,
they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was
lopy to see so ill occupied, for she went rousing about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian
Isles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woon-
der at the high mountaine of the Island Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Cana-
ria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes : and brieely, such euill weather we had vntill the
fourteenth of May, that they despaired to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeeer. Neuer-
thelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Islands of Capo Verde, without seeing of
any land at all, we arrived at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, the ship
that part of the burning Zone, which is from the first degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which parts
they suffered so many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselues
happy when they haue passed it : for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of ma-
ny dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the
greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and
raime so vnholosome, that if the water stand a litle while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the
meat which is hanged by, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often
times saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guine-
a) but the colour much later; which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a
fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth vnderneath in the water, strings, which saue it from tur-
ning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this
coast, that is to say, from the first degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes,
partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equino-
ctiall with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to passe the promontory, but in all
that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred
at it. And in places where are alwayes wont to be most horrible tempests, we found most qui-
et calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot
go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost inollerable for other ships,
and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise vp, and saile excellent well, vnlesse the waters
be too too furious, which seldom happened in our navigation. You shall vnderstand, that being
passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory : but according to the
winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the
point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so
compassse the point. But the winde serued vs so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course to-
ward the point of promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point
in all the shie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God
prouided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aere, or in the sea, which
they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their owne
experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and
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cozals doe grow in the maner of stalks vpon the rocks in the botome, and were hard and reb.
The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall vnderstand that, the Cape
passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willing-
ly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great
need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence,
which they take when they set forth so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time
to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way they take no
port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry
diseases, their gummies were great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges
swell, and all the body becommeth soze, and so benumbed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot,
and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into flures and agues, and die thereby. And this way
it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sick, there died
not past seuen and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though
some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, con-
trary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his
honour and seruice. This way is full of pyry rocks and quicke-lands, so that sometimes we
durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found botome
vntill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the
third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though
they had bene scolden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the space
of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, where-
of we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they serued our turne
very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our nauigation
growing so long that it dyed neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fise, I
meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe
seas. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they toye
much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found after-
ward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocoto-
ra, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the North-east or
North-west, whereupon vntwillingly they bare vp toward the East, and thus we went tenne
dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their error: for they had directed
their course before alwayes North-east, coueting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the
difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran North-west, had
drawen vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this winde, which at length waied larger,
and redoyed vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they decriue the most
part of the gouernours, and some were so curious, contenting themselves with ordinary expe-
rience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swaue, neither by the com-
pass, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be
of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water,
and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat,
so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serue, they see land, which we did to our great ioy,
when all our water (for you know they make no beere in these parts) and virtuales began to faile
vs. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with pas-
sing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Poores
and Caffres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, sa-
uing an apizon of a span long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad be-
foye them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with
all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make
another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not seene a tree here, whose like I haue seene
in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are
brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree,
or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall
haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compellmeth me to
take my leaue: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of No-
uember, 1579.

Two wayes
be vnto the Cape
of Good hope.

They commonly
saile from Li-
bon to Goa in
5 moneths.

Running seas
very dainger-
ous.

Certaine signes
of land.

They arrived
at Goa the 24
of October.

Your louing sonne Thomas
Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

The coast of India greatly troubled with Spooges.



Abundance of golde, silver, pearles, & precious stones in Pegu.

The great game of the Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the best & richest countrey in all the East India.

A prophete of an Indian against Spaine.

I Received your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a carauell of abuse that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other provision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keep our coast for feare of great sfoze of men of warre, being Spooges, which trouble vs very sfoze. At that instant when I received your letters I was new-ly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, above a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought unto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest sfoze of treasure that ever was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him The God of truth and of iustice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Iesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gave his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater reioyce thicher, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaines should be knowne unto others then those which found this countrey first, therefore they were loe unwilling that the building of this Church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woosle people then the Gentiles. I preached diuers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleue so they will beleue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father prouinciall of the estate of this New found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

I am afraide that the warres which his Maiesty hath with England will be the better vndoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with ciuill warres, which the Spooges haue against the Gentiles: for the kings here are by in armes all the countrey ouer. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

Your good cousin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonauenture Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buena Speransa, to Quintangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicobar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.



Our fleet of the three tall ships abouenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of Aprill 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-lands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of Aprill. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The first we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at North-east, alwayes before the winde untill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea untill the first of June, on which day we passed the sayd line, while we lay thus off

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Mured friend
Lisbon.

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off and on, we tooke a Portugal Carauel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Ca-
rauel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarrs of oyle, about 100 iarrs of olives, certaine
barrels of capers, three fatts of peason, with diuers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which
wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before we pas-
sed the line, and diuers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be won-
derful vnhollesome from 8 degrees of North to latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere:
for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep
our men by 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their ea-
ting of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shifte them. After we passed the line, we had the wind
still at East-south-east, which caried vs along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, till we
came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came by to the North, at which
time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa bid beare off vs East and by South, be-
twixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulf from the coast of Brasil vnto the Cape we had the
wind often variable as it is vpon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course.
The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: vntill the 31 wee lay off
and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, so to haue gone seuentie
leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue sought to haue put in
to any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke
some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare by with the land to the Northward of
the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly Baie with an Island lying to Seawards
of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is
called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The
first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there
came vnto them certaine blacke Saluages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from
them. If of the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed
with our pieces, which were cranes and geete: there was no fish but mulles and other shel-
fish, which we gathered on the rocks. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with
his pinnace vnto the Island which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great flocks of Penguins
& Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twice after that we sent certain of our
men, which at both times brought their bores lading vnto our ships. After we had bene here some
time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the countrey with vs, making signs
to bring vs some cattell: but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro
goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negros, brought vs on shore
some 40 bullocks and oxen, which as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of the. But
within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought some 24 oxen with
as many sheepe. We bought an ore for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife,
and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not
fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no wool on their backs but haire, and
haue great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be diuers sorts of wild beasts, as the Antelope,
(whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the dignes of a pong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other
great beasts vnknown vnto vs. Here are also great flocks of ouer-grown monkeys. As touching
our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships well man-
ned, then with three euill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 158, of which
there went in the Penelope with the Admirall 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M.
capitaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were
many prettily well recovered, of which ship was master and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which
for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath
bene the skurue. Our souldiers which haue not bene used to the Sea, haue best held out, but our
mariners dyed away, which (in my iudgement) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Six dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de
Saldanha, our Admirall M. capitaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. Iames Lancaster in the
Edward Bonauenture, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very
speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of September we were encount-
red with a mighty storme and extreme gulls of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie,
and could neuer heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeour to seeke him
up and downe a long while, and staid for him certaine dayes at the Island of Comoro, where we
appointed to stay one for another. Four dayes after this vncomfortable seperation in the morn-
ing toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men our-
right, their necks being wryung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was
not

These occasi-
ons of sickness
nere the line.

Agoada de Sal-
danha.

Great flocks of
Penguins and
Seales.

Bullocks, oxen,
and sheepe,
dog-sheeps.

Cape de Buona
esperansa does
lieth.
Cape dos Corri-
entes.
Here they are
sentred from
the Penelope.

Four men
slaine with a
clap of thunder
not

The Shonibos
of S. Laurence.

Quirangone
isere Mozam-
bique.

The Ile of Co-
moro.

32 of our men
betrayed at the
Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Island.

A Portugall
Factorie in
Zanzibar.

The reason of
the Portugals
towards the
English.

An excellent
place for rest-
ing.

A gallie Frie-
gate.

not one untouched, whereof some were stricken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their breasts, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawn out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recovered saving onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine mast was toyme very grievously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence we shaped our course to the North-east, and not long after we fell upon the North-west end of the mighty Island of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the evening by Moone light, who seeing as farre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellows, asked them what it was: which els soones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea upon the Shonibos, whereupon in very good time we cast about to avoid the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forwarde, it was our lucke to over-shoot Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quirangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three of foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the provision of Mozambique, in few dayes following we came to an Island an hundred leagues to the North-east of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawny colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here we desired to stoze our selves with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixtene of our men well armed on shoze in our boate: whom the people suffered quietly to land and water, and others of them with their king came aboard our ship in a gowne of crimoline Satin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best manner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, vntill our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for moze water, who then also dispatched their businesse, & returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for moze, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selves furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe perceiving that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needs goe himselfe on shoze with thirtie men, much against the will of our capitaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and sent sixtene of our men against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to peele them any succour. From hence with heauie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of November, where shortly after we arrived and made vs a new boat of such boards as we had within board, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe diuers Pangaias of boates, which are pinned with wooden pines, and sowed together with Palmiro corbes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Decam. At length a Portugall Pangia coming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a small Factorie, sent a Canoe with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought vs a letter wherein they desired to know what we were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio vpon business to his friends in the Indies: with which answer they returned, and would not any moze come at vs. Whereupon not long after we manned out our boat and tooke a Pangia of the Moores, which had a peece of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we asked very curiously: which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his priests in great estimation, and for his deliuerance furnished vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. These Moores informed vs of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs, which made them beleue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and wished them if they loued their safetie in no case to come neere vs. Which they did onely to cut vs off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we roode from the end of November vntill the middle of February in this harborow, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tunns to ride in, we set vpon a Portugall Pangia with our boat, but because it was very little, our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborow and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great stoze with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruites of the countrey, as Coros and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as also for oren and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time advantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten runnes with 8 or 9

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ores on a shoar. Of the strength of which Frigate and their crecherous meaning we were aduertised by an Arabian Schooze which came from the King of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for where soeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands some one of two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Schooze, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foymast very much, which wee fild and repaired with timber from the shoar, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foote high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Where our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oren, fell sicke and shortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin settled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincense, as clamme as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blache as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof we had 300 barres in the piise which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factory wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he presented, requesting a barre of wine, and a barre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpowder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoe: we sent him his demands by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs because we vnderstood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were aduertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Junco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factory and seruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forthward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland of Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for such ships as should haue passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Molucces, the coast of China, and the Ile of Iapan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much decriued by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening vpon vs to the North-east and Easterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set vs in further vnto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes, Now while we found our felies thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Island of Zocotora, both to refresh our felies, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the windes very luckily came about to the North-west and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Islands of Mammale, of which we had aduertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the North-east latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Islands the wind came about to the South-west, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our casting away vpon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsoons already being come in, which Monsoons continue on that coast vntill August. Neuertheles it pleased God to hying the wind more Westely, so in the moneth of May 1592, we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Islands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, from which Cape of Comori vnto the aforesayd Islands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gusses of windes. These Islands were missed through our masters default for want of due obseruation of the South Starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Islands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Island of Sumatra the first of Iune, and at the North-east side of them we lay two or three dayes beached, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof we lay off and on. Now the Winter coming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Islands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaiian tongue signifieth an Island) at which Islands we arrived about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anchor in a very good harborpough betwene three Islands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay vntill the

Another thunder clap.

Heat in the head brable. Letting of blood very necessary.

A Junco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents set to the Northward.

Zocotora.

The Isles of Mammale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Isles of Nicubar.

The Isles of Gomes Polo, Sumatra.

The Isles of Pulo Pinaou.

Winter

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Winter were overpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some five leagues from the maine betwene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very small, onely of oysters growing on rocks, great milks, and some few fish which weooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sick men on these brin habited Islands for their health, neuertheless 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and *P. Rainold* Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Islands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mallets of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and having watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were found for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anchor in a Baie in six fathomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master James Lancaster our captaine, and *P. Edmund* Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shore to see what inhabitants might be found. And coming on land we found the cracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, save a certaine kind of foule called ore birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Swite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with baile. shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoon we espied a Canoe which came nere unto vs, but would not come aboord vs, having in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheless going afterwar on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe haven to one for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugal, weooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but having this one at our command, we came together to an anchor. The night following all the men excepte twelve, which weooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leaving their ship and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anchor and went to the Leeward of an Island hard by, andooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships, weooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiving her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Thus having staid here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sick men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anchor, determining to runne into the Straights of Malacca to the Islands called Pulo Sambilam, which are some five and forty leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Islands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arrived, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus having spent some five dayes, upon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India over-against the Northeast part of the Isle of Zeilan; and that night weooke her being of 370 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seven more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the same, came to an anchor in thirte fathomes water: for in that channell thre or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good anchorage. Being thus at an anchor and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Saint Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and anchored hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her by, untill we which were in the prize with our boate went to helpe to man our shippe. Then coming aboord we went toward the shippe of Saint Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped by. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away excepte a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here untill the first of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seven hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anchor and yielded. We commanded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboord vs. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come untill

Cross fit for
mullet.

Malacca.

Three ships of
Pegu laden
with pepper,
Martabam.

Pera.

Pulo Sambilam.

A ship of Negapa-
tan taken.

A ship of S.
Thome.

The galley of
Malacca of 700
tunnes.

M. la

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two great
pieces of
palmie trees
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he went for them: but being gotten from us in the edge of the evening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, got a shore with two great boares and quite abandoned the ship. At our coming aboard we found in her storene pieces of baffe, and three hundred bucs of Canarie wine, and Sipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kind of Paper rather wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shoes, belts, cassacks, chamblers, and silkes, abundance of suchets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counter-feit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cards, two or three packs of French paper. A treasure because of the treasure which usually is brought in toials of plate in this galleon, we could not find it. After that the mariners had discovered pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandment to unlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her dnye at Sea, taking out of her the choicest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malacca, we depa- red thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Iusfaloom, which is betwene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the foresaid galleon had left behind him with us, because he had the Malain lan- guage, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured us some two or three quintals with promise of moe, and certaine of the people came unto us. We sent commo- dities to their king to barter for Amber-grisse, and for the hoznes of Abach, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abach is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicorn, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most souveraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hoznes which are of the colour of a byowne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-grisse. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall without marchandise: but he to get aboard us, told him that we had gile armour, stices of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboard, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Islands of Nicubar, where we arrived and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboard us in their Canoas, with honnes, Cocos, plantains and other fruits: and with- in two dayes they brought unto us toials of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth: which to- als they finde by dining for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coro Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Pen lam, a Fish Iccan, a Hog Babec. From thence we returned the 21 of November to goe for the Island of Zeilan, and arrived there about the third of December 1592, and ankered upon the Southsloe in five fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and soule ground. Then we ranne along the South-west part of the Iape Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to haue re- mained untill the coming of the Bengala Fleet of seven or eight ships, and the Fleet of Pegu of two or three sailles, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the South- ward of Marabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ships, by bluers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochín for Portugall by the middle of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala be fine paullions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Cali- cut cloth, Pincados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voyage twice in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamonds, but their chiefe freight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly freighted with Rice and Sipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like unto rocke water somewhat whitish, and verpore in taste like unto Aqua vicia. Being shot by to the place foresayd, called Punta del Galle, we came to an anker in soule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had none but two ankers left us, which were unloosed and in hold. Whereupon our menooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke moxe like to die then to live. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie by to the Northward and there to keepe our selues to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would haue set us off to the Southward from all knownen land. Thus having set our foresaile, and in hand to let all our other sailes to accomplish our foresayd determination, our men made answer that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not be perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to giue his consent to returne, leaving all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592, wee set saile for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Islands of Malaina, and leaving the

Malacca fit to
carry into the
East India.

The kingdom
of Iusfaloom.

Number-greefe.
The hoznes of
Abach.
The female Ni-
icornie.

Some small
quantitie here-
of may be cast
ed to plantane
those knowe.
They arrive at
the Isles of Ni-
ubar, which
are inhabited
by Moores.

They returne
homeward.
They arrive at
Zeilan.

Tanaseri in the
kingdom of
Siam.

Commodities
of Bengala.

Commodities
of Pegu.
Commodities
of Tanasiri.

A great cur-
rent to the
Southward.

Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old channell betwene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare us no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike upon those Islands, whereunto we were content and gave him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the channell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfoundland, thus running to the heighe of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grew to be a storme and a great streete of wind: which continued with us some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had sixe footes water in hold, and having freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the North-west and became duller: but presently upon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with the labouring of our ship we lost our foremaile, and our ship grew as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrarie to our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to save our lives. Our victuals now being utterly spent, having eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adjoining, knowing that there we might have some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde feared upon us, which did greatly endanger us for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare up to the Westward to certaine other Islands called the Nueblas or cloudie Islands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where at our arrival we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyles, which some moost on lande about the full of the moone. Here having refreshed our selves some 17 or 18 dayes, and having gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolved to returne againe for Mona: upon which our determination five of our men left us, remaining still on the Isles of Nueblas for all persuasions that we could use to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Isles we departed and arrived at Mona about the twentieth of November 1593, and there comming to an anchor toward two of three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieutenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to have gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to procure any further untill we had obtayned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking provision to carpe aboard to relieve the whole companie, And comming downe to go aboard, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed untill the next morning, thinking to have had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ship did vniue away with sixe men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leaving nineteene of us on land without boate or any thing to our great discomfort. In the midst of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodness of God, which many times before had succoured us in our greatest extremities, we contented our selves with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserve our lives. And because one place was not able to sustaine us, we tooke our leaves one of another, dividing our selves into severall companies. The greatest reliefe that we five which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and now and then a porcupion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who upon this our set on arrivall with his three sonnes stole from us, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountains. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we understood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Mounseur Felix, unto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof heooke in his topstaples, bare in with the land, and showed us his flagge, whereby we judged him French: so comming along to the Westerne end of the Island there he anchored, we making downe with all speede unto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came downe to our Captaine James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboard the French man, who gave him good entertainment, and the next day fetched eleven more of us aboard entreating us all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remained there untill night expecting our other seven men comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordnance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being divided five into one ship, and five into another, and leaving this Island, departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained untill Aprill following 1594, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides

Cape de Tiberon.

The old channell passed.

They returned backe to the West Indies.

Five English men left on the Nueblas.

The ship lost by burning way.

Great famine.

Two ships of Diepe.

The French
traffike in
Domingo.



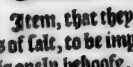
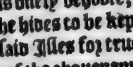
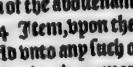
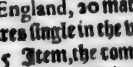
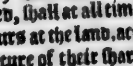
Mr. Lancaster
turneth to
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and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-haven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our Leuen men which were left behinde vs at the Ile of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with burning to take foules upon the cliffes, other they were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge giuen by our men which were away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-haven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards blowes. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noe, which was ready first to come away, and leauing the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on Sunday the twentieth of April 1594 they set home-ward, and discharging through the Caiques from thence arrived safely in Diepe within two and thirtie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had stayed two dayes to refresh our selves, and giuen humble thanks vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rio and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing spent in this voyage three yeeres, six weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefly because we lost our time and season to see forth in the beginning of our voyage.

We understood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeast or North-west passage. Witness Master James Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the Riuer of Plata, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio grande in Guinie, the 17 of Iuly 1583.

Articles of Courtenants agreed vpon betwene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, Iohn Hooper his Lieutenant, Iohn Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheek man marchant, on the other part.

- 1 o observe and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboard the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.
- 2 tem, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparent and vrgent cause.
- 3 tem, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 15 or 30 tunns of saile, to be employed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the saile, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for sauing of the hides to be kept aboard, & the same saile to be prouided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abouenamed.
- 4 tem, vpon the due performance of this voyage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to paye vnto any such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the durie of the whole voyage, making not about 75. shares single in the whole.
- 5 tem, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship about matters, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull induer, not onely aboard, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, & same to be diuided amongst the company.
- 6 tem, that the shares be taken at their returne out of all the craime oile, and hides of the seals, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the saile that shall be vendred and other commodities, at or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9 li. the cunne freight, wherof one third to goe to the companie.
- 7 tem, that if any man shall practise by any deuise or deuises whatsoeuer, to alter the voyage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and S. Vincent, and there to reuiuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuers of Place to make their voyage

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voyage by the craine, and hibe of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the said ship, are bound to her high- nesses by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, vpon due proofe made, shall loose their whole intertainment due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be ad- iudged by the Capitaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or thre of them at the least, wherof the Capitaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnelle be ready at al times to serue the marchants turne vpon his demaund, to take in wares and commodities, and to carpy and recarpy to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdeameanors to be adiudged by the Capitaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of thre of them at the least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Master and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by wea- ther, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie,
John Hooper,
Hugh Smith.

John Foster.
William Cheefman.

A direction as well for the Capitaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheefman Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of Plate.



At your comming to the Isle of Saine Sebastian. vpon the coast of Brassil, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vended, and liker wise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be psonating, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the products of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Punkies, and the beall called Serrabola. Also you shall barreill vp of the beefe called Perune, two or thre barreils, and to lose no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve dye, in such quantitie as conveniently may be done: and touching the making of the craine, and preserving of the hives, I leaue it wholly to the order and discretion of the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, triall be made with the voyagers, for the pearle Divers, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Capitaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or thre of them, wherof the Capitaine, his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Capitaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other Jewels of pyce gotten in the said volage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceal and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indouour to try for the best Ore of golde, Silver, or other rich mettals whatsoeuer. Forget not also to buy the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmiro with his fruit inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your garde,

The Isle of
S. Sebastian.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the buruen of 260 runnes, with 83 men of alliores furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie; so take in fresh water, where, though merre dissolute negligence, she perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped; the substances and crew wherof is this.

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and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Maister Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: nevertheless theyooke small heed of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came forth of the boate, entering the shippe, euery Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme where with to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the decke, some entering the Cabbeens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: wherat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would haue slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they fought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore. Wherat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves ready to be conueyed euen to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves either to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentous hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their tavelings, lances, boze-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and having due Callievers ready charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches of the grate did shoote by at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daungel, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with boze-speares and lances, that they dismayed at euery stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betwene the legges, the bullets issuing forth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not to fall in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast ouer board on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towards the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it known as yet how many of them were slaine or dyed, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was Iohn Tristram, and like other hurt. It was great pitié to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to saue their liues. Foure of them taking hold of the shippe were for pities sake taken up againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards holmes were stuf with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure hauing some wounds were dyed by the fury of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his living by his office being better then five hundred pound pce-tyl. This happened in the evening about five of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were deliuered by two of the same ship, whose names were Iohn Burrell, and Iohn Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and slayed.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniards, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set by sayles, and by Gods providence avoided all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England neere London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1587. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered due hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their handes. And after Maister Foster demanded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commaundement of the king himselfe: and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke forth the kings Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish,

The Corrigidor
of Bilbao taken
and brought
to London,

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbargment
or arrest of the English, &c.

Licentia de Escobar, my Corigidor of my Signorie of *Biskey*, I haue caused a great flecte to be put in readinette in the hauen of *Lisbone*, and the nuer of *Smill*. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee employed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of seruice, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse: I doe therefore require you, that presently vpon the arriual of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowne vntill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and atresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found vpon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of *Holand, Zeland, Easterland, Germanie, England*, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion against mee, sauing those of *France* which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought vnfit to serue the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall haue a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed you shall aduertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plane and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall haue to stayed in that coast and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessities, to the end that vpon sight hereof, hauing made choise of such as shall be fit for the seruice, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commanement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also caule them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, vsing therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great seruice. Dated at *Barcelona* the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the truth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the master, and the louing hearts of the seruantes to saue their master from the danger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to saue so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest loss to his owne life, not yet any of his seruantes: for to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his seruantes: for if hereafter they should, being knowne they are like to cause of the sharpe reprimands which are there accustomed in their Holie-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowne by themselves, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our shippes haue ever bene fauourable vnto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subiectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie
to certaine Noble men and Marchants of *London*, for a trade
to *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1585.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Exchequer, and to all Officers, Justices, Constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to all our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other whosoever to whom it shall may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparently knowne vnto vs, that late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued counsellors, Ambrose Erie of Warwike, and Robert Erie of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starke of our citie of *London* Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Arle gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Shermington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthurst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams,

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elops, Ambrose
subjects, Tho-
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A patent for Barbary. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiar, John Cartwright, Henry Parson, John Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daffell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Merchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, under the government of Muly Haimmet Sheriffe, Emperoz of Morocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grievous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be prevented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that diuers Merchants of the same Countrey are very necessary and convenient for the use and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our said subjects, and the quiet traffique and good gouernment to be had, and used among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant vnto the said Charles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthurst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, John Cartwright, Henry Payton, John Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daffell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themselves, or by their factors or seruants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of y^e 2. yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedom and libertie in the said traffique or trade, vnto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all manner of wares and marchandises whatsoeuer, the now or accustomedly heretofore haue bene brought or transported, fro, or to the said countrey of Barbary, or fro or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbours, or creeks of the said countrey of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or other leges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and gouerning of the said Cities of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abovesaid, their factors, seruants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for vs our heires and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full licence to the said Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaid, and to euery of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelue yeeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient within our cite of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Cite of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in exe and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Cite of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the said terme, they or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall finde convenient.

Provided alwaies, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely whom the said libertie of traffique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subjects whatsoeuer, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme haue trade or traffique for any manner of Merchandises, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Cite, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, command, and prohibite all and euery our Subjects whatsoeuer, other then onely the said Cities of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and euery of them by themselves, or by their factors or seruants during the said terme, to trade or traffique, for or with any marchandise, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandises, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the said terme, shall trade or traffique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our priuilege and prohibition, vntill it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the said Cities of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthurst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington,

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rington, Iohn Tedcattle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hirccock, George Li-
diare, &c. of bz, and with the expresse licence and consent of the moze part of them then liuing
and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee
liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and cer-
taine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starke, and the
rest abovesaid, and to euery of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force of validitie touching
the said trade of traffique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Erles,
Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for
12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforesaid should not be pre-
uented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for vs, our heires and succe-
ssors, straightly prohibite and forbid all manner of person or persons, as well strangers of what
nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subjects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Star-
kie, &c. and euery of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from henceforth during the said
terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or
to any the dominions thereof, any manner of marchandizes whatsoever growing, or being made
within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, unless it be by and with
the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and
licence of the moze part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes y the sayd Erle of
Leicester (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against
this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all
and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the
tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and
euery which said forfeitures whatsoever mentioned or specified in these our present Letters pa-
tents, shall be to vs our heires & successors: And the other moitie of al and euery the said forfeitures,
we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearly and wholly for vs,
our heires and successors, giue and graunt vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these
our Letters patents, vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shall bee sufficient
authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and
to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the
said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the
goods, marchandizes and thinge whatsoever mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to
be forfeited at any time or times during the said terme of twelue yeeres: which said allowance we
doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the said Erles, Thomas
Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any manner of delay or deniall of any of our
officers whatsoever, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And yet
we doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers
and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and compellers of the same, of, and within our Citie
and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England,
and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause or suffer to be taken, received,
or perceiued for vs or in our name, or to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors of any per-
son or persons, any sum of monney, or other things whatsoever during the said terme of
12. yeeres, for, and in the name or title of place of any custome, subsidy or other thing or duties to vs,
our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatso-
euer growing, being made or coming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions
thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customes & sub-
sidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customes, of, and for any the said marchants,
sauing onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as
they and euery of them will answer at their uttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better
and moze sure obseruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs our heires & successors by
these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this
our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court, at al & euery time & times during the said terme
of 12. yeeres, at & vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the at-
turneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall
and may make & direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moze sufficient by & of the said
close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or chancellors of our heires and
successors in all and euery, or to any port or portes, creeke, haven, or other places within this our
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realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the attornies, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out of from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subside or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factors or factores, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witness whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witness our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of Iulij in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sw. in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.



Vpon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maiesties twoine Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent vnto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, king of Fesse and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commission, instructions, and her Maiesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a gallie ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arrived in Casitie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to advertise the Emperour of my arrivall: who immediately gaue order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine of one and my companies cariages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Evans, Edward Salcor, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and cariages, I came at length to the river of Tensit, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents under the Olive trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselves, and the French and Flemish, and diuers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arrived the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Iudaria of Iunie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3. dayes, I had access to the kings presence, deliuered my message and her Maiesties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had favourable audience from time to time for thre yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Maiesties Agent in Liger: and whensoever I had occasion of buisnesse I was admitted either to his Maiestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person, and the chiefest about his Maiestie. The particulars of my seruice, for diuers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leave obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon some occasion I was stayed vntill the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending vpon me for my guard and casitie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being five dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our ships do commonly take in their loading, where I arrived the 11. of the same month. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of November I embarked my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Capitaine Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee vpon an Ambassage to her Maiestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, per the 10. yeeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together up toward London, we were met without the

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citie with the chiefeſt marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horſebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horſe, and to the Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by horſebacke, on Sundaye at night the 12. of January 1589.

Eſte es vn traslado bien y fielmente ſacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fez y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenores eſte, que ſegue.



On el nombre de Dios piadoſo y miſericordioſo, &c. El ſeruo de Dios ſoberano, el conquisador por ſu cauſa, el ſucceſſor enſalcado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Lariffe, Haceni, el que perpetuo ſu honra, y enſalce ſu eſtado. Se pone eſte nueſtro real mandado en manos de los criados de nueſtras alcaſas puertales, mercaderes Ingoleſes; para que por el ſepan todos los que la preſente vieren, con nueſtro alto Conſejo los ampara con el ſauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les impetiere y demandare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendiſos, y en qualquiera viſta, que fueren ningunos los capitiuados en eſtos nueſtros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescan: que les eubre el amparo de nueſtro poder de qualquiera ſauiſa; y ningun los impida con mano de enemiſtad, ni ſe darà cauſa, de que ſe agrauien en qualquiera manera con el ſauor de Dios y de ſu amparo. Y mandamos a los Alcajdes de los nueſtros puertos y fortalezas, y a los que en eſtos nueſtros reynos ſe tienen cargo, y a toda la gente common, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden de que ſean offendiſos en ninguna manera; eſto ſerà neceſſariamente: Que es eſcrita en los medios dias de Rabel, ſegundo anno de nueue cientos, y nouenta y ſeyſ.

Concorda el dia deſta carta con veynte dias de Março del año de mil y quiniento y ochenta y ſiete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per ſu Mageſtad iſque, y romance de verbo ad verbum, como en el ſe contiene, y en Feo dello ſiruo de my nombre, ſechó vt ſupra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copy well and truly tranſlated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marrues, whose tenor is as followeth: to wit, That no Englishman should be molested or made ſlaves in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforeſaid Al Hamet Rehan.

The same in English.



In the Name of the glorious and merciful God, &c. The ſervant of the ſupreme God, the conqueror in his cauſe, the ſucceſſor advanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the ſonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Lariffe, the Haceni, whoſe honour God long increaſe and advance his eſtate. This our princely commandment is deliuered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in our ſtate, by palaces: to the ende that all men which ſhall ſee this preſent writing, may vnderſtand that our princely countaile will defend them by the ſauor of God, from any thing that may impeach, hurt them in what ſort ſocuer they ſhall be wronged: and that, which ſhall ſocuer they ſhall trouble, nor man ſhall take them captiue in theſe our kingdomes, ports, and places, which belong vnto vs, which alſo may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any moleſtation whatſocuer: and that no man ſhall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them, and ſhall not giue occaſion that they may be grieued in any ſort by the ſauor and aſſiſtance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortrelles, and all ſuch as beare any authoritie in theſe our dominions, and like wiſe, all the common people, that in no wiſe they do moleſt them, in ſuch ſort that they be no way offendiſed or wronged. And this our commandment ſhall remaine inuolable, being reſiſted in the month of the month of Rabel in the yere 998.

The date of this letter agreeeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete for his Maieſtie, haue tranſlated and turned out of the Arabian into Spaniſh word for word as is contained therein: and in witneſſe thereof haue ſubſcribed my name as aforeſaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoſo piadador.

Oracion de Dios ſobre nueſtro Senor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados a el.

in letter of Abdel Hamet to the Erie of Leicester.



El ſeruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y enſalcado por la gracia de Dios, Myra Momany, hijo de Myra Momany, nieto de Myra Momany, el Lariffe, el Haceni, que Dios ſalve, a ſus reynos, y embalse ſus mandados, para al Senor muy aſſumado y muy illuſtre, muy el Conde de Leyceſter, deſpues de dar los honres devididos a Dios y las oraciones.

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vidas a le Propheta Mahumet. Seruira esta por os hazer saber que llego a qui a nuestra real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y nuestro Ambaxador, que aqui esta en nuestra corte me dio a entender la causa de la tardanza de los rebuenos hasta agora: el qual descemiento rezebi- mos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta a lo que a nos esorinays por causa de Iuan Herman, y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegasse vuestra carta por la quexa del am- basador, que se aua quexada del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y assi queda agora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la iusticia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Senmor os tenga en su gu- ardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28 dias del mes de Remo- dan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light vpon our lord and prophet Mahumer, and those that are obe- dient vnto him.

The seruante of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the son of Myra Momanyn, the Iariff, the Hazen, whose kingdomes God maintaine and aduance his authoritie: vnto the right fauours, right noble, a right highly esteemed Erie of Leicester, after due praises giuen vnto God, a due blessings and salutations rendoyed vnto the prophet Mahumer. These are to giue you to vnderstand, that your letters arrived here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the contents thereof. And your Ambassadors which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges vntill this time: whitch reckoning we accept of, and holde our selues as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you wryte vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the selfe same com- plaine which your Ambassadors hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had alrea- dy commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambassadors had made of him, wher vpon he still remaineth in hold, and shal so continue vntill further iustice be done vpon him ac- cording to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written as our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20 day of the moneth Remodan, Anno 1996.

which in
may be 1587.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

Vy alto, y muy poderoso Senmor,
Auiedo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y voluntad, que nos teney, y quanta boua, y fauor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testi- monio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de lo otro muy grande conuenio, y sa- tisfacion: y asy no podemos dexar de agradecer oslo como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadosnos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, a quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente a nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseyas ser os embiadas de a- qui. Y aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente coplazer, como pedia, ha sucedido, que las gu- erras, en que stamos al presente ocupados, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos pero mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme a lo que por agora la necesidad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declaro a nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo recibierays en buena parte y conforme al animo, con que os lo cedemos. Y porque nos ha sido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder contra vn Iuan Her- man vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha granemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandamos: a- nuamos dado orden a nuestro dicho Agente de de xiros mas particularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys asy cumplir: y que seays formado de fauorecer siempre al dicho Agente, y tenerlo en buen credito, como hasta agora aueys hecho, sin permitir, que nadie os ha- ga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complomys muy por entero todo, lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Senmor guarde vuestra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenosich a 20. de Julio 1587.

The Emperour
letter to the
Emperour.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie Prince, Having vnderstood from our Agent the great affecti- on and good will which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you shew him for our sake, to the end to giue vs moze ample testimonie of your friendship, we haue recei- ued very great contentment & satisfaction, alwel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We haue also receiued your letters, and do not a litle reioyce thereof, because they come from a prince vnto whom we are so much be- holden. Our Agent hath wrytten vnto vs concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent vnto you from hence. And althet we wish that we could particularly satisfy you, as you de- sire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherin at this present we be builed, wil not suffer vs fully

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to doe the same: neuertheless, wee haue commaunded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit vs, as our Agents will declare unto you more particularly, hoping you will receive it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified vnto vs that you haue promised to proceede in iustice against one John Herman our subiect, which hath grievously offended vs, in such sort as wee haue sent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which wee desire to be done in this business, praying you also to command the same to be put in execution: and that it should please you alwayes to fauour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserve your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 30. of Iulij 1587.

John Herman an
English reuel.

A voyage to the *Azores* with two pinases, the one called the *Serpent*, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth*, both of them belonging to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, written by *John Enslem* Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour of the Ile of *Saint Michael*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* gouernour of the Straits of *Magalanes* in the yeere 1586.

The 10. of June 1586, we departed from *Plimouth* with two Pinases, the one named the *Serpent*, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth* of the burthen of 50. Tunns, both of them belonging to *Sir Walter Raleigh* knight; and directing our course towards the coast of *Spaine*, & from thence towards the *Iles* of the *Azores*, we took a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of *S. Michaels* Island, being a *Portugal*, hauing other *Portugals* and *Spaniards* with him. And from thence we sailed to the *Island* of *Graciola*, other *Portugals* and *Spaniards* with him. But at the first not greatly respecting whō we took, so that we might haue enriched our selues, which was the cause of this our trouble, so that we might haue known of what nation we were, wee displayed a white like ensigne in our maine coppe, which they seeing, made ascompt that we had bene some of the king of *Spaines* Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we took downe our white flagge, for English men of war: but when they saw, it made them to fide as fast as and spread abroad the *Crosse* of *S. George*, which when they saw, it made them to fide as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the wast of the *Straights* of *Magalan* into the *Sea*, and thereupon immediately we took her, wherein wee also took a gentleman of *Spaine*, named *Pedro Sarmiento*, gouernour of the *Straights* of *Magalan*, which saide *Pedro* we brought into *England* with vs, and presented him to our Countesse Lady the *Queene*.

The gouernour
of S. Michael
taken prisoner.

Pedro Sar-
miento the go-
uernour of the
Straits of
Magalan taken
prisoner.

36 ship laden
with his cabinet
and 2 persons
against.

One of the
ships taken,
and sent along
with 2 persons
home.

The Caruel is
taken.

After this, lying off and about the *Islands*, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine made of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall took her, being laden with fish from *Cape Blanke*, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we descried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a *Carauel*, to whom we gaue chase, which they seeing, with all speed made in an anker, and hauing the winde of vs certaine furlongs there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs we could not hurt them with our ships, but we hauing a small boate, which we called a light hoole, wherein my selfe was, being a *Spulqueter*, and foure more with *Caluiers*, and foure thundred, came neere vnto the shippes against the winde, which when they saw vs come towards them they caried a great part of their merchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went on land, and as soone as we came within *Spulquet* shot, they began to shoot at vs with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we booyed one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs passed more neere vnto the shoare, and booyed the *Carauel*, which did rine within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at vs, but yet in despite of them all we took her, and one onely *Negro* therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes, and being becalmed vnder the land, we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the *Fort* still shooting at vs, and the people on land with *Spulqueters* and *Caluiers*, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my *Spulquet* being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike

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strike the gunner of the foyr to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, hauing taken these due sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fith, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Mast to serue our Admiralls turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (sauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with thzee other of the pynical men and two Negroes) leauing them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. daies if neede were.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppes disceried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not about 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the fletee wee had disceried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Gallions, the rest were small shippes and Carauels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, a no kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the fletee and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powdce, wee were forced to giue them ouer against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but needfullie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitye of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth with in 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant top, not onely with great Oynance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Oynance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answer them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Raleigh being our owner, rewarded vs with our shares.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, ware, hides, rice, byssell, and Cusser, as by the testimonie of Iohn Euesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Coppoiall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row of Salath, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable seruice performed by Sir Francis

Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadix: and of his destroyng of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sa- cre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, and thence crossing ouer to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the *Sant Philip* comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that euer was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.



Her Maiestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuasion of England, by good aduise of her graue and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a fletee of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary.ouer that fletee she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good seruices she had sufficient prooffe) to whom she caused 4. shippes of her Maiestie to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture where in himselfe went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Admiraltie; the Dread-nought under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4. shippes two of her pinasses were appointed as haub-maids. There were also added vnto this fletee certaine tall shippes of the Citie of London, of whose speciall good seruice the Generall made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maiestie. This fletee set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the month of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two shippes of Middle-borough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz & there about ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with all speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and prouisions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his fletee into the Harboe of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were

The prizes
sent home.

Two Ca-
racks, 10. Gal-
lions, 12. small
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The 2. pinasses
retained for
England.

assailed over against the Towne by fire Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and divers other small vessels under the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the Golden. At our first coming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Ragusa of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of basse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despite of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them under the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugeness in burthen about 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Parquette of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings provision of victuals for the furnishing of his fleet at Lisbon: the fifth being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spikes, nails, yron hoops, horse-shoes, and other like necessities bound for the West Indies we fired in like manner. Also we tooke a ship laden with wine for the Kings provision, which wee carried out to the Sea with our shot, and discharged the said wines for our owne store, and after ward set her on fire. There were also 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe hatched by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by vs ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, sunke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 20. at the least, being in our iudgement about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of vs at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides that which was at Cadiz. We found little ease during our abode there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places convenient they placed new ordinance to offend vs with: besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which nevertheless was a pleasant sight for vs to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon vs day and night. In discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemy. Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which breed such a copiousness in the heart of the Parquette of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enjoyed good day after, but within few moneths (as may easily be supposed) died of extreme griefe and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disaine of vs, to make some passage with their ordinance, at which time the wind stanced upon vs, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to an anchor within a league of the town: where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffered vs to ride quietly.

We now have had experience of Gallie-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Patent ships will make no account of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunity for their advantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, were riding in a narrow gut, the place yielding no better, and given to maintain the same. Butt wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might dyne cleare off vs. Thus being victualled with bread and wine at the enemies cost for divers moneths (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Capitaine Crosbie into England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto her Patent all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at severall times of ships, barkes, and Caravels well neere an hundred, laden with boopes, gally-arres, pipe-staves, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, at which we burned, having before taken the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fliter-boats and other small craft, to their great hindrance; and (as we suppose) to the better overthrow of the shipping of their Tunnies for the same pere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the

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ter to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow as our pleasure, we allated the same castle, and thre other strong holdes, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before theauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Calcais, where the Marques of Sanea Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing vs chase his ships a shoare, & take and carry away his barks and Carauels, was content to suffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and neuer charged vs with one Canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him word that he was thre ready to exchange certaine bullers with him, the Marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it couenient to spend no longer time vpon this coast: and theretore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sane Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance hee tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courtesously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that euer was taken coming forth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euill signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The Carak
called the Sane
Philip taken.

The riches of this prize seemed so great vnto the whole Company (as in truerh it was) that they assured themselves euery man to haue a sufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all resolved to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole flecte and this rich booty, to their owne profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and spying and slaking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: where by themselves and their neighbours of Holland haue bene encouraged, being men as full of inuigilation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London for a trade to the Riuer of Senega and Gambrin in Guinea, 1588.



Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer, and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our Officers, ministers and iudges whatsoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter Marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our countrey of Devon Marchant,

Richard Doderige of Bonellable in our saide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Daffell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly moued by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to undertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: to witte, from the Northernmost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along the coast vnto the Southernmost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambrin, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already once performed at cozdily: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly traffique and trade of marchandize into those Countreies, will not only in time be very beneficiall to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely fauour line and continue here vnder our protection: And considering that the aduenturing and emperilling of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazards to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our saide louing subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Daffell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better encouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the said Countreies, shal haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine

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wares, and marchandizes, where with they, or any of them shal, during the said terme of 10. yeeres, trade, or traffique, or from the said Countreies, or any part thereof, according to the limitation a-
bout mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalf. And further,
we do by these presents giue and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Brayley, Gil-
bert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderidge, Anthony Dassel, and
Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receiue into their societie and compa-
ny, to be traders with them, as is asfoze said, and the most part of them, for the time being; that they,
and euery of them, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assigns, shall and may, from time to
time, during the said terme of 10. yeeres, attach, arrest, take, and seise all, and all manner of ship, and
ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, which shall be brought from, or caried to the
said coasts and parts of Guinea asfoze limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true mea-
ning of the same, declared and expresse in these our letters patents. Well and euery which said
sofseitures whatsoever, the one third part shall be vnto vs, our heires, and successors, and another
third part thereof we giue and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide
Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is asfoze said. And the other third part of all the
same sofseitures, w^{ch} so by these presents, of our certayne knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our
heires and successors, give and grant clerely and wholly vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert
Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderidge, Anthony Dassel, and Ni-
cholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shal receiue into their societie, and company, as is
asfoze said. And these our letters patents, of the intendment or exemplification of the same, without
any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said terme yeeres, be a sufficient
warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our
Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, to whom it shall or may apper-
taine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one third part of all the said sofseitures, to the use of the said Por-
tugals, and one other third part of the same sofseitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert
Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderidge, Anthony Dassel, and
Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shal receiue into their societie and Company, to
be traders with them, as asfoze saide, to their owne proper use and behoofe: which said allowances
and payments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and commaund, to be
from time to time duly made and perfozmed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our
officers asfoze said, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoever. And we do straightly charge
and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and far-
mers of our Customes and subsidies, and controulers of the same, of and within our portes of the ci-
tie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other portes, creekes, and places, within this our
Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoever,
which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies,
that they, ne any of them by themselves, their clerks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take
or receiue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our use,
or for, or in the names, or to the uses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any
summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoever, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for,
or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or dutie, to vs, our heires, or
successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchand-
izes, to be transpoted, caried, or brought to or from the priuiledged places, befoze in these presents
mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the booke of sub-
sides or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods,
wares, or marchandizes, to be sent to, or returned from any the priuiledged places, befoze in these
presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William
Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderidge, Anto-
nie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them
shall receiue into their societie and Company, as asfoze said. Provided alwaies, that if at any time
hereafter, we our selues, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our
pryue Counsell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed
with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spi-
cer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderidge, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or
to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shal receiue into their Compa-
nie and societie, as is asfoze said, or other wise to our officers in our portes of Exeter, or Plymouth, by
them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, that our will and plea-
sure is, that the said trade and traffique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coasts
and partes of Guinea befoze limited: then immediately from and after the ende of sixe moneths

neer insuing, after such signification & notification is to be given to any of the said Company and societie, as is also said, or other wise to our Officers in our port of Exeter or Plymouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, these our present letters patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be utterly voyde, and of none effect, ne valdittie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witness our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Realme 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set forth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse: Written by James Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yere 1588.



Upon the twelfth of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sailing from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plymouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather vnto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Thursday the second of January wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

The thirde of January wee had sight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast five leagues off.

The 4. we had sight of the Crofiers in the morning.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North North-east, we founded and had 50. fathome blacke oale, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North North-west 8. leagues off. And Cauo Mensurado bare of vs East and by South, and wee went North-east with the maine: here the current setteth to the East Southeast alongst the shoare, and at midnight wee founded and had 26. fathome blacke oale.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as Iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Mensurado; it is a hill sailebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: 7. leagues to the South-west of that, we saw a row of hile sailebacked also, and from Cauo Mensurado are many mountaines.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabano. And towards evening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rocks to the Southward, and the current came out of the South-east-boord: we founded and had 35. fathomes.

The 21. we had a flat hill that bare North North-east off vs, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set vs to the Southward a good pace alongst the shoare South Southeast.

The 23. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the current did set East North-east.

The 28. we lay fire glasses a hille carping for the pinesse.

The last of January the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs three leagues at seven of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinesse came to an anker: and wee proved that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at five at night the aftermost land bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went South-west, and South-west and by South.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the said Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looker-out was spent, we spied vnder our Larboord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, we would haue had him to come aboard, but

Rio del oro in
22. degrees,
and 47. min.

Cauo de las
Barbas,
Crofiers,
Cauo Verde in
14. degre 43. min.
Cauo de Monte,
Cauo Mensurado.

Rio de Sestos,
Cauo dos Baixos,
Tabano.

A French ship
at Ratire,
Crua.

A merchant to
the South-
ward.

Cauo de tres
puntas.

The Castle of
Mina.

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Thursday the
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leagues we had
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shalloze.

The 15 we l
saile, because
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came our boar
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two of those trees
14 of February

The 16 of F
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that there was
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The 17 a clo
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but he would not. And ouer the castle upon the hie rocks we did see as it might be two white houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

Two white
houses.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and by into the lande were moze high ragged hills, and those I reckoned to be but little short of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hills within the land, these hills I take to be 7 leagues from the first hills. And to sea-ward of these hills is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hills the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shore.

Monte Redondo.

The 6 we were short of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we roade before Villa longa.

Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in een fadom water.

The 9 we set saile, and all alongst the shore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoon we were thwart a riuer, & to the Eastward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leaues, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 10 we set saile and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shore, which was so full of thicke woodes, that in my iudgement a man should haue much to doe to passe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we layed East and by South, and thre leagues from the shore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood upon the land was as euen as if it had bene cut with a paire of gardeners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we discerned a high tuft of trees upon the brow of a land, which shewed like a Popple head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in fve fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth.

Deep shallow
water.

The 12 in the morning we roade still in the riuers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe untill the next morning. The shallowest part of this riuer is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boat aboard, and they also said it was Rio de Iaya. Here the currant setteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westermost.

Rio de Iaya.

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shore, where the trees are thickest, and the East shore is higher then the West shore, and when wee had layed 18 leagues we had sight of a great riuer, then we ankered in thre fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we roade in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starboard cache aboard untill we came to fve fadom water, where we roade with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboard the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high bowed much like the head of a Burnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stacks of wheate or coyne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went moze to the Eastward. And here we roade still from the 14 of February untill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

A currant
Westward.

The 16 of February we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to vs againe out of the riuer, and told vs that there was but ten foote water upon the barre. All that night was howle, and yet reasonable temperate.

Ten foote wa-
ter upon the
barre of Rio
de Benin.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest, Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboard the pinnesse to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with their commodities. This day was close and howle, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoon the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Tuesday the 4 of March, a close southerly hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinnesse came aboard and Anthony Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags of

Sickness as
being out there

of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at South-west.

The 17, 18, and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at South-west. This day the pinnesse went into the river againe, and caried the Purser and the Surgeon.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the river.

The death of
the Captaine.
Pepper & Elephants teeth.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought with her 150 Cerons of sackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

A good note.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the river of Benin, and in all the coast here about, it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at South-west. And when the winde is at North-east and North-erly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very in-temperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile home wards in the name of Iesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at South-west, and lay West and by North, but it prooued calme all that night, and the current South-east.

The 14 the river of Benin was North-east 7 leagues from the shoare, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude four degrees and 20 minutes.

The 23 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minutes of latitude.

A breake still
current.

The 8 of May we had sight of the Shore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the current. In this place St. Townson was in the manner deceived with the current.

The 9 we had sight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darker & rowlie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North Starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the North-west.

The 6 of June we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, yet we were within the height of the sunne, so it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minutes to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a countre sea, out of the South-ward.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Northward of
Maragallo all
along the sea.

The 12 of July in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockward, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with vs untill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees five and forty minutes of latitude.

The 25 at five of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Ile of Pike, it bare North and by East from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told vs good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cueruo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Bricous, and thre of them followed vs untill noone, and then gaue vs over.

The 30 we had sight of Capt. Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plymouth sound, and roade in Causon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Eastwater and there stayed untill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sickness.

The nine and twentieth we set saile from Plymouth, and arrived at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios of bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their

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Their

Their money is pretty white shels, for golde and siluer we law none. They haue also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, and they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote there- of is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men upon fish-daves had rather eate the rootes which ople and vinger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They haue good store of fope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretty fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beastes made vpon them. There is vpon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke of hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vntill they be married, and then they goe covered from the nubble downe to the knees. They would buy our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also buy the great store of Oranges and Plantains which is a fruit that groweth vpon a tree, and is very like vnto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his mercifull goodness to giue me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water with little cost, which did serue vs five moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principall men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any fying in Plimmouth. Thus both God prouide for his creatures, vnto whom be praise now and for euermore, Amen.

Inamia, a kind
of bread in Ue-
na.The vine of palme
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hony.This pyrie
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calling into an
hugher of
water an hand
ful of bay-salt,
as the author
told me.

The voiage set forth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird marchants
of London to the kindome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the
Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse in the yere 1588, briefly set downe in this letter fol-
lowing, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time
of the ships first arrivall at Plimouth.



Whyspfull Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske
the more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust
you will pardon me, till my coming by to you: in the meane time let this suffice.
Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of Eng-
land with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we helo on
our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of February fol-
lowing we arrived in the haven of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship o-
uer the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which
we had put the chiefe of our marchandise, we went by the river to a place called Goto, where we
arrived the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the nearest place that we could come to by
water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our
arrivall, and of the cause of our coming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a no-
ble man in their company to bring vs up to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our com-
modities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandise to the kings Factor, & the 25 day
we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The six & twenty day we
went to the Court to haue spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solempne feast then kept
amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, & chiefe man, that had the
dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered
vs, that we should haue all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

Goto is Benin.

The great citie
of Benin.

The first of March, we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made vs the like courtesies
and serued our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore
shewed vs one basket of greene pepper, and another of bry in the stalkes: wee desired to haue it
plucked from the stalkes and made cleane, who answered that it would aske time, but yet it should
be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found
it so vnprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had euer reposed thither, to haue
pepper. The next day there were sent vs 12 baskets, and so a litle euer day vntill the 9 of March
at which time we had made vpon 64 serens of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of
our being at Benin (our naturall at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell
all of vs into the disease of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods
which we already had received, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arrived, I found all
the men of our pinnesse sick also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to conuey the pinnesse
and

and goods downe to the place where our ship roade: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goro, the boate came up from the ship, to see how all things stood with vs, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboard, many of our men died, namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 of 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to retorne againe to Benin. Thereupon I sent by Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood; if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your Sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsleede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teere, as they could then find, speedily to retorne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would use all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sickness so increased and continued amongst vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboard, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get by our ankens, but yet at the last by the mercie of God having gotten them by, but leaving our pinnesse behind vs, we got to sea, and set saile, which was upon the 13 of Appill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather up their crums and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores upon the 25 of July, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained living were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so well out, by Gods good providence, that we met with your ship the *Barlow Burre*, on this side the *March Cape*, which did not only keepe vs good company, but also sent vs five fresh men aboard, without whose helpe, we should surely have tasted of many inconveniences. But by this good means we are now at the last arrived in *Plimouth*, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I deferre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to command
Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set forth by Master John Newton, and Master John Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the *Richard* of Arundell of the burthen of one hundredth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master James Welsh was chiefe Maister,



On the 27th of September 1590 we set saile from *Roxcliffe*, and the 18 of the said month we came into *Plimouth* sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the *Lisart*, and so passed on our voyage untill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of *Forteventura* one of the *Canarie Islands*, which appeared very ragged as we called by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 14 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I never saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships five monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a *Gobarto*) which put up his head to the deepe sides where he coule was in lifting the victuals, wher I thought the fish would have caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calms water as now it is at this.

The 24 we had sight of *Cauo Verde*, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the wind will be *Northwesterly*, and so it proved.

The 15 of November we met with three currents out of the *West* and *Northwest*, one after another, with an houres time betwene each current. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 4 minutes.

The 18 we met with two other great currents out of the *Southwest*, and the 20 we saw another current out of the *North*, and the 24 we had a great current out of the *Southwest*, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a half every watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league every watch for the space of 24 hours, by means of a great bellie and current that came still out of the South.

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The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East North-east, and North-east, and were in 5 degrees and a half the pinnelle lost us wholly.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8, day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the South-east boord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shoze the current set South-east along the shoze with a billow still out of the South-east boord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Hewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from us, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not about a mile from the shoze, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plainly that the rockes went not along the shoze, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minutes.

Two rockes.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunsleur, who robbed our pinnelle, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards evening we were thwart of a river, and right over the river was a high tute of trees.

A French ship of Hunsleur.

The 17 we anchored in the rivers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betwene us & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a half into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foze land, thus it ward night that we could perceive no more of the lande, but only that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the river of Thames, and this was the change day of the spoone.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne of us West, and it shewed low by the water flow like Islands, this was the east of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning we were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shoze.

The 20 we were thwart of a river called Rio de los Barboas.

The 21 we went along the shoze East, 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land began to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

Rio de los Barboas.

The 24 still going by the shoze, the land was very low and full of trees by the water flow, and at 12 of the clocke we anchored thwart of the river called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shoze with the marchants, but they durst not put into the river because of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance vpon the barre.

Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we sailed along the shoze, and anchored at night in seuen fadom because a great current would haue put us backe, which came from the East South-east from Papuas.

Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we took a Carauell but the men were fled on land, then we went aboard her, but she had nothing in her but only a little ople of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with us, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue us one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring us the rest the next day.

Arda.

The first of Iammarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboard againe, and presently we vnmigged the Carauell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast vpon the water flow, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there anchored.

Iammarie.

Villa longa.

The third we were as far as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shoze and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this river a Date tree higher then all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and euery night anchored, at the shoze as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared up, & then we found our selues thwart of the river of Iaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bore into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in five fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the river of Benin in four fadoms water.

The river of Iaya.

The

The river of Benin.

Goto.

The Carauell brought tenth aboords.

298. sacks of pepper.

Three Spouts.

They returned homeward.

Winds.

We departed in company of a pyle.

Coron.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the Hallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy every day untill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath bene an temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off vs, we riding in foure fadome water.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day *Sp.* Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

The 22 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboords from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons of sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Carauell, and *Sp.* Hassald went with her to Goto.

The 5 of March *Sp.* Carauell came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Carauell came aboords with water for our provision for the sea, and this day also we lost our hallope.

The 17 a howle raine day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larboard side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualled our Carauell to go with vs to the sea.

The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the river of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from vs.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it toze and split our fore saile, and also the Carauells fore-saile and maine-saile, with the winde at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from from Cauo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

The first of July we had sight of the Island of Braua, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cauo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenees ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and Sir Richard Greeneuill Viceadmirall. They kept vs in their company untill the 15 day at night, themselves lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

The 15 we had leave to depart with a ship-boate laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenees ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her untill she were harborized in England.

The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Cdiu bare off vs East and by South six leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell vs no newes. The next day we had sight of another saile, this day also one of our company named *Sp.* Wood did.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof *Sp.* Haller was Master.

The second of October we met with a ship of New-castle which came from Newfound-land, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Silie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staid all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and coming out had three fadome upon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, though Crow-land, and shortly after we had sight of the land end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysan.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we layd untill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sackes of pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrells of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kerlies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Lyon buttynoughs, Bracelets of Copper, Copall, Hawke belles, Possettales, Wax, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable unto vs then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we had very good water in the shippe which we brought out.

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out of the river of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of June 1592.) to be seen aboard the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can peece.

In this voyage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinocall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we robe. And under the line wee did kill great stoe of small Dolphins, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing unto vs, and the fish neuer soooke vs, until we were to the Northwards of the Islands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort unto vs, being nine moneths before at Sea without any companie.

It is more temperate under the equinocall line, on the coast of Guinea & Benin.

By me James Welsh master of the Richard of Armadell, in both these voyages to the river of Benin.

An Aduertisement sent to Philip the second king of Spaine

from Angola by one Baltazar Almeida de Sousa, touching the

state of the foresayd countrey, written the 21 of

May, 1591.



De 16 of Iuly I certified your maiestie by Iohn Frere de Bendanha your maiesties pay-master and commissioner, with the gouernour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertise your maiestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serua no encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabasa, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal souldiers: after ward being there encamped it hapned that the king of Maramba sent a strong and mightie army, in warlike manner, with strange inuentions for the sayd purpose. So the king of Angola gaue this other king battell, and the gouernour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrowen and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your maiestie. Whereupon the Gouernour assembling the rest of his Portugal souldiers, to the number of 350 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreover, besides the manifold losses which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maiestie hath sustained other great misfortunes both in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your maiestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your maiestie may vnderstand the estate of this countrey. This realme, for the most part thereof hath twise bene wonne, and twise lost for want of good gouernement. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iustice, but haue pitifully neglected the same, and pleased the cleane contrary, and this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maiesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some noble and mightie man to rule here, which must bring authoritie to your maiestie, and by taking straight order that every capitaine which doeth conquer here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your maiestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient stoe of provision for them. And by this means your highnesse shall know what yeerely reuenue Angola will yeeld unto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your maiestie shall reape but litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your maiestie any seruice in giuing information of the state of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue scene the order of it, vpon the vnderstanding of your maiesties pleasure herein, I will doe my best indouour. And the cause wherefore I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Gouernours of this realme would suffer none of the capitaines which haue conquered this countrey to inioyne your maiestie of that which is needfull for your seruice, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preferre your catholique person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of your crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

Paulo Dias Gouernour of Angola.

The king of Maramba, 114 Portugals slain in Angola.

Amasanguano the Portugals abode in Angola.

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdom vnto obedience.

Withall tribute of trib goods mouers.

Your maiesties most loiall subiect,

Baltazar Almeida de Sousa.

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A

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel *Antonie VVink-*
field employed in the voyage to *Spaine and Portugall*, 1589. sent to his particu-
lar friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced
by particular reports, have entred into conceits tending to the discredit of the enterprise
and Actors of the same.



Although the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many
persuasions you used to hold me at home, & the pursuit of honorable actions by
me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that advice, which in love I know you
gave me: yet in respect of the many assurances you have promised me of your kin-
dest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either love or extreme me the less,
at this my returne: and therefore I will not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thank-
full, & discharge any part of that dueie I owe you: which now is none other then to offer you a
true discourse how the wars of Spaine and Portugall have passed since our going out of Eng-
land the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of July. Wherein I will (under your fa-
vourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which con-
firmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our
abode there: thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fable did draw me from the fruition
of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more
worthy of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a soldier, I grew doubtfull
whether to employ my time in wars of the low Countries, which are in a suchlike manner main-
tained by her majestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her
many honorable personages, in revenge of insupportable wrongs offered unto the state of our
countrie by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is re-
puted before the defendant, by so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive wars.
For had the duke of Parma his turne to be a defendant, as it was his good fortune to invade: from
whence could he have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid upon him, or
what could he have bene said more of him, then of a desperadoe (though never so valiant) in a pri-
vate Duell? Even, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the game
of one towne or any small defense giueth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a coun-
treys, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeild any man who is bound by his place to
trep, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeild any man who is bound by his place to
guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the re-
ports of former histories may assure us, which have still laied the same of all warres upon the In-
vader. And do not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall
to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the enemy shall pro-
cure them? Whereas in this voye time of our Adventure, we have won a towne by escalade, bat-
tered & assaulted another, overthrowen a mighty prince power in the field, landed our armie in
several places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the
suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his
frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: where by I conclude, that
going with an Invader, and in such an action as every day giueth new experience, I have much to
vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carry me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Not withstan-
ding the vehement persuasions you used with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof I shew
you received them from others, you must giue me leave to acquaint you with the error you were
of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to follow this action by the
king into the true effects of this journey, will iudicially convince themselves of mistaking the
matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more es-
sentiall for us alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the
Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principall states
of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000
hoyle, & almost 30000 foot, beat Don John de Austria out of the countrie, who was possessed of a
very few frontier townes? & that it now be laid upon her majesties shoulders to remove so mighty
an enemy, who hath left us but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? Is it not a tourney of a few
moneths, not an auxiliary warre of few yeeres that can dammit the king of Spaine in those pla-
ces where we shall meet at every 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the win-
ning then will peere pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrie is quartered by
siters which have no passage unpolluted, and where most of the best soldiers of Christendome that

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The Portugall voyage. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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be on our aduerser party be in prison. But our armie, which hath not cost her maiestie much aboute the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all foyses, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, whereof one was second in the last yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado; taken from him aboute 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 bulks and 20 French ships well man- ned fit and ready to serue him for men of war against vs, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slain and taken the principal men of war he had in Galicia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few ad- uentures discovered how easily her maiestie may without any great aduventure in short time pull the Tyrant of the world upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his usurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an armie so ac- complished, as may not be subject to those extremities which we haue endured: except he pay, for shole defenses, his forces out of the Low countries and furnish his garrisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be incited therunto, the by any force that can be used there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more im- porting then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the world (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valoure, too indifferently of his pur- poses against vs, or too unworthily of them that undertooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by in- uasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake: And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe therof.

The chances of wars be things most uncertaine: for what people soeuer undertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose he hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall find them to haue bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders, whose prebiding rather to the name the act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they haue considerably undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united & alwayes held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their inuincible armie had the last yere, as our very children can witnes, so I doubt not but this bodage hath sufficiently made known what they are euen upon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their selfe demaund, it might haue made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For both not the want of 8 of the 12 pic- ces of artillerie, which were promised vnto the aduventure, lost her maiestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted:

It was also resolved to haue sent 600 English hoyses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgoe thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should haue had for thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hol- landers: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good soldiers, so many good ships, and so many able boies more then we had:

Did there not vnto the first thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduencurers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went for ward in good earnest, aduised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the iourney:

Was there not moreover a round summe of the aduventure spent in leaping, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the seruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Puti- nies of Ostend were suppressed, a seruice of no small moment:

What misery the detaching of the time of our setting out, which should haue bene the 1 of Fe- bruary, did lay upon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremities the want of that moneths vic- tuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might haue giuen vs into, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen us in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galicia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune reuertualled vs largely: of which crosse windes, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generalls being wearie, thurst to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harbor to lose any part of the better, when it

should come up hauing their men on shoze : in which two dayes 23 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were leattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vhan.

These burdons layed upon our Generals befoze they going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour : for haue done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 hoyle, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their aduantage, and one moneth victu- als of their proportion, what may be coniectured they would haue done with their full complement.

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to euerne all those impediments to the honoz of them against whom they were intended : and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by the, whom many haue sought to obscure : who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof, in- stead of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mightie subiect dooze vnder the, I do not see how any man could iustly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the same, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom fozen countries haue for their conduct in seruice woorthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable enuoyage, but mightily hindered, euen to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their countries: whose wozech I wil not value by my reproch, lest I should seem guilty of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come shoze in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instructi- on against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shal vnderstand that General Norris fro his booke was trained up in the wars of the Admirall of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Essex in Ireland : which with what commendations he then discharged, I leave to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Upon the breach betwixt Don Iohn & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres : he was then made Marshall of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo : and after that, General of the army in Finland : at his coming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ire- land, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was sent for, & sent Generall of the English forces which her maiestie the lent to the Low countries, which he held till the erle of Lei- cesters going ouer. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should haue bene eried by barrel. At which places of commendement which neuer any Englishman successfully attained vnto in fozen wars, and the high places her maiestie hath thought him woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether vnlike to discharge that which he undertooke.

What same general Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath laid vpon the Spanish nation. I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language creating of the same, & desire you considering the weighty matters they haue in all the courts of their liues with wonderfull re- putation managed, that you will esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, though so many weakneses, & disappointments of those agreements which led them to rather to undertake the same. But it may be you will thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voyage, or concerned of the Commanders, & labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & want that haue bene amongst vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders : for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene reeclured home with triumph for little merite, & that our owne countrey hath honozed men heretofore with admiration for aduentures vnequal to this: it might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to extend any mans com- mendations by particular remembrances, so that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, since euery vertue findeth her dire & opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiously obscured, to denounce the peoples of the action, and accoys to the full, but yet no further then with sinceritie of truth, & not without grie- uing at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men & mat- ters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to auoid the report which haue bene giuen out in reproch of the actozs and action by such as were in the same : let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casual acci- dents of war had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto : and hauing found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the ear- nest desire they had to see the matter that might colour their coming home.

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The Portugall voyage. Traffiques, and Dilcoueries.

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Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in hauing learned some wordes of Arte vled in the warres, and thoughte after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortallitie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, so that men were suffered to be drunke with the plenty of wines,

The scarcitye of Surgions,

The want of carryinge for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and aduerture to returne home againe.

These men haue either chereles wel of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, & so long to be at home, where their discourses might be wonder'd at) or missing of their Portegues and Milltrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former manner of life, then attend the end of the journey. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might lighte vpon him to morrow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not continued in any one place, but p euery place brought forth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fall sicke, p fearing to be infected by them they might lustily desire to go home.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whither soeuer they goe to want the fullnesse of their fleshy pores? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating pong fruits and drincking newe wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, euen in their garrisons? Haue there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie bring at the strongest? And could the Spanishe Armie the last yee (who had all prouisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and in the hottest season in the yee for our Climate) auoid sickness amongst their souldiers? Should we be thoughte that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and diseases to disemper them withall?

Answers to the first,

But can it be, that wee haue lost so many as the common say, perswade themselves wee haue? It hath bene pproved by stricke examinations of our musters, that wee were neuer in our fullnesse before our going from Plimouth 1000. souldiers, nor about 2500. Garrisoners. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paymētts made to them since our coming home. And I haue truly shewed you that of these numbers very nere 3000. soooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we neuer bring 15000. in all, and hauing brought home about 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleuing that we haue lost 16000. men by sickness.

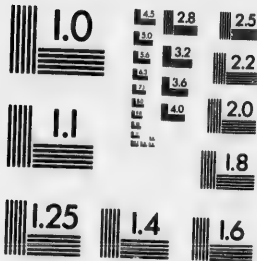
To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst vs) I answer, that in their gouernment of shires and parishes, yea in their very householdes, themselves can hardly brydle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Colonies any Alepoles unfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disorderd persons in their houses, do locke by their drinke and let Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Gallies tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Mayors, Wenchers, and Gallers, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquoz: doe they thinke that those base disorderd persons whom themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without money eue in their houses where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke; and once drunke, bred in any order of time, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our yongest men, and our best men, and for the most part our slowest men, whom the Iustices (who haue alwayes thought vnto the ship of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those more they, who disempering themselves with these hot wines, haue brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honest men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recovery of their hurtles worth acquainte their bodies with the aire of the countreys where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recovered, or past without sickness will proue most fit for partiall seruices.

Answers to the second.



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Answer to
the third.

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the capitaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then upon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that every capitaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit every capitaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knownen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those who hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

Answer to
the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may conjecture in what we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprouided for. And it was the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be unturtred and taken to that place: and the earle of Essex and he for money hired men to carry them upon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it here) threw down his own stuffe, his meane apparel & necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, & put hurt and sicke men upon them. Of whose honorable desertings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occasion to obserue the same.

Answer to
the fifth.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed upon good beues, muttons & goats, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted, two daies together, to live with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had serued for it, might haue seen in many campes in the most plentiful countrey of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in every place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most inturously exclaimed against the small provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same upon an euil that might haue fallen, then any that did light upon vs: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoever made not very large provisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very unprouident, where was plentiful store of wine, beefe and fish, & no man of the place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves, but they did not onely in the iourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Calcaia there came in such store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue used his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentiful sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme unto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I will adde to me to the true report of those actions that haue passed therein: wherein I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iust occasions thereof lead me unto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left undone by the Generals which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruit of our adventure.

Our men land
without a strike
of the Groine
the 20 of April

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the evening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemy, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mills next adjoining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did brace upon vs and upon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. General Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Island) with a wall upon a dy ditch: whereupon he resolved to tris in two places what might be done against

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against it by escalade, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some artillery to beat vpon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the plan- ting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the roade, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the compa- nies, and other provisions ready for the surpris of the baste towne, which was entered in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonel Huntley, and Capitaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boats and pir- nesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their approach: at the coynex of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Capitaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonel, I to Generall Norris, and Capitaine Sampson Lieutenant Co- lonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other coynex of the wall which layned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bree with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Capitaine Wingfield and Capitaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bree and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not find- ing any defence made against them: for Capitaine Hinder being one of them that entred by wa- ter, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Capitaine Wingfield and Capitaine Sampson; who were twise beaten from their ladders, and found very good resi- stance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to aban- don the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolved in counsell how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discovery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery side.

Then the towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Island, and others hid themselves in chambers and cellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden him- selfe in a house, did the next morning peele himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiers being in seuen companies which returned very weak (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

- Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his compa- ny was that night in the Galeon.
- Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
- Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
- Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
- Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
- Capitaine Manço Cauaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Mo- falle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batanas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats,

That there were 1000000 of felle.

A great quantity of beanes, pease, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with much & harquebuzers.

Some others also found fauour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, first and last, after we had entered the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drincking, both grew to themselves for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sortes of provision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged vs, and prejudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And hauing ouercharged the artillerie of gallion, left her on fire, which burne in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being so great, as if fifty that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entered by vs, which layne very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledd by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: not withstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Hundley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great advantage against them; but they knowing the commoditie thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new counsell: for he had like wile brought some artillerie to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedfully seene vnto, and the surp thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloister two demy-cannons, and two coluer-rings against the towne, defended or gabioned with a crosse wall, the which our battery lay; the first and second fire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaning a guard vpon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after that very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the towne, he should make a piosser or escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue bene giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parley desired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to haue faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rending of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skillfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall: who after three dayes labour (and the seventh after we were entered the bale towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the

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canon being thought aſſailable, and companies appointed as well to enter the ſame, as that which was expected ſhould be blown up by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who leaue the Generals foot-company, with whom alſo Captaine Yorke went, whoſe principall commandment was over the horſemen. And to that of the Spine, Captaine John Sampſon, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colowell to the Maſter of the Ordnance, with certaine ſelected out of diuers Regiments. All theſe companies being in armes, and the aſſault intended to be giuen in all places at an inſtant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reaſon the powder brake out backward in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was ſent with ſome choſen out of every company into the countrey for pꝛouiſions, whereof he brought in good ſtoze, and returned without loſſe.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampſon was ſent out with ſome 500 to fetch in pꝛouiſions for the army, who was encountered by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good ſpoile. The ſame night the Piners were ſet to worke againe, who by the ſecond day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Againſt which time the companies aforeſaid being in readineſſe for both places (Generall Drake on the other ſide, with two or three hundred men in pꝛivellies, making pꝛoffer to attempt a ſtrong fort vpon an Iſland beſore the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew by halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The aſſailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine preſently to giue the aſſault, performed it accordingly; but too ſoone: for hauing entered the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the firſt force of the powder was onely ſhaken and made looſe, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This ſo amazed our men that ſtood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forſooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Enſignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were ſhot in the breach, but their colours were reſcued: the Generals by Captaine Sampſons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himſelfe. Amongſt them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully loſt; who hauing three or foure great ſtones vpon his lower partes, was held ſo faſt, as neither himſelfe could ſtirre, nor any reaſonable company recover him. Notwithſtanding the next day being found to be alieue, there was ſeen or twelue loſt in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was wonderfully well aſſailed by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the pꝛuth of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the looſe earth (which was indeed but the rubbiſh of the outſide of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon ſlipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that caluerin or demy-canon can ſufficiently batter a deſenſible rampire: and of thoſe pieces which we had; the better of the demy-cannons at the ſecond ſhot brake in her carriages, ſo as the battery was of leſſe force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches throꝝ a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who ſerued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of ſuch as were of beſt iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtleſſe ſucceeded, the rather, becauſe the approach was vnblooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not ſo much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new reſolution: for finding that two dayes battery had ſo little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he firſt put in pꝛoofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the upper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazard ſo ſpeedily, and which in my conſcience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in ſo great perill of their liues by the diſpleaſure of their king in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or ſword in defending the ſame. For that day beſore the aſſault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloiſter within the towne, and many other houſes adioyning to the caſtle, to make it more deſenſible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themſelues had of holding it againſt vs, had not God (who would not haue vs ſuddenly made pꝛoud) layed that miſfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure cannons, and other pieces of battery promiſed to the ſour-ney, and not performed, might haue made her ſpecially miſtreſſe of the Groine: for though the mine were unfortunate, yet if the other breach had bene ſuch as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entered it thorowly at the firſt aſſault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of

Parma

Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who neuer entered any place at the first assault, nor aboue three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, five miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leaue ready to come thither vnder the Conde de Alcmira, either in purpose to relieue the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; so that the purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vanguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaille, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henric Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vanguard in chief, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Capitaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Capitaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Capitaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Capitaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Capitaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Capitaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Capitaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Capitaine Hinder, Capitaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the same, but through an incredible bolley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud approach we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Capitaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Capitaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so joyously seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempe (which was of wooderfull difficulty) as their bravest men that defended that place being ouerthrusten, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves vnto. There was taken the Standers with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vanguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Mineparks and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Capitaine Cooper, and one private souldier: Capitaine Barron was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so brave a charge vpon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vanguard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the country more then three miles compass on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Island next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned

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to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some moze time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builden upon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into every house of the low towne, inso much as I may well say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day, being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarcking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesaid, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Alcmira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terceis de Sanctislo, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, where withall they might either besiege vs in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betwene vs and our place of imbarcking, to fight with vs upon the advantage; for they had about 15000 souldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him Sir Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put him selfe in to the iourney against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable carriage of him selfe towards all men doeth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all seruices make him to be wondered at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would auoid the opportunity of messengers that were daily sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to him selfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay by and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with coyne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Islands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer which Cannas standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the country.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the shot of the castile, and about the waste in water, moze then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein five and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Jackson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawn to the towne; which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castile to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castile some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castile, we rested there one day; wherein some Priests and other poore men came vnto their new king, promising in the name of their country next aduoyning, that

Peniche taken.

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within two dayes he should haue a good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were unhipped.

The Generals there fully resolved, that the Armie should march ouer land to Lisbon vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the riuer thereof with the Fleet; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and fire in the ships: also that the sick & hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, and Colonel Medkerk, in the vanguard: Generall Drake, Colonel Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonel Sidneis in the battell: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonel Vmptons, Colonel Huntlies, and Colonel Brets in the arrearward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindness tooke his leave severally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wishing vs all most happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of carriages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carry their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriual in Portugal) had broken vp an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectfully regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vanguard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectfully obserued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for vs, whereby we were diuined for that time into a great scarcity. Which moued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance therof, went to the king: who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieved.

The third day we lodged our army in thre sundry villages, the one battallion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made trial of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy: who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses chozow 40 of them, & himselfe chozow more then 200 with some forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would cary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done advantageously: for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpose to encampe there: for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves vpon an hill at our comming into that village: whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vanguard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of drumme, and some what faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betwene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselves into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any

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any thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall salutation thowth all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Capitaines (Capitaine Sydnam and Capitaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute manner, as they presently dyaue them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt fire of seuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our Souldiers dyinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the towne, and hauing layed the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned alioone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Capitaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot of thereabouts, and first scowzed all the streets till they came very neere the towne: where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of coyne and other provisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vanguard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the neerest streets of the suburbs: the battell and the arrearward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Capitaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which layed to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very cuill neighbour to the towne: but the enemy hauing moze easie entry into it then we, gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrearward in the suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, so front their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowzed the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our fire dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approach in three severall streets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, dyed to his men into armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Capitaine Carley shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Capitaine Carre slaine presently, and Capitaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who was all of his regiment.

This resistance made as well here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden soule rest: inasmuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chafe of them euen to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Capitaine Yorke, with 200 of themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant major Capitaine Wilson slew in one house with his owne hands thre or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discouery of our
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naup, fleede with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent vnto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessities to the army he had brought; which offer they ioyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifye their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affection to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also haue ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoisted againe, and would haue passed by the riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse of two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe vpon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing toozth by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fiftene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant major of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuuel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall hoyle and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to Calcais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the seruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselves, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose vnbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) persuaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occasion of blotte to be layed upon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their iourney, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and wonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end sooner happened, could nothing impair their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolute to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by sending any to Calcais, and keeping a remainder behind, whence he saw them the day before so boldly fall upon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Shoulours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Calcais, they expected more supplies from all places, of Shoulours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great releeve. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fullness of his owne strength, or certaine means how he should abate the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our naup should meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the meane of our entrance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entry to Peniche, by the manner of the peeing of that towne and foze, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Priests also and the poore people that came vnto him promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Priests, and some

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some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to Torre Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There theyooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be scene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cozmet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promises, euen to the breach of the last, he desired not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our men then declining: for there was the first shew of any great sicknesse amongst them. Whereby it seemed, that either his prelate did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly louer, who promisseth himselfe fauor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

That end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway: fearing to shew themselves apparantly vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King: but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very well subiect themselves to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds so cowardly to reuolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not about 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach theyooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two dayes after our comming to Calcais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had thut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing fought them in Galicia vpon disadvantage to beat them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gaue sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon any hazard.

For what ciuill countrey had neuer suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, liuing in slavery vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke vpon their necks, attending if any strangers would vnburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves vnder it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no prooffe without this cowardly triall. Wherein he hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, haue

have reported him to be suspicious of a people, of whose insincerity he had no testimony: and to be
 careful without cause, if he had refused to give credit to their promises without any adventure.
 Let no frivolous questionist therefore enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon,
 and tarried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching a-
 way; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was
 made in the high street, till the whole army was drawn into the field, and so marched out of the ar-
 rowne, appointing Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captain Anthony Wingfield in the ar-
 rowward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have is-
 sued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field,
 every battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that
 might unto Cascais. Had we marched through his Countrey as enemies, our Shoulders had
 bene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon,
 we had bene the richest army that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth
 of every house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchan-
 dizes.

In our march that day the galleys which had some what, but not much, annoyed us at Lisbon,
 (for that our way lay along the river) attended us till we were past S. Julians, besowing many
 shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they brooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the
 Sergeant majors mule under him. The horsemen also followed us afare off, and cut off as ma-
 ny sick men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Friar, that the enemy was
 marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so wel-
 come to the Earle of Essex and the Generall, as they offered every one of them to give the messen-
 ger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more
 then to fight with them in field room, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by
 whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was
 by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was
 most false) for that it was true of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then
 went in such haste, as they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein,
 to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his coming, and there to
 try out the iustnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring
 the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartell,
 offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality: or if they would not admit of
 that; five, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the
 head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their
 returne and honourable increasp.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and
 marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in
 great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come upon them, as the Gene-
 rall was the next day certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but
 could not get other answer to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to
 bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their
 passport, that if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners
 he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but
 without answer.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellane thereof granted, that
 upon five or six shot of the canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The
 Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could
 not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to
 make him yield to that necessity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely let a guard by
 on the same, least any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought unto them.
 But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined
 to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he
 surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armes: he had one canon, two
 culverings, one basillike, and three or foure other field pieces, three score and five Shoulders,
 very good store of munition, and victualles enough in the Castle; insumch as he might have
 held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to carry there. One company of foot
 men was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked;

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The Portugall voyage. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

which without hauing that foze, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the foze being by order from the Generall blowne up by mine) the company was by stone away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of June, and so continued six dayes after to fetch in some bulks to the number of threestoeze, of Danisk, Steerin, Rostock, Lubeck & Hamburg, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings prouision, and going for Lisbon: their pyncipall lading was Cozne, Halls, Cables, Copper, and Ware: among which were some of great burthen woonderful well builbed for sailing, which had nogre at lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed nauy: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two: nines, was known to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small boat, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in sickeboats, were shipped, and the sickeboats sent home with an offer of cozne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their cozne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his boyes with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselves very forward to all seruices, and in their departure very unwilling to leaue vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The first day the Earle of Essex, upon receit of letters from her Maestty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed vnto the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Isles of Agores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them coming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Islands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with thre or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were sent ouerland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to lying away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him: for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the towne and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassadoz from the Emperoz of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Ben-casamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperoz.

The next morning the nine gallees which were sent not five dayes before out of Andalusia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) upon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the westmost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallees, and they drowned. There were also two bulks straggled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to haue relieved them, but could not be recovered: in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who seeing also upon one other bulke wherein was one Lieutenant, as he very like, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other bulke league off, a skerne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should ply for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Isles of Bayon. We lay with contrary winde about that place and the Roche, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Islands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembryng how unprouided he was for that journey, and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed by the river moze then a mile above Vigo.

Vigo taken.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on board we had cast many of our men overboard) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approached, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon every street and a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entered the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne, to beat upon the same with their artillery.

In the afternoone were sent 300 under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Pource, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borris, and as much of the country as the day would give them leave to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and coyne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the country was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gave them a respite to carry all away.

Vigo burned.

The next morning by break of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on board their ships, commanded that night on those) caused all our companies to be drawn out of the towne, and sent in two troupes to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we embarked againe.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shore, on the contrary side of the river from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alleged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with very good soldiers, as was shewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were five hundred olde Soldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the journey of England,

Under the leading of
 Capitan Puebla.
 Christoforo Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
 Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
 Don Francisco de Cespedes.
 Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Napoles.
 Don Diego de Cassana.
 Cap. Sauban.

Also be sayd there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, layd upon the walls of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sickness, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Islands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the supplying of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their appointment, being under saile never brooke at the Islands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed sailing after and after, which being in the river further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were enforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and

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The Portugall voyage. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

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and in her sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Harbours, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, carrying there all that day to water and helpe such with virtuell, as were left in wonderfull distresse by hauing the victuals that came last, carried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others, but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbours, some led by a desire of returning first whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks, sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great advantage.

Presently vpon their arrival there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery souldier five shillings in money, and the armie hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her maiesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vse, so as euery common souldier discharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceiue the souldiers estate, by comparing their power and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there haue bene some false prophets gone before vs, telling strange tales. For as our country doeth bring forth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirits, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly carried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further then the Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voyage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacite before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credit to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as euery iourney yeeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like templing spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

We be not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you see there haue bene many more beholders of these things that haue passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their mindes to the seruice, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seene into it, which their places required) had giuen them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These men discontentments and murmurings before our returning home haue made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the extremities of euery thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscaried in the iudgement of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to dilate vpon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensive war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, feeling the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that will make question, whether it be behoofull for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbours, especially that of Vlissing, by the fauour whereof our Flaue may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleet against vs, then the Spaniard shall neede annoy vs withall, who being now distressed by our common enemy, I thinke it most expedient for our

saferie

They returned
to Plimmouth.

It worthy did
from blarney.

safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late peeres lost vnto him. The one without doubt her maiestie may do without difficultie, and in so honozable sort as he shal neuer be able to dispossesse her of them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence moze speedily or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him forsee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orange had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie assembly agaynst him, how this wise enemy, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a spoiled field: where though our yroullon may bee such of our owne as we stand not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange countrey such, as with sickness and miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repostesse those countreys which haue bene lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to hying his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since let downe in counsell, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer those Low countreys, but by hying the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determind, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last peeres losse he sustained vpon our coasts, and the great dishonoz this tourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doe it, but he will mightily aduance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I willy euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to bully him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land with our impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an armie of 20000 totally furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemy of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue here in shewed you. It is not the spoyle of Siuil sufficient to pay moze then shall bee needfull to bee sent agaynst it, whose defence (as that of Lisbon) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discovered what kind of men they be, euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and needfull losse before his further remououed off governments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victoary then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an armie there at a charge by many parties greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchantes, and very like to preuent him of his provisions coming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Maie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some peeres find themselves come, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, helve madders, nor make powder out of his metalls, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (I say) will hold opinion it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreement with them will impeach the trade of our marchantes, and so impoverish our countrey. Of whose mind I can hardly be drawn to be: For if my enemy fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby haue the auantage agaynst him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought moze fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischieties, to put in hazard whether we shall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburg, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the necessary vse thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from vs with our sufficient commoditie.

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And admie (which were impossible) that we damnie him neither at sea nor land (for unless it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit where- of let them consider that best can iudge, and haue obserued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded: the one giuing courage to the souldier, in that it doeth see before him commoditie and reputation: the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader casteth vpon his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place of strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our countrey-men when the enemy offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gaue to the same people that frighted vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes what against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedoni- ans thrived after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to save himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trust- ing to continue still masters of their wealth by peeing to the Inuader, began to practise against their owne king: or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, prooue very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfull amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gaue counsell rather by way of diuersion to carry an armie into Africa, and there to assaile, then by a defensive warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing enemy. Which being put in execution by the enemy from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours haue bene in this final time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage vs to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vpon all men that are particularly interested therein, to berinke themselves how small a matter will as- sure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre of: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

We take not armes against vs by any pretence of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led al- together with an ambitious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her maiesties Scepter is already given by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer are offered for spoile vnto the common souldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a vo- luntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euery Justice of peace, who by his black coat protecteth the properest and most seruicea- ble men at euery mustler from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one peece: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one peeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring forth the mysticall commoditie of one peeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of euery mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one peeres gathering, and in thankfulness to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, vpon an armie which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Maiesties power, as he shall berinke him what it is to moue a stirring people? Who, though they haue received some small checke by the sickness of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made known, that the like voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there would of all sorts most willingly put themselves into the same: some carried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in loue of such would affectionately follow their fortunes; some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinsred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoiles to be found in those countreys, having bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues against them, whom euery good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an impla- cable enemy to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs under the yoke of perpetuall slavery,

Agaynst

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that every step we tread will yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to follow those lost unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magazines of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our poyntable men, who, (against the libertie they are bozne vnto) terme themselves Seruing men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reuerfion of the old Cappy-hold, for carrying a dish to their masters table. But let me here repprehend my selfe and craue pardon for entering into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue and honourable counsell, who will in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threatened agaynst vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those honest seruing men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof to slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarrels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Portugall into a narrow rounne, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harboi himselfe in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common joyt are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tolerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanickall and men of base conuiction doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthie to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is bysheld, though Martin ralle neuer so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner woorthipped, whosoever mureigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone sit to fight for vs as he did the last yeere, or we be enchanted with some diuelish opinions, that crauell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemy must lie when occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remooue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betwene them and their perils, who are now thought unworthy of any estimation.

Was the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her maiestie, wherein were lost seuen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) by your elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the histozie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortye men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of pooze Scots, who, after one battell lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemy in battell, and taken his roiall Standert in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 25 dayes together, that should haue bene the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I haue before declared) be unworthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receive these rewards for looking vpon an enemy, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemy at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generallitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation, or diminish my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall bee able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular person doeth giue sentence on euery mans actions by the

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woyl accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their headie looking into euery mans woith, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen moze pleasing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honozable tourney against the Spaniard in his owne countrey. I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnauoided censure of our malicious reppoouers.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you, in the discouering of those impements, and answering the slanderes which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reppoches vpon the Generals (hauing indzed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, & the honozs of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our countrey moze dreaded & renowned, then any act that euer England vnderooke before. Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be deliuered to the publike vicio of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particular men may seeme illiud to do, in that hauing deserved very well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hories. Whome I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very vaine to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, & most vnwilling to haue my weaknesse discouered in priuace. And so I doe leaue you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars, From London the 30 of August 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

The right honozable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sattles onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced to come after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Carauell, and hauing assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonshire, the 18 day of June 1589, being accompanied with these capitaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, alias Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagens, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers & lawfull Prizes, we tooke them and sent two of them to England with all their lading, which was fith for the most part from New-found-land, sauing that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find storeage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day & the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Rotterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voyage which my lord returned with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sunday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of the coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom we presently prepared for, & prouided to meet them, hauing first set forth captaine Mounson in the Meg, before us, to descry whence they were. The Meg approaching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby

whereby, as also by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting forth their flags, we perceived that some fight was likely to follow. Pausing therefore sitted our selves for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 o'z 11 of the clocke, we came up to them with the Victory. But after some few shot & some little fight passed betwixt vs, they peeled themselves, & the masters of them all came aboard vs, shewing their feuerall Passports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Syoniam, which they confessed to be the goods of a Jew in Lisbon, which should haue bene caried by them into their country to his Factory there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawfull prise, the same was soone after taken and deuiled amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for sailers, we tooke to helpe vs, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Island of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night hauing put forth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect vs, we approached nere to the chiefe towne and road of that Island, where we espied 3 ships riding at anchor and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 o'z 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hawlers, and let them drine into the sea. Our men comming to them, found yone of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. The 3 other small ships that lay nere vnder the castle ther, our men let loose and towed them away vnto vs, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-board and swimming to those which loud and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vppoye, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, & some other with him, came aboard to my lord doing their dutie, and offering their seruice, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Shallet-oile from Siuil.

The same day our Carauel chased a Spanish Carauel to those at S. Michael, which carried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a little ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinnasse (the weather being calme) and towards evening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, cassata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Island of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Island did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approached the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put forth a flag of truce, wherupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderstand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury the, but that he ment onely to haue some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some prouision of wine, oil, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, & sent some of their company for beuer and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants young and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause here of, they answered, & rare; as their vsuall manner was when any ships came nere their coast.

We found that part of the Island was full of great rockie, barren hills and mountains, little inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At evening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued vs for the space well nigh of twomiles together, assant for the most part fro the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so nere that the boat stroke vpon him, the tips of whose finnes about the gills appearing oftentimes above the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his sides gaiping a yard and an halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouer-turning the pinnasse, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a little ship called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & spen vs thitherward with all the speed we could,

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could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seven and twentieth day of August, after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anchor, to whom we sent in our Shiffe with Cap-
taine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discover the roovers: and least any daunger should
happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawfie-lacke and the small Carauell; but the wind
being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which ne-
uertheless the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which ca-
ried in her fourtene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre un-
till the coming vp of other boates to the rescue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and
then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the haule, wee entered her on
the one side, and all the Spaniards leapt ouerboord on the other, saue Iuan de Palma the Captaine
of her and two of the more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was moored to
the Castle which shot at vs all this while: the onely hurt which we received of all this shot was
this, that the master of our Carauell had the calfe of his legges shot away. This shippe was laden
with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed
her cleare off the castle, we towed in againe with our boates, and fetched out five small shippes more,
one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graine, coco-nuts, and goates skins come
from Guinie, another with wooll, and two with bogge-fish, which two last we let dyue in the sea
making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these shippes were consoyled with vs some other small men of warre, as
Maister Iohn Davis, with his shippe, Winelle, and Boate, Captaine Marquesburie with his
ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Raleigh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consoyled with
vs before.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten
leagues from shore, where we espied coming towards vs, a small boar under saile, which se-
emed somewhat strange vnto vs, being so farre from land, and no shippe in sight, to which they
might belong: but coming neere, they put vs out of doubt, shewing they were English men
(eight in number) that had lately bene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape
at that time, with that small boat committed themselves to the sea, under Gods providence, ha-
ving no other part for their maine saile, but two piyz staves tyed together by the endes, and no
more provision of victuals, then they could bying in their pockets and bolomes. Having taken
them all into the Victorie, they gave vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed
from thence about a weeke before.

Thus being without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolved to returne for Fayall,
with intent to surprize the towne, but untill the ninth of September, we had either the wind so
contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way,
lingring up and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal
roade. Whereupon immediately my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciola (whom
Captaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the
Inhabitantes met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gave this
choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platfome there without resistance, where he
and his companie would remaine a space without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the In-
habitantes) might come vnto him and compound for the ranfome of the Towne: or else to stand to
the hazard of warre.

With these wordes they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platfome answered, that
it was against their oath and allegiance to king Philip to giue our without fight. Whereupon
my Lord commanded the boates of euery ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his
men on the sandie shoare, vnder the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from
the platfome: vpon the coppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen he wed themselves,
and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne vpon
the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encoun-
ter vs; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platfome, as if they would haue come to
helpe the Townesmen: during which time, they in the platfome also played vpon vs with great
ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (having set his men in order) marched along the sea shore,
vpon the sands, betwixt the sea & the towne towards the platfome for the space of a mile or more,
& then the shore growing rockie, & permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he
entered into the towne & passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platfome; for those
companies before mentioned at my L. appoehing, were soone disperfed, and suddenly vanished.

Like wise they of the platfome, being all dead at my Lordes coming thither, left him

An escape of 8
Englishmen
from Tercera.

The taking of
the towne and
platfome of
Fayal.

and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing vpon the fore-front thereof.

A description
of the towne
of Fayal.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that is land, & is situate directly ouer against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West North-west from that mountaine, being diuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or thre leagues in breadth betwene the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some thre hundred households, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double covered with hollow tyles much like our roofo-tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Euery house almost had a cisterne or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadows, and Tobacco now commonly known and vsed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges; Peach trees not growing very tall: Oranges, Limons, Quinces, Potatoes, roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing possessed himselfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefulfull of the preservation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefulfull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inuiolate, which was accordingly performed, though his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle & prey, was rifled, & ransacked by the souldiers & mariners, who scarcely left any house vnsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chests of sweete wood, chaures, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintaining thirtie Franciscan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Terceira of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and five. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were alwayes covered, as ready at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, till Saturday night, we continued there, untill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thousand ducats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie ypon peeces of Ordnance, whereof thre and twentie (as I remember) of more were ready mounted vpon their carriages, betwene Baricados, vpon a platforme towards the sea-side, all which Ordnance we tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord hauing invited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (saue onely Diego Gomes the Gouverneur, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely four came and were well entertained, and solemnly dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordnance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, imposing a request to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, saue onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had bene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Iago, who was cousin to a seruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with vs.

On Sunday we sent our boates a shore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hills, and would otherwise haue bene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise hauing not yet sufficiently serued our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weped anchor and so departed North-west and by west, alongt the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboard to vs this day, tolde vs that alwayes about that time of the yeere such winde West South-west blew on that coast.

This day, as we layd neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the sea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke colour, in such sort as vermyng at the first it had bene a rocke, and the ship

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The hon. Erle of Cumb. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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Remning directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came againe into Paial road to weigh an anchor which (for haste and feare of foule weather) we had left there before, where we went on shore to see the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now settled themselves there againe: but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of vs: untill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our coming was not any way to iniure them, but especially to haue fresh water, and some other things needefull for vs, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England, And they helped to fill vs in fresh water, receluing for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arole in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight rayled our men out of their Cabines to wey anchor, himselfe also together with them baling at the Capten, and after chearing them up with wine.

The next day we sent our Caranell and the Sawhie-lacke to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie: we following after them upon the 27 day, piping to and fro, came within sight of St. Michael, but by contrary winds the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were diuinen to leeward, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee laylen alongst Tercera, and euen against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates coming to the Towne, and made out towardsen them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain Lister to the Islanders, to let them vnderstand that his desire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could giue no resolute answer to this demaund, untill the Gouvernors of the Island had consulted thereupon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Upon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pin-nelle, with emptie Caske, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Capitaine Davis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consorts. But when our men would haue landed, the Islanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared upon land, with ensignes displayed to resist vs: So our boates towed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disadvantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Islanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their lines, and so were contrayned to retire without receiuing any answer, as was promised the day before. We had thye men hurt in this conflict, whilst our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stricken with a great shot (which the Islanders drew from place to place with Oren) where-with the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or thre dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anchor in, where we might lye to better the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not onely to the ouerthrow of our voyage, but also put the Queene's ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumane and cruelitie, which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him vnto them in peaceable manner, to receiue their answer which they had promised to giue the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his sake, he could not put up so great iniury at their hands, without with reuengement vpon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answer: At night Capitaine Lister returned with this answer from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their peeces, which was charged with powder onely, and was stopped: which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my

Lord a resolute answer to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouvernours minde herein. The next morning there came unto vs a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lord that hee should haue of them three butters of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not furnish our neede therein, hauing themselves little or none, causing such as they saued in vessels of cisternes when it rained, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselves would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted, we keeping one of them aboord with vs vntill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptye Caskes, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other provision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Davis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed tyding at anchor before the Towne, to take in our provision. This shippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteen thousand pound, which brought vs news that the West-Indian Fleet was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and upon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the unholy league) laden with fish from Mayne found land: which had bene in so great a tempest, that she was constrained to cut her mayne mast overboard for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so muchauerly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remained unto vs. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Upon the Sunday following at night, all our promised provision was brought unto vs from Graciosa: and we friendly dismiss'd the Masters with a peale of Ordnance.

Upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we piped to and fro about those Islands, being very rough weather. And upon Thursday at night, being bysun some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw sixteen sallowes of the West-Indian Fleet comming into the Haven at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though we lay as close by the winde as was possible; yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where she safely arrived. Upon Monday we came very neere the Havens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongst them, and to haue fetchen our some of them if it had bene possible: But in the end this enterpryse was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rove, being baled and rowed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approaching, and lying under the protection of the Castle of Brasill, on the one side (hauing in it five and twentie peeces of Ordnance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse peeces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde proved too scant for vs to attempt any such enterpryse.

Upon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any anchoring place for vs, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue anchored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselves a ground to saue their liues and liberties, and some of their goods, then come forth to loose their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come forth so long as we watched for them before the havens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of five dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring vs word if they should come forth. After a while the pinnesse returned and tolde vs that those ships in the Haven had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppes masts: so that wee supposed they would neuer come forth, till they perceined vs to be quite gone.

Wherefore upon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sailed thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next roade a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some five or six butters of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serue our turne.

Upon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shoare for fresh water

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But the Inhabitantes espying vs came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men having spent all their powder upon them in attempting to land, and not being able to prevaille at so great odds, returned frustrate.

From hence we departed towards Saint Maries Iland, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore upon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to us out of his owne shippe, and the loosing vs in the night, hee was forced to carry still with vs) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some fiftie or seuentie hoare in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leave to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freshly unill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something wearied with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shoze, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two ships ryding at anker hard under the towne, whereupon having shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Davis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retaying with vs some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towards them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shoze, and men in their shirts swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceived afterwards, were labouring to see those shippes fall on ground, and the Inhabitantes as busily preparing themselves for the defence of those roaders, their Iland, and themselves. When we came nere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, unill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he said, immediately upon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pices at the Ilanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortified places unseene, to their owne best advantage: who immediately shot like wildfire at vs, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselves: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Sayers that rowed, who beganne to shrink at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entering one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we speedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And having cut in funder her Cables and Hauers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Davis his boate overooke vs and entered into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrained to leaue her & to come againe into their boate (whilst shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a grounde, that they could not fire her: which the Townesmen also perceiuing, and seeing that they were but fewe in number, and vs (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned unto vs, and so together we came away towards the Victorie, towing after us the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasill, laden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had little hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were buildd one aboute another hard by the sea side, upon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne tooke betwixt two valleys. Upon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, wherof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Iland, but not knowing before the inconvenience and disadvantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for St. Georges Iland for fresh water, whither we came on Sunday following October 27, and having espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent under the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leave to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themselves amongst the rocks.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, wherof they brought onely five tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no moze, thinking (as it was supposed)

that my Lord having no more provision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was unwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to haue taken in more water: but his thron roughness of the seas and winde, and unwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his thron purposed not to returne backe to much provision unpaine, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought give some reasonable contentment of satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being uncertain when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying abroad also uncertain, the matter being referred to the advice of the whole companie, whether they would carrie longer, till we might have more sufficient supply of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that every man should be allowed of one macle but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them that were sick, or worned) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make up our voyage.

Upon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the 12 of us of Basile which we took at St. Marie, and in them some of our butt and wounded men & other wise sick were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captain Moulton was taken out of the Mege into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we leaue had. And vpon Tuesday following being the 4 of Nouemb, we espied a faile right before vs, which we chased till about threer a clocke in the afternoon, at which time we ouerta king her, the stroke fayle, and being demanded who was her owner and from whence she was, she answered a Portugall, and from Pernambucke in Brasile. She was a ship of some 110 tuns burden, freighted with 410 chelles of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Brazill-wood, euery Kintall containing one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twente degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboard the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mari- ners and souldiers were sent aboard her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Having therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid, and left our long boat with Captaine Davis, taking his lesser boat with vs, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giuing order to Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize that they should follow vs due East, and that if they had sight of vs the morning following they should follow vs still: if not, they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the saylor which we chased, and Captaine Davis his ship and the prize were behinde us out of sight: but the next Thursday the first of November (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about fittie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a saylor some two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we presently hastened our chase, and overtook her, having beene before at Brasill laden with Sugar and Baisile. Having sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboard the Victorie, in the meane time whilst they were in coming to vs one out of the maine toppes espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing sent her backe againe with some of our men aboard the prize, we pursued speedily this new chafe, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone overtook her: she had made promission to fight with vs, hauing hanged the sides of the ship wth cheike with hides (where with especially she was laden) that musket shot could not haue pierced them: but per we had discharged two great pieces of our Ordnance at her, the stroke sayle, and appoynting her errer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vlhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seuen hundred hides worth tenn shillings a peece: fire chests of Cochinnell, euery chest houlding one hundred pound weight, arrowes and musk worth fire and twentie shillings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China clothes, with some plate and silver.

The Captain of her was an Italian, and by his behaviour seemed to be a grave, wife, and civil man: he had put in adventure in this Shippe five and twentie thousand Duckats. We took him, and certaine other of her chiefeest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine was with some other of the chiefeest of our Partners, souldiers, and seylers as

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as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or there abouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And now we had our hands full and with toy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, having now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst vs, that if we should haue taken any more prizes after wards, we had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our selues. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs. we ceased saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to rowle and wallow, in such sort that it was not easily very troublesome to vs, but, as it was thought, would also haue put the maine Halse in danger of falling overboard: hauing acquainted them with these inconueniencies, we gave them direction to keepe their courses together, following vs, and so to come to Portsmouth. The last of our last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from the Rocks.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the haven at Angra in Terceira, December 8. Some of the men that we took out of her tolde vs, that whilst we were lying vp and downe befoze that haven, as befoze was shewed, expecting the coming forth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the gouernour of Terceira, were laden of their treasure and marchandise. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboard in the night, and take her: but when this should haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerly befoze the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insonmuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that is seuen score English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accompt they would see what running at Tyle there should bee at Whitehall vpon the Quenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kepe a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clerkes (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:) for soone after the wind scanning came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough befoze, was yet more more scanty, because of the scarcieie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happy ease in comparison of that which followed: for from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by reason of this great scarcieie of drinke, and contrariety of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when we came nere there, lying at hull all night (tarrying, for the daylight of the next morning, where by we might the safer by bringing our ship into some conuenient harbour there) we were driven so farre to leeward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heauie hearts and sad cheate, we were constrained to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man three or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, sauing onely at two or three meales, when we had in head hereof as much wine, which was wynged out of the caskes that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, we durst eate but very little) we continued for the space of a fournight or thereabouts: Sailing that now and then we ceased for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered vp and did eate them more pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Cornes in the world: The raine-drops were so carefully saued, that so neere as wee coude, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged vp theres tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe thither, and so be receiued into some vessell set or hanged vnderneath: Some that wanted shetes, hanged by nakins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorowly wet, then wynging and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soyling of the shippe, trod under foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it rained, was not lost if warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at euery scupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, cannes, and Jarres, whereof some drinke hearty draughts euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to cleanse or settle it: Others clenfed it first, but not often, for it was so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder seate, the sides, rales, and parts of the shippe: others that were more ingenious,

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fastened girdles of ropes about the *Halles*, drawing fallow betwixt them and the *Halle* (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the *Halle*, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

See that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and enuied as a rich man, *Quam pulchrum digno monstrari & dicier hic est?* Some of the pooze Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs for the loue of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hands: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie in stead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouths to slake their thirst.

Now in euery corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitiufully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene so well and sufficiently provided for, that we liued in manner as well and healthfully, and as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day some were cast ouerboord.

But the second day of December 1589, was a festiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saued some pretie store of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddy and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, & streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accompted some pooze soules whom we had seene giuen for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our selues if we might haue had our fills of the same: yet should we haue feared the better with this our pooze feeding, if we might haue had our meate and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before vs: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and troubled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that euery man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railles, or sides of the ship, or else he should soone finde all vnder feete.

Herewith our maine saile was tozned from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the sea without recovery, and our other sailes to rent and tozned (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waues and foming furies of the sea came rolling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waste of the shippe like a migrie riuer running over it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote above the water, that now wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and deicend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of soule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue shaken in funder, so that now also we had iust cause to pray a little other wise then the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris & Coeli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,

Solacere quassata parcto membra raris.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliuer vs out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, so that againe we were like to haue lost our new maine saile, had not *Master William Antony* the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railles) to gather it vp out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oftentimes ducked ouer head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had neuer seene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned safe home, they would neuer come to Sea againe.

The last of November at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should haue had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was all the provision of drinke they had, saue only a But or two, which they

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must needs serue for their owne vse: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground vpon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue spared vs much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel haue relieved our great necessities, and haue had sufficient for themselves besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to carry vs into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so seruing.

The next day we came to an anchor, not far from the S. Kelmess under the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning we went about to weigh anchor, but hauing some of our men hurt at the Capstern, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our course to Ventre hauen, where wee safely arriued the same day, that place being a very safe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So soone as we had anchored here my Lord went forthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Buttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and talked of the same extremitie that his Company did: for in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water vjunkte and vjyled vp. Soone after the sick and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenaculh, being about thre miles distant from the foresaide hauen, where our shippe roade, so the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians daily to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selves whilst the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our lines (as it were) resioyed vnto vs againe.

This Dingenaculh is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe procede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they closed their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond. These foure houses fortified themselves against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilst they thus defended themselves, as some of them yet alieue confessed, they were diuised to as great extremities as the Iewes, besieged by Tirus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimneys in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublesom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or fures. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of stones there is store enough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rocks and stones: Yet it is very fruitful and plentifull of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings of five groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a piece.

The greatest want is indolentious, painefull, and busidamly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our coming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yearly rent. There are Mines of A- mines in Ire-
land, some, Tinne, yasse, and pyon. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds.

That part of the Countrey is all full of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The naturall barrenesse of that Nation appeared in this, that their small children runne usually in the midst of Winter up and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely

onely a mantell to couer their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Place before him as our Maiors.

We were first entertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erie of Desmond in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Common prayer wozd for wozd in Latin, that we haue here in England. Upon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himselfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beeginneth prayers.

Their manner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the seruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first bippeth it backward, and then forward, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a present purgation to them thatooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 10. of December we loosed frō hence, having well prouided our selues of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ahoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scantred so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought vs ioyfull newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwreake at a place vpon the coast of Cornwall which the Cornish men call Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captain Litter and all the men in the ship were drowned, saue 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saued themselves with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saued, and rescued for vs, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipfull gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captain Litters death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to haue saued his life.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde vs the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, a Captain Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Tercera hauen. But the Admirall was sunke with much leaking, where to that the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer against Plimouth sound, and the men were saued.

This ship also certified vs that Captain Prestons ship had taken a prize laden with siluer. My Lord entred presently into this ship, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night wee came nere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driven so much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee stricke on ground in 17. fote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe vpon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed our selues with keeping part of Christmas vpon our native soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12 Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.



It is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Merchants of London, were freighted & rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, & some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, having before escaped all other danger. The first wherof was the Salomon appertaining

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uing to *M.* Alderman Barnam of London, and *M.* Bond, and *M.* Twyde of Harwich; which went forth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and John belonging to *M.* Wals of London: The third was the Minions: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of *M.* Walter Cordal: The first the Violet: the seventh the Samuel: the eighth the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to *M.* Duffield. All these ships being of notable and appoynted service, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelue tall Gallies brauely furnished and strongly prouided with men and munition, ready to seize upon these English ships: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Masters thereof, we made speedy preparation for the defence of our selues, still waiting all the night long for the approaching of the enemy. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590, according to our vsual customes, we said Service and made our prayers vnto Almighty God, beseeching him to saue vs from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iustly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finished our prayers, and set our selues in a readinesse, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemy to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer vnto vs, they waied vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waied them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almighty God greatly to encourage vs all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in eche Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker & smallest ships foremost, and so it was performed, euery man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

At the first encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God so strengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and hauing sundry cast pieces in her, gaue the first shotte in such a soyme sort, as that it shored away so many men as late on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such manner, as that she was ready to linke, which made them to assault vs the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our ships, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and John, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themselves to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of seruice began to baile his sailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked forth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and bowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English fleet, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that means they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannic of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should haue found at their handes.

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Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the upper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flee into harbour and shroude themselves from vs, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of vs slaine. And in all this fierce assault made vpon vs by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backe-stay of the Salomon, who gaue the first and last shot, and galled the enemy shewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane stricken off.

The battell being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waite vntill doctone, and then went backe againe to Tixion in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people feared vs where to haue fresh water and al other necessaries for vs. And there we had such good entertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, who in respect of his great friendship preferred with gifts and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfull wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

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foze Gibraltar, untill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked every houre when they would have sent forth some fresh supply against us, but they were farre unable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so feare battered, that they durst not come forth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had received. Yet were they greatly vexed thereunto by the Governour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Ticion in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our coming from them wee could not well discern any thing at all by reason of the smooke which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spotted those twelve Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that peece.

Thus after we came from Ticion, we assayed to depart the Straight thre severall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde untill wee came upon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of July 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.



In the moneth of November 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to severall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught forth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together having winde and weather, which oft-time fell out very uncertaine, arrived safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burthen, yet but weakly manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely arrived at Marseils, where after they had delivered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weekes, and better, and then tooke in landing, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burthen which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, untill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Upon which reasonable perswasion, and withstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiency as they might have had her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those little shippes, according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sailing along the coast of Spaine, were upon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediately they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and courageous sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies bravely appareled in like coates, with their silver whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their battens, who with their Calivers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had hooped the Centurion, who before their coming had prepared for them, and intended to give them so sower a welcome as they might. And thereupon having prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called upon God, on whom onely they trusted: and having made their prayers, and cheered by one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordnance upon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come for ward, but lay aloofe, while five Gallies had hooped them, and with their grappling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grappled to the Centurion in this manner, two lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admirall lay fast in the sterne, which gailed and battered the Centurion so feare, that her maine Mast was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Ordnance and sterne made almost unserviceable.

During which time there was a feare and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded forth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike musicke in the Spanish Gallies,

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Gallies, but onely their whistles of silver, which they sounded together to their owne contentment: in which sight many a Spaniard was turned into the sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hanging upon the side of the shippe, intending to haue entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enee, they gaue them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the sea, being remedlesse for ever to get by alive. In the Centurion there were in all of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy, that many a brave and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired five severall times, with wilde fire and other provision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In every of the Gallies there were about 200, souldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Mast, and slew 40 of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by means of splinters which the Spaniards shoote: yea, in the ende when their provision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them with hammers, and the chains from their slaves, and yet God bee thanked, they received no more damage: but by shooting and overwearing of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other frish shippe or succour to haue relieved and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, suncke, or taken all those Gallies and their souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loose off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes steeve away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set upon the Dolphin, which shippe immediately was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowne unto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide unto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Five houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselves, but when the Spaniards were gone, they never durst returne to fight: yet the next day five other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the hands of their enemies, and gaue them the victorie: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arrived in London.

There were present at this fight Master John Hawes Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.

A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August 1591. betwixt the *Renenge*, one of her Maiesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; Penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh knight.



Because the rumours are diversly spread, as well in England as in the Lowe countreies and elsewhere, of this late encounter betwene her Maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their usuall manner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunes, making great appearance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possesse the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falsehood and untruth; that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuill, and other her Maiesties Capitaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truly set downe and published without partialitie of false imaginations. And it is no marvaile that the Spaniard should seek by false and slanderous pamphlets, aduises and Letters, to couer their owne losse, and to derogate from others their due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the invasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleased to haue obtained against this Realme; and spread the same in a most false sort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all Nations, how their Army which they termed invincible, consisting of 140. saile of shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreies, were by 30. of her Maiesties owne ships of war, and a fift of our owne Partchments,

by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and thrust together; even from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallies of which he was Capitaine, and from Cales, where they lost Iquibus from their anchors, were chased one of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathy of their barbarous religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crueltie against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slaine, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halkers, to be shipped into England. Where her Paieritie of her Princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achievements of their invincible and dreadfull Flamp: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their shippes, the commanders names of euery Squadron, with all other their magnificence of provisions, were put in print, as an Army and Flamp incredible, and disdaining prevention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one shippe, Barke, Pinasse, or Cockboote of ours: or ever burne so much as one Shepheard of this land. Whereas on the contrary, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forsook Santo Lago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the foris of Florida.

And after that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being about 40 English miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen bowed the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promised parley, nor provision to batter; they made retreat by land, in despite of all their Garrisons, both of horse & foote. In this sort I have a little digressed from my first purpose, onely by the necessarie comparison of theirs and ours actions: the one courteous of honour without want of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors to resist the blasse of their owne dishonours, as they will not onely not blush to spread all manner of vntuthes: but even for the least advantage, be it but for the taking of one poore adventurer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonafires in euery towne, alwayes spending more in faggots, then the purchase was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we have taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasil fleet, such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honorable actions, and frivolous vaine glorious haunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with five of her Maiesties shippes, five victuallers of London, the Barke Raleigh, & two or three other Pinasses riding at anchor nere unto Flores, one of the Westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Capitaine Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discouer their forces the more, as also to give aduise to my L. Thomas of their approach. Hee had no sooner deliuered the newes but the fleet was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Flance; some providing ballast for their shippes; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was lost to our disadvantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery shippe sick, and venterly vnderwriteable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonauenture, not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men bene taken out of a Barke of Sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly euer recovered England. The rest, for the most parts, were in little better state. The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth, the Desiance, which was Admirall, the Reuenge Viceadmirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Capitaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fennel, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vaulsour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight & the Crane being but small shippes; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Raleigh, commaunded by Capitaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet hauing spent their approach by reason of the Flance; were now so loone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were vnto to let slippe their cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grimuile was the last that wayed, to recouer the men that were upon the Flance, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardy recovered the winde, which Sir Richard Grimuile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the

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the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to truit to the sayling of the ship; for the Squadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turne from the enemy, alleging that hee would rather choos to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee perswaded vpon diuers of the foremost, who, as the Partners terme it, lying their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other course had bene the better, and might right well haue bene answered in so great an impossibility of preuailing. Notwithstanding out of the great- nesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip bring in the winde of him, and conning towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feelee the helme: so huge and high charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tuns. When after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were vnder his lee luffing vp, all layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admirall of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Britandona. The sayd Philip carried three score of ordinance on a side, and eleuen pieces in euery stre. Hee shot eight score right out of her chafe, besides those of her sterne peeces.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boozed her; two on her lar- boord, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at thye of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower stre of the Reuenge, discharged with crossebarshot, wisted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, utterly murthering her first entertainment. Some say that the shippe foundered, but we cannot repoze it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the seruants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed loubers and Musketers, but were still repulsd againe and and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the sea. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London hauing receiued some shot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victualers and of small force: Sir Richard bid him saue himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Dukies both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recovered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer so wounded as that hee forooke the upper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeeth also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said Sir Francis sent vnto master William Killegrue, of her Maiesties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to borb the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she hauing neuer lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from thye of the clocke the day before, there had sittede seuerall Armadas assailed her; and all so ill appoynded their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the Pilgrim, commanded by Iacob Whid- don, who hovered all night to see the successe: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hurt like a hare amongst many rauens houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, soztie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundred free from sickness, and foure score & ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Wallast. A small troupe to man such a ship, & a weakie garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volies, boozings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which beat her

at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were alwayes supplied with souldiers brought from euery Squadron: all manner of Armes and powder at will. Vnto ours there remained no comfert at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the *Halles* all beaten our boord, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper worke altogether rased, and in effect ruined: there was with the wafter, but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left ouer head either for fight or defence. Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and vnable any longer to make resistance, hauing endured in this fiftene houres fight, the assault of fiftene seuerall Armadas, all by thurs aboord him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and entries; and thus himselfe and the shippe must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (The *Reuenge* not able to moue one way or other, but as she was moued with the waues and billow of the sea) commaunded the *Halter* gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victorie to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a daunt they were not able to take her, hauing had fiftene houres time, about ten thousand men, a fiftie and thre sail of men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to preelde themselves vnto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now be shorted the honour of their Nation, by p: leaving their owne liues for a few houres, or a few dayes. The *Halter* gunner readily condescended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the *Halter* were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to haue care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being diuers sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable seruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should neuer glory to haue taken one shippe, her *Paletie*, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves; they answered, that the shippe had fire foote water in holbe, thre shot vnder water, which were so weakely stopped, as such the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so cruelt and bruised, as shee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

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And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Ricard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons; the *Halter* of the *Reuenge* (while the Captaine wanne vnto him the greater party) was compassed aboord the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none our hastie to enter the *Reuenge* againe, doubting least Sir Richard would haue blowne them by and himselfe, and perceiving by the report of the *Halter* of the *Reuenge* his dangerous disposition) perceived that all their liues should be saued, the company sent for England, & the better sort to pay such reasonable ranome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gallie or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I haue said, for feare of further losse and mischiefe to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenul; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most ozeu backe from Sir Richard and the *Halter* gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from deat to life. The *Halter* gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and mastered by the greater number, would haue flame himselfe with a sword; had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the *Reuenge*, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso Baçan to remooue out of the *Reuenge*, the shippe being marueilous vnstable, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it nor, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee wounded, and returning againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall vsed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was; being vnto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution alosome approoued, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and moze is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being seuered from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admirall of the Biscaine Squadron, was Britandona. Of the Squadron of Seuil,

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Parques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanissh captaine confesseth, besides diuers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Siuill were both sunke by the side of the Reuenge; one other recovered the robe of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the shoye to saue her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the rest of her Maiesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships, the Reuenge ingaged past recovery: The Island of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanissh, diuided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled withouldiers as they could command: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serue: the ships growne foule, vnramaged, and scarcely able to heare any saile for want of ballast, hauing bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanissh fleet, if no other violence had bene offered, would haue cruised them betwene them into shuiers. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle of harme that the enemy could any way haue received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betwene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offered to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Maiesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemy, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelihood of preuailling: there by to diminish the strength of her Maiesties Army, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The Foresight of the Queenes commaund by M. Thomas Vauisior permitted him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gaue diuers volleys of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemy, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners disperied into the Spanissh and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleet was disperied, as well the Indian fleet which were then come vnto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arriuall, of which 14 saile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away vpon the Ile of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honour the buriall of that renowned ship the Reuenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieued in her life time. On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie fleet, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set her selfe on fire, being boorded by the Pilgrim, and shee other taken by master Wals his ships of London, betweene the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Island, saued out of the perished ships: & that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betwene the Ilandes and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for vs, and to defend the iustice of our cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretences of the Spaniard, who seeking to deuoure all nations, are themselves deuoured. A manifest testimonihow iniust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witness by the successe of their affaires, his dislike of their bloody and iniurious designs, purposes and practises against all Chyistian princes, ouer whom they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spanissh fleet, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz Iohn, sonne of olde Iohn of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serue the King of Spaine,

The arguments hee vsed to inuince them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be trebled: advancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetie of their soules to all. For the first, euen the beggerly and vnnatural behaviour of those English and Irish rebels, that serued the King in that present action, was sufficient to answere that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrey men prisoners out of their ragged garments, wome to nothing by sixe months seruice, and spared not to despoyle them euen of their bloody shirres, from their wounded bodie, and the very shoes from their feete: A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of advancement if they serued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can bee so blockishly ignorant euer to expect place of honour from a foraine King, hauing no other argument or perswasion then his owne dissolacie: to be vnnatural to his owne Countrey that byed him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be employed in all desperate enterprises, to bee helde in frowne and disdaine euer among those whom they serue. And that euer traitour was either true or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man could haue lesse become the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice Desimond. For the Erie his cosen bring one of the greatest subiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almost whole Countreys in his possession; so many goodly Mannors, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, five hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himselfe taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Heiress, and possessed by the English: His other cosen Sir Iohn of Desimond taken by Master Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his native Citie to be deuoured by rauenus: the thirde brother Sir James hanged, beheaded, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall daunted of his successe of his owne house, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect; which because hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particular volume, if I should set downe how irreligiously they couer their greedy and ambitious pretences, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is vnsoought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they basely entertaine the traitours and bacabonds of all Nations; seeking by those and by their runnagate Jesuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and haue extinguished both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vheard of, or vnwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they haue no pretence of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captiued; they shall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slauierie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreys; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entred by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselfe, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods, were all hereticall, and therefore good praye. So they abused and commented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they protest inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as euer were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew delas Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of rauenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English

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English blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrowes and dishonours they haue receiued at our hands, whose weakenesse wee haue diminished to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, were diminished with handfulls of men and shippes, ouerthrowen and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what religion soeuer, haue other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those are the fiercest seeketh to winne of our Nation, he esteemeth base and traitorous, unworthy persons, constant fooles: and that he vseth his pretence of religion, for no other purpose but to withdraw vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince; thereby hoping in time to bring vs to slaue and subiection, and then none shall be vnto them so obious, and disdained as the traitours themselves, who haue sold their Countrey to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience conuente to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes sustayned what labour soeuer, and embayed euen death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Maiestie, to bryake the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworne traitors, and of iniust practices and inuasions. She hath euer bene honoured of the worthiest kings, serued by faithfull subiects, and shall by the fauour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoeuer attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traitour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her vertues, shall alwayes loue her, serue her, and obey her to the end of our liues.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into
Spaine this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes
that are perished of the same: according to the examination
of certaine Spaniards lately taken and brought into
England by the ships of London.

The fleet of Noua Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting forth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Fours or five of the shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a pece, some five hundred, and some foure hundred and the least of two hundred tunns. Of this fleet 19 were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along the coast of Noua Hispania, so that of the same fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 sailes.

The fleet of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine, fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths sake, untill the time the treasure was ready they should take in, at the said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleet departed, some were gone by one or two at a time, so that onely 23 sailes of this fleet arrived in the Hauana,

At the Hauana there met	{	33 sailes of Noua Hispania.
		23 sailes of Terra Firma.
		12 sailes of San Domingo.
		9 sailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 shippes, topped and set sailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of July, according to our account, and kept together untill they came into the height of thirtie five degrees, which was about the tenth of August, where they found the winde at South-west chaunged suddenly to the North, so that the sea comming out of the South-west, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then first lost the Generall of their fleet, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, another storme rising, there were five or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet sauing 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, untill they came in sight of the Islands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fiftene or sixteene were after serued by these Spaniards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified: their opinion is, that very few of the fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is otherwaies of late certified, that of this whole fleet that should haue come into
Spaine

Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and thre sail, there are arrived as yet but five and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniards, that were brought into England by five of the ships of London, which tooke seven of the above named Indian Fleet, neere the Islands of Agores,

A report of Master Robert Flicke directed to Master Thomas Bromley, Master Richard Ssaper, and Master Cordall concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard to the Isles of the *Agores*, 1591.



W^herewithall, my heartie commendations unto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I advertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleet until then. It remaineth now to relate our endeavours in accomplishing the order received for the joyning with my Lord Thomas Howard, together with the successe wee have had. Our departure from hence was the seventeenth of August, the winde not serving before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put forth, whereupon the Captaines and Masters of every shippe came aboard, and I acquainted them with my Commission, signed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Majesties Counsell, and with all the advettisements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of Fayal, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seven and a halfe of thirtie eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this height to repaire to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, where a Winnelle of purpose should stay our coming until the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to y^e coast of Spaine, about the height of The Roche, some twentie of thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being advisedly considered, of having regard unto the shortnesse of time, by reason of our long abode in this place, and the uncertaintie of the weather to favour us, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meete with my Lord, to beare with the height of The Roche, without making any stay upon the coast, and so directly for the Islands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde serving us, without any stay we directed our course West for the Islands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Rose, sometime called the Golden Dragon, separated from my Lord of Cumberland in a storme: who certified us of 50 sailes of the Spanish kings Armadas to be gone for the Islands, but could not informe us any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwise then upon presumption to remaine about the Islands, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with us.

The 4 of September we recovered Tercera, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to understand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleet: hereupon we directed our course to the West from Fayal, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards we descried a saile out of our maine topp, and in the afternoon betwene two and three of the clocke having rased her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe thoroughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and John doing the like. Upon this the saile stood off againe, and the night approaching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursuit after the saile the Centurion being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying up and downe seeking her. And for as much as every of the ships had received order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be severed from our Fleet, they should meete and joine at Flores, we, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the height appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced us to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also joyned againe with the Centurion, whose company before we had lost: who declared unto us that the 12 day, being the same day they lost us, they met with five and forty sailles of the Indian Fleet. The same night upon these newes we came to an anchor betwene Flores and Coruo, and the morning following at the break of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out, the Captaines and Masters came aboard me: where, for the desire to understand some tidings of my Lord, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shore, under the conduct of Captaine Brochus, and then it was also ordered after our departure thence to range along the South

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Southfides of the Ilands to the end we might either vnderstand of my Lord, or the light on the Indian Fleet; and in the minding of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Saint Vincent.

The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chanced that The Cockely going vndermost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe more neere among vs for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discovered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon she gaue vs a warning peece, which caused vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recover our shippes, the vndermost ships appeared vnto vs, towards the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie heure, as it pleased God. In that we had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristol, who had also fought. In the height appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had bene in daunger of perishing: and the same extremely continued during the space of thre score houres. In which storme I was separated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Cockely, which kept company with mee. And so sailing among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roobers there, went directly for the Ille Tercera.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto y same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scattered the winde, that we could not seaze it: from the which being diuinen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the sayde storme disperfed, and put them from the roade: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gaue severall chases, and thereby lost the company each of other.

In following our chase about noone we made her to strike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, salta-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prize with vs followed her, and somewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillo, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to be boarded, we kept them till they were at our mercie. The same night a kile before day there happened another into our company, supposing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we untill the morning dissembled.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being thot somewhat a head of vs, hauing a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we purposed to cause our Prizes to put out more sayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chase to the other: vnto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulness by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboard, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a sterne, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chase of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had lost her. In the pursute before we recovered her and brought our selues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the opportunity of that day, the weather selye seruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being ready to sinke, and, as we well perceived, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our iudgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentieth day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such sort as not to be kept long about water, Iooke and discharged out of her two and forty casks of Cochonillo and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holbe, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the seas.

The other Prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Nossa Sennora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 chests of Cochonillo, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Vpon the discharge of the goods your two ships shall be particularly aduertised thereof.

In the boarding of the Prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloine such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at convenient leasure to haue gone aboard my selfe, and there in the presence of thre or foure witnesses to haue taken a iust account thereof, and the same to haue put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles received in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money taken from the company which they had

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had thus purloyned and embesled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboard my ship, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the same shared, which I refused, & openly at the maine masse read the articles signed by my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof vntill the same were finally determined at home. Whereupon they murmured and at last grew into such furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also ready to put in practice, whereby I was forced to yield, least the Spaniards which we had aboard being many perceiving the same, might haue had fit opportunity to rise against vs, which, after their brables were appeased, they sought to haue put in execution.

By the last aduise from Castile the General of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleet with those of the Indies, and for to stay also together at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 70 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their coming from Hauana vntill January next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be knowne. These pataches are said to be of 300 tons the peece, and to carry 30 pieces of brasse, and also of saile reputed to haue the aduantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleet sunke in the sea before their coming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saved. And it is by the Spaniards themselves presumed that the stormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arrive in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Catterwater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine masse: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had dizen on shore: which was the most cause that moued me to put in here; intending now here to discharge the goods without further aduenture, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to vnderstande the direction of the Lords of the Counsell together with yours, in so much as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. Now the rest of our company which were separated from vs by weather haue sped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleet, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answer, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I send. Plymouth the 14 of October, 1591.

Your worships louing friend
Robert Flick.

A large testimony of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, by Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenwile, and diuers other English Capitaines, about the Isles of the *Azores*, and vpon the coasts of *Spaine* and *Portingall*, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiaiges to the East and West Indies, cap. 96, 97. and 99.



On the 22 of July 1589 about Evening, being by the Islands of Flores & Coruo, we perceived 3 ships that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot diuers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, & hereby we perceived them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge vpon their maine topp, but none of them shewed to be above 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Evening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciosa on our left hand, we spied the 3 English ships still following vs & tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after vs without company, & for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to the other two, wherewith they tooke counsel & came all 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of all our ships, & had the Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with vs, that in the end we should be constrained to run vpon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with

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With these flagges openly displayed, came lustily towarde vs, sounding their Trumplers, and sap-
led at the least three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caluer, and some great
pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our Shippe, but spoiled all our sayles and ropes, and to
conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put foot to his head, and when wee shot
off a peece, wee had at the least an houre moke to lade it againe, whereby wee had so great a
noise and crie in the Shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselves
beganne to mocke vs, and with a thousand iesting wordes called vnto vs. In the meane time the
other Shippes hoisted all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera,
not looking onces behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring
for vs, but thinking themselves to haue done sufficiently so they saued their owne stakes, where-
by it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among
them. In the ende the English men perceiuing small aduantage against vs, (little knowing
in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which
made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our selues to bee risen from death to life, although wee
were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder
the safetie of the Portugales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the
sailles we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in
the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the moze, be-
cause we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduise from Portugall, as wee made our ac-
counts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduise, as in that country ordinarily
they vse to doe, and because the English men had bene so victorious in those parts, it made vs sus-
pect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse feare then
we, for seeing our fleet, they thought vs to bee Englishmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the
Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound by their flags, and came in company with vs: for
the which cause the Island sent out two Caruels that lay there with aduise from the king, for the
Indian ships that should come thither. Those Caruels came to vie to vs, and perceiuing what we
were, made after vs, whereupon the English ships left vs, and made towarde them, because the
Caruels thought them to be friends, and hummed them not, as supposing them to bee of our com-
pany, but we shot foure or fawe times, and made signes vnto them that they should make towarde
the Island, which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the
sea, & so the Caruels joyed vs telling vs that the men of the Island were all in armes, as hauing
receiued aduise from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readinesse, and would come
vnto those Islands. They like wise brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spanisch fleet be-
fore England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the
king gaue vs commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie vnder
the safetie of the Castle vntill we receiued further aduise what we should do, or whether we should
saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Those newes put our fleet in
great feare, and made vs looke vpon the other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for
them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they
had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely vsed to come
thither, and to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessities as they wanted,
withoute ankerings: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commande-
ment, and for that we understood the Earle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands
with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entering the road, ankered close vnder
the Castle, hoping for aduise and order from the king, so to performe our voyage, it being then
the 24. of July, and S. James day.

The day before the Earle of Cumberland with 6, or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Ter-
cera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselves in all
haste, and for the moze securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of those that lay in Garri-
son in the Island, and with them they sailed towarde Lisbon, hauing a good wind: so that within
11 daies after they arrived in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had
stayed but one day longer before they had entered the riuer, they had all bene taken by Captaine
Drake, who with 40 ships came before Calcais, at the same time that the Indian ships call anker
in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Earle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water,
and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both
himselfe & diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Earle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Isle of Graciola, where
himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beasts, hens,
and

and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gave him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayal, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controuersie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordnance in the sea, taking with him certaine Caravels and ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the priuiehall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of soldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the fortresse by againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

The ninth of October 1589, there arrived in Tercera fourteene ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenille, Wides, Golbe, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were sitte in companie, when they departed out of the Haven of Hauana, whereof, in their coming out of the Channell, eleven sunke in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a hostile wind scattered and separated one from the other. The next day there came another ship of the same companie, that sailed close vnder the Island, so to get into the Road: where she met with an English ship that had not above three cast peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which two being in the Island might stand and behold: whereupon the Gouernour of Tercera sent two boats of Musketeers to helpe the shippe: but before they could come to her, the English ship had shot her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea with all her sailes by, and not any thing seene of her above the water. The Englishmen with their boate saued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golbe, Siluer, and Pearles; the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among the which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land: and then they sailed away. The seuen and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd fourteene ships hauing refreshed themselves in the Island departed from Tercera toward Sicill; and coming vpon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and five or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Moan of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knewe such as walked on the Watches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the towne and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sailed round about the Islands, and landed in Graciosa and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I haue already declared. Here heooke diuers ships and Caravels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Island durst not once put forth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had bene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose General was one Iuan Dorioes: and there they discharged in the Island 4 millions of golde and siluer. And hauing with all speed refreshed their ships, fearing the coming of the Englishmen they set saile, and arrived safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemye, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the golde and siluer was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sailed againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the moneth of November there arrived in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Vice-admirall of the Fleet laden with siluer, who with stormie weather were separated from the Fleet, and had bene in great torment and distress, and ready to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly haue giuen their siluer and all that ever they brought with them, onely to saue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still about those Islands,

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Spanish prizes taken. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they unladed and discharged about five millions of silver, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Ray lay couered with plates and cheds of silver, full of Ryales of eight, most monderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand ducats,) besides pearles, gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commander of those ships and Fleet called Aluaro Flores de Quinones was sicke of the Beapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Suillia, he brought with him the Kings bryad scale and full authority to be Generall and chiefe commander upon the Seas, and of all Fleets of ships, and of all places and Islands, so lands whereofuer he came: whereupon the gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the shippes empie with souldiers to conuery them, either to Suill or Lisbon, where they could first arrive, with aduise vnto his Maiestie of all that had past, and that he would give order to fetch the silver with good and safe conuoy. Whereupon the said Aluaro Flores shapd there, under colour of keeping the silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part a house 50000 Ducats in pearles, which he shewed vnto vs, & sought to sell them of better then with vs for spices or bills of exchange. The said two ships set saile with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well souldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, where with the Admirall burst and sunke in the sea, & not one man saved. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Setuall, where it burst in pieces, some of the men saving themselves by swimming, that brought the netes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within half a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had bene an English shippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade wood, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they by and downe the streetes to get their linings, by labouring like slaves, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had bene in prison. But in the ende upon a Sunday, all the Saplars went downe behinde the hills called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Isle of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saplars knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anchor that day, they fetched as many Goates and Sheepe as they had neede of: which chose of the towne and of the Island well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe forth: so there remained no more on land but the Spaller and the Sparchant of the said English ship. This Spaller had a brother in law dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, there with to see if he could recouer his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Spaller of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand ducats, he sent all the men on land saving onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboard there by to ransom his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernour of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he should deliuer him his brother, & he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Gouernour would not doe it, saving that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous vsing of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any rancome as yet.

In the moneth of Iamuarie 1590 there arrived one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleet of a hundred shippes which put out from the firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were diuyn upon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, the hauing onely escaped, wherein there were great riches, & many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account, that of 20 ships that for certaine were knowne to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Brasilia,

Brasilis, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589. to saile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not above 14 or 15 of them arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same moneth of January there arrived in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Siuil, which were full of flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of souldiers, and wel appointed with munition, so lade the siluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Islands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their masts, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscaie ran against the land and was stricken in pieces, but all the men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and separate themselves one from the other, where wind and weather would disjune them untill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not have one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, turling both the siluer and the land. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailles: so they set upon her and took her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the haven as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag upon her sterne was entering into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the land that paid her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in the sea: but because she got under the Foirelle, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and to put further into the sea, having laine fire on fire of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put under hatches, and couped in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Caligie-bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to revenge his death, and withall to shew his manhood on the English captives that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe under the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen lying in bolts, with the same poiniard he stabbed fire of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiving, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murdered by him, & threw themselves into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner unto Lisbon, where being arrived, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might use him as he thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to be reversed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour be beheaded: but upon a good Friday the Cardinal going to masse, all the capitaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the blood & wilfull minds of the Spaniards when they have men under their subiection.

The same two English ships which followed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Foire of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scattered by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had known what had bene done unto the aforesayd English captives, I beleene they would soone have revenged themselves, as afterward many an innocent soule paid for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Island of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the land in a sither boat (as I said before) and was sold unto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, where with they sailed to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the siluer in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meanest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, having laden the kings silver, and received in Alvaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good provision of necessities, munition and souldiers that were fully resolved (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind drove them unto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Alvaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce have sailed to S. Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and impossibilitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was

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was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the silver was by land caried vnto Siul. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put in to S. Lucar, they had fallt right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath sent them a happy voyage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the seare where with they were possessed, because fortune or rather God was wholly against them: which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to giue the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this byle of discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a nauie of English ships was seen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countreys in the West: which put the Spaniards in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Gouernour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal did not onely refuse to giue care vnto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in euill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves and stand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them answere, that he was there in the behalfe of his maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no little feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barques with powder and munition for warre, with some bisket and other necessary provision.

The 30 of August we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Nauarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugal to Tercera being halfe the Seasouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir John Hawkins, that slaid them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordnance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English chanel watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Spaniards in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleet and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, because they would not returne empty home, whereupon they held streit watch, sending aduise vnto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the haven of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall fleet that came from India, hauing missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessity constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expressly vnder a great penaltrie forbidden him so to doe, because of the twymes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shippe where in Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. sailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admirall was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Iland of Coruo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 moie of the Indian ships, & a carauel with the king of Spaines letters of aduise for the ships comming out of the Portugall Indies, & that with those which they had takē, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so that not one bark escaped them, but fel into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course vnder 40 & 42 degrees, and so thence sailed to Lisbon, humming like wile the Cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not haue had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was full of English ships. Whereupon the king aduised the fleet lying in Hauana in the Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fall into by the Englishmen, which was no final charge, & hindrance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselves, and in a manner eat by one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of all things, so that

Great havoc
of Spaniards.

many ships chose rather one by one to adventure their lives alone to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, whereof divers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pittie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen & their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to prouoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

The 19 of the same moneth there came to Tercera a Caruel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cause the goods that were saued out of the ship which came from Malacca (for which we staied there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Baçan, with 40 great ships of warre to come vnto the Islands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to conuoy the all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Islands, onely two of them that were scattered from the fleet, arrived at Tercera, and nor finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent word vnto Don Alonso de Baçan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once appoyching neer the Islands, leauing onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Island of Coruo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the haue the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were put to ship, and trusted by againe, and forced to stay a moze fortu-
nate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arrived in Tercera a Caruel with aduise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward it was there of was brought over-land, hauing bin at the least 11 moneths at sea & neuer saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. A this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & surnames of euery man, together with a description of his voiage, & the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, & onely for want of provision, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ships did, he should haue bin cashiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmur at him for his proud & losly mind. And among other things that shewed his pride the moze, behind about the gallery of his ship, he caused fortune to be painted, & his owne picture in a stasse standing by her, as it were cheating fortune, with this posie, *Quero que venças, que is, I will haue thee to ouercome*: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honoꝝ him brought him aboard his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they about all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a souldier and a captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, & much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe courteously to euery man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behauiour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are aduanced vnto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Januarie 1591, there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had takē a ship that the king had sent into the Portugal-Indies, to aduise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should haue gone to India, & because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laden as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in royals of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of Nouember 1590, & met with the Englishmen, with whō for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, & he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Spine laden with gold, & 2 ships laden with pepper & spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, & made good prize.

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Sir Rich. Greenuil. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

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In the moneth of July 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Island of S. Michael, which continued fro the 26 of July, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, sitting & praying with great sorrow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters & houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose up, and the cliffs remoued from one place to another, and some hills were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaken as if the world would haue turned round: there spang also a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, & after that it ceased: At the same time they heard such thundring & noise under the earth, as if all the devils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, where with many died for feare. The Island of Tercera shooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune unto it: Earthquakes are common in those Islands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arrived in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serue the king, besides o her small ships & paravos, that came to serue as messengers from place to place, and to discouer the seas. This name came to stay for, and conuoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saued in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arrived at the Island of Coruo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, where of some of the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to haue taken them. But when they perceived the kings army to be strong, the Admirall being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his fleet not to fall vpon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, unless he gaue commission so to do: notwithstanding the vice admirall Sir Richard Greenuil being in the ship called the Reuenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the rest of the company would haue followed, which they did not, but left him there, & sailed away: the cause why could not be knowen. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ships they hounded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a double flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admirall of the flieboats, the other a Biscaine: but in the end by reason of the number that came vpon her, she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by shotwounding about 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Bagan: there his wounds were dyed by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the capitaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour: but feeling the houre of death to approach, he spake these wordes in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a topfull & quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most ioyfull departeth out of this bood, & that alwayes leaueth behind it an euerlasting fame of a valiant & true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like wordes he gaue vp the Ghost, with great & stout courage, & no man could perceiue any true signe of heauines in him.

This Sir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great peerey reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war: insomuch as of his owne private motion he offered his seruice to the Queene: he had perswaded many valiant men, and was greatly feared in these Islands, and knownen of euery man, but of nature very seuer, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, & spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet of Armada, they had their great dislike in a tradinelle, and might possibly enough haue sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for sale in England, and the master perceiuing that the other ships had left them, & followed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but Sir Rich. Greenuil cheared both him & al the rest that were in the ship, & if any man laid hand vpon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a byawerie take the glass & betwixt his teeth

and crash them in pieces & swallow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him: & this was told me by diuers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into diuers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue first boozed her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrelling them, one taking the chief ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and every man held his owne. The ships that had boozed her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arrived, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare some newes, went aboard one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Barrendono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. He seeing vs called vs by into the gallery, where with great curtesie he receiued vs, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that sat by him, and had on a sute of blacke velvet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Barrendono also could a little speake. The English captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Island, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Barrendono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea between Lisbon & the Islands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the matter of the fight, and left it with the English merchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Amiral of England. This English captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel received and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good conuoy sent to Seauall, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staid at the Island of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard & cruell a storme, that those of the Islands did affirme, that in many memoie there was neuer any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would haue swallowed up the Islands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amazes a man to behold them: but the sea reached aboue them, and liuing fishes were chosen vpon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in all places of the compasse, at the least twice or thrise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Island of Tercera, there were about 12 ships cast away, and not onely vpon the one side, but round about it in euery corner, whereby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & weeping, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 30 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came drifting on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Reuenge, that was cast away vpon acliffe neere to the Island of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & sunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saued that got vpon the cliffes alike, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought vs the newes desiring to be shynen, & thereupon presently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire hualle pieces that were all sunke in the sea, which they of the Island were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a ffile-boat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serue the king, called the white Dove, the master of her was one Cosnellus Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in euery one of the rest there were. He being over-ruled by the captaine that he could not be master of his owne, saying here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme dyed him, in the end came within the sight of the Island of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiving thought all their sautie onely to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Island, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and utterly spoiled: but the captaine called him vnhard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe, commaunded him to doe as her would haue him. The Master seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: Well then my Spallers, seeing it is the desire of you all to bee cast away,

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I can but lose one life, and therewith desperately he sailed towards the shore, and was on that side of the Island, where there was nothing els but hard stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to behold, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and cokes bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them, and saue their liues: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship falling in this manner (as I sayd before) towards the Island, and approaching to the shore, the master being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing embraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father called his sonne not to take care for him, but streke to saue himselfe: for (sayd he) sonne thou art yong, & mayest haue some hope to saue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) it is become of me, and therewith each of these shedding many teares, as euery loving father and kinne childe may well consider, the ship fell vpon the cliffs, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying holde vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose: for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foure or five euen saved themselves by swimming, with their legs and armes half broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Spaniards sonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Spasser, were drowned. Whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so gretuous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the headlines and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene: Whereby may be considered how the other shippes sped, as we our selues did in part behold, and by the men that were saued did heare more at large, as also some others of our countrey men that as then were in the like danger can well witness.

On the other Islands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the Island of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Island of Pico two ships: on the Island of Gratiola three ships: and besides those there came euery where round about diuers pieces of broken ships, and other things fleeing towards the Islands, wherewith the sea was all covered most pitifull to behold. On the Island of S. Michael there were four ships cast away, and betwene Tercera and S. Michael three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out: wherof not one man was saued. The rest put into the sea without masts, all roynes and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arttued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesayd. All the rest were cast away vpon the Islands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, where by may be considered what great losse and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by their army that came for England: and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might cruelly be sayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iustly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleued verily God would consume them, and that heooke part with the Lutherans and hereticks: saying further that so soone as they had throught the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield out of board, they verily thought that as he had a diuelliish faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the sea, and downe into hell, where he raised by all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and toynens vpon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike & Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter, without being reprimanded of any man therein, nor for their false opinions: but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of truth it must needs be so.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Noua Spagna, there were 33 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, coming out of the channel of Huana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ships laden with golde and silver, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Coruo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

about 200
Spanish and
Portugall
ships drowned
into.

A relation sent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura at Lisbon, from the Iland and Castle of Arguin, standing a little to the Southward of Cape Blanco, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither: Anno 1591.

Commodities
fit for Arguin.

Wedges of
golde given for
small triffes.

Scarlet & fine
purple cloth
greatly accept-
ed.

A good harbor
before the Cas-
tle of Arguin.

Concerning
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A concerning the trade to this Castle and Iland of Arguin, your worship is to vnderstand, that if it would please the kings maiesty to send blaber two or three carauels once in a yeare with Flanders and Spanish commodities, as Vaselets of glasse, Knives, Beiles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glasse, with other kinds of small wares, his highnesse might do great good here. For 50 leagues up into the land the Spoones haue many exceeding rich golde mines; insomuch that they buyng downe their golde to this Castle to traffique with vs: and for a small triffe they will giue vs a great wedge of golde. And because here is no trade, the sayd Spoones carry their golde to Fez being 250 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the foresayd kindes of commodities. By this means also his maiesty might stop that passage, and keepe the king of Fez from to buye a masse of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in these parts. It is a most fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great store of wheat, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his maiesty, either himselfe to send a couple of carauels, or to giue your worship leave to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride as ancre hard by the Castle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darha. In this kingdome are great store of cities and townes; and in euery city and towne a Captaine with certaine souldiers; which Capitaines are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeron: as also the cities of Tubguer, Azegus, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Spoones, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley, and Dates. And here is such plenty of golde found vpon the sands by the riuers side, that the sayd Spoones vsually carry the same Northward to Morocco, and Southward to the city of Tomburto in the land of Negros, which city standeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darha; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Castle of Arguin. Therefore I beseech your worship to put his maiesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wish that his maiesty would send two or three marchants to see the state of the Countrey, who might trauell to the foresayd cities, to vnderstand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe and come safe from those places. And thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leaue. From the Iland and Castle of Arguin the 20 of January 1591.

Your worships seruants
Melchior Petoney.

The voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the riuers of Senega and Gambia adioyning vpon Guinea, 1591, with a discourse of the creations of certain of Don Antonio his seruants and followers.

By vertue of her Maiesties most gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her highnesse reigne, certaine English marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of Senega to and in the riuer of Gambia, on the westerne coast of Africa. The chiefest places of traffique on that coast betwene these riuers, are these:

The names of
the chief pla-
ces of traffike
betwene Sen-
ga & Gambia.

- 1 Seneg: riuer: The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, ostrich feathers, amber-greece, and some golde.
- 2 Beleguache, a towne by Capo Verde 4 leagues from Senega riuer: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth.
- 3 Resica Vieja, a towne 4 leagues from Beleguache: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.
- 4 Palmerin, a towne 4 leagues from Resica: The commodities be small hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.
- 5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 4 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be small hides, teeth, amber-greece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

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Candimal,

M. Rich. Reinolds. Traffiques and Discoueries.

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6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d' Ally: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then,

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, ware, elephants teeth, rice, and some golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambia riuer: The commodities are rice, ware, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-hauen haue traded thither about thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or fife ships a pere, whereof two small barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were woont (untill within these foure yeres, that our ships came thither) to rive with their ships in the road of Porto d' Ally and so sent their small Goloups of fife or eight tunnes to some of these places on the Sea coast before repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloved and as courteously entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally borne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increafing of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coast the Frenchmen ride with their shippes at Refica Vieio, and suffer vs to ancre with our shippes at Porto d' Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vie to go into the riuer of Gambia: which is a riuer of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long since one Frenchman entred the riuer with a small barke which was betrayed, fupplied, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Our trade b^her beganne 1587.

Gambia a riuer of secret & rich trade concealed.

In our second voyage and second yere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros consent in Porto d' Ally and Ioala about forty Englishmen cruelly flaine and captiued, and most of all of their goods confiscated: whereof there returned chely two, which were the marchants. And also by procurement of Pedro Gonfalués, one of Don Antonio the kings seruants, Thomas Dassel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleased almighty God to reueale the same, whereby it was prevented.

The second voyage. Forty English me traitorously flaine and captiued.

From the South fide of Senega riuer on the Sea coast vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdom of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refica.

The 12 of Nouember 1591, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Dassel factozs in a ship called the Nightingale of London of 125 tunnes, and a pinnelle called the Messenger of 40 tunnes arrived neere vnto Capo Verde at a little Island called The land of liberty. At this Island we set vp a small pinnelle, with which we carpy our marchandise on land when wee traffique. And in the meane tyme Thomas Dassel went with the great pinnelle to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d' Ally or Ioala.ouer against the sayd Island on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Befegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoes to receive the kings duties for ankerage and permitting the quier seeing vp of our pinnelle: who liked passing well that no Portugall came in the shippe, saying, we should be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bring Portugall, but come of our felues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchase the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Also vpon his intreaty, hauing sufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this instant there was great warre betwene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Newertheless vpon our artiuall truce was taken for a space; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors house in Befegueache, and were gently and friendly feasted after their maner, and with some presents returned safe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to bid me to send some pyon and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and also requested me that I would go to Refica with the ship; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poisoned arrows, darts poisoned, and swords, (because that the enemies by reason of the truce taken were there also to view the ship) who for the most part appoched to him kneeling downe and killed the backe of his hand.

Cape Verde.

Befegueache.

Befegueache.

The 17 of Nouember we weped anker; and by reason no French ship was yet come, I went to the road of Refica: where I sent for the alcaides interpreters, who came thither aboord, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom daily I exchanged my pyon & other wares for hides and some elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our artiuall I went by into the land about three miles to the towne of Refica, where I was friendly used and well entertained of the alcaide, and especially of a poong nobleman called Conde Amar Paray, who presented me with an ore for my company, goats and some poong kids, assuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the artiuall of

Refica.

of a Christians ship, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men : especially of an English ship. And so dayly the pong Conde came with a small company of horsemen to the sea side, feasting me very kindly and courteously. And the 11th of December he with his traine came aboard to see the ship : which to them seemed wonderfull, as people that selborne had seene the like : who tolde me that his messenger from the king was returned; and the king rejoyced much to heare that English men were come with a ship to trade in his port; and being the first Englishman that ever came with a ship. I was the better welcome; promising that I or any Englishman hereafter should be wel increased & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earnestly requested, that before my departure off the coast I would retorne againe to his roade to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betwene them and Englishmen : which I agreed unto. And so I bewing him and his company the best friendship and courtesie I could, he went on shore, and should have had the hono^r of our ordinaunce but that he desired the contrary, being amazed at the sight of the ship and noise of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porto Dally.

The 13th of December at night we weighed anchor, and arrived the 14th day at the roade of Porto d' Ally, which is another kingdome : the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & sonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes journey and an halfe from Porto d' Ally. When we had anchored, the kings kinsmen being gouvernoys, with all the officers of that towne came aboard to rectifie all duties for the ship & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally seemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ship out of England; saying it was the kings pleasure we should bying none hereafter; for that the king did esteeme them as people of no trust; and complained of one Francisco de Costa servant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the last yere also abused and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promising to bying him certaine things out of England, which he never perfo^rmed, and deemed that to be the cause of his staying behind this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide us, but reported very badly and gave out hard speeches tending to the defamacion & great dishon^r of England: and also affirmed that at the arrivall of an English ship called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonsalves a Portugall that came in the sayd ship from Don Antonio reported unto them, that we were fled out of England and come away upon intent to rob and do great spoyle upon this coast to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Dassel had murdered Francisco de Acosta since our coming from England, who was coming to their king in our ship with great presents from Don Antonio, and desired that at our arrivall day might be made of our goods and our felues in secret manner; which they denied, not giving credit to his report, having bene often abused by such frivolous and slanderous speeches by that nation; telling me their king was so^ry for the former murder and captivitie of our nation, and would never p^rest to the like, having the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred ever since, and conceiveth much better of our countrey and us, then these our enemies report of. For which I p^ressed them hearty thanks, assuring them they should finde great difference betwene the loyaltie of the one and disloyaltie of the other: and so payed their duties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I shewed them how I was resolved to goe to their king with certaine presents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more hono^r and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward us.

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Soale.

All this while Thomas Dassel was with our great pinnelle at the towne of Soale, being in the kingdome of king Tocoel Lamioceric, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the soynamed Pedro Gonsalves, which came out of England, was there also with other English marchants about the busines of Rich. Kelley; and as it should seeme, for that he could not obtaine his mischievous pretended purpose against Thomas Dassel and others at the towne of Porto d' Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with consent of other Portugals which were made privy to his intent to betray the sayd Thomas Dassel at this towne, & had with him seduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & most villanous practise: which as God would, was revealed to the sayd Thomas Dassel by Rich. Cape an Englishman and servant to the soynamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this sayd Pedro Gonsalves had disclosed his secret treachery, willing him with all expedition to stand upon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Dassel went aboard a small English barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one John Payua a Portugall and servant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the sayd towne would have consented with Pedro Gonsalves, the sayd Thomas Dassel had bene betrayed long before. And upon this warning Thomas Dassel the next day having gotten three Portugals aboard, advised for our better securities to send two on land, & detained one with him called Villanous, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bying Pedro Gonsalves

The Cherubin
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abooz to him, he would release the sayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Dassel hauing intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden post ouer-land to Porto d' Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company stayd on land, being doubtfull what friendship forer the unconstant Negros professed (by reason they be often wauering being ouercome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous willes that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better strength, the 24 of December he came with his pinnesse & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d' Ally, where our great shippe the Nightingall was: who was no sooner arriued but he had newes also from the shoie from John Bailly Anthony Dassel's seruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that about 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonfaluies in their company, to take order for the releasing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, some Spaniards, and some Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros seeing how wisely Pedro Gonfaluies had deit, he being in their power, sayd he should suffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompense of his crueltye put him and shewed mercy, desiring the Negros to increat him well though vnderseued: and thereupon the Commanders brought him abooz the pinnesse to Thomas Dassel to do with him what he would: where at his coming from the shoie, for launty speeches which he vsed of Ispines, he was well buffered by a Spaniard, and might haue bene slaine, if for our sakes he had not bene rescued.

While I went on shoie with Villa noua, the sayd Pedro Gonfaluies confessed unto Thomas Dassel that he did enquire of some Negros and Portugals if he might not stay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commission from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we presumed to come to Guineato traffike without a seruant of his; and further, that he had power of procurati-on from Francisco de Costa the Portugall that stayed behinde in England to detain the goods of Anthony Dassel in Guine.

Note.

By consent of Mr. Francis Tucker, John Browbeare, and the rest of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonfaluies came, for auoiding further mischief that might be practised, we agreed that the say Pedro Gonfaluies should stay abooz our shippe, and not goe any moze on land vntill they departed. So the ninth of January he was deliuered abooz to goe for England in the same ship wherein he came; who was all the time of his abode in our shippe both courteously and friendly vsed at my hands, much against the mariners willes, who could not abide such a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nourished and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes sought the destruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be dissemblers and not to be trusted, when they persecuted both king Amar Melicks Negros besetted and fauored vs, and that it would be prejudiciall to their trade for diuers respects, if we should any way be iniured, renounced the sayd practises, detesting the autho, and protested to defend vs in such cases with all faithfulness; desiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugall with vs moze: vnder this phrase in disdaine of such as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of pyon: for in truth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of lace, they esteeme moze of one barre of pyon then of twenty Portugals which we should bring out of England: who at their coming thither very much disauantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of these boyles the king Amar Melick had sent his chiefe secretary and three hoyses for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reason of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negros of account for pledges abooz: yet we sent the presents vnto the king: who so soone as he vnderstood the cause why I came not to him, being soye and offended thereat, commanded presently by proclamation, that no iniury should be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or suffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros spying to his kingdome should confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to molest or trouble vs; that his subiects the Negros should be ready to ayde, succor and defend vs. In which people appeared moze confident loue and good will towards vs, then euer we shall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we should relieue them of the greatest misery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vs to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was married to a kings daughter.

In the towne of Porto d' Ally and Ioala, being towne of chiefe trade, and in the towne of Canton and Cassan in the riuer of Gambia are many Spaniards and Portugals resident by permission of the Negros; who haue rich trades there along the coast, especially to San Domingo

San Domingo
and

Rio grande.
Note this
trade,

A rich trade
for golde in
Rio grande.

and Rio grande, not far distant from Gambia river; whither they transport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negroes; which be carried continually to the West Indies in such ships as came from Spaine. Also by the gouernours order and Renters of Castell de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coast of Guines, they haue a place limited how farre they must go to trade within the river of Gambia; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, and losse of life: for that the Renters themselves send at certaine times their owne barks within the river to such places, where as they haue great store of golde. And in all these places hereabouts, where we be to trade, they haue no fort, Caille, or place of strength, but onely trading by the Negroes safeconduct and permission. And the most part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be resident in these places be banished men or fugitiues, for committing most heinous crimes and incestuous acts, their life & conuerlation being agreeable; and they are of the basest behaviour that we haue euer seene of these nations in any other countrey.

A briefe relation concerning the estate of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gago written in *Marocco* the first of August 1594, and sent to *M. Anthony Dassel* marchant of *London*.

My hearty commendations premised: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me discouer vnto you the state & qualitie of the countreies of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to slumber in this action, wherein you would be truly and perfectly resolved, you shall vnderstand, that not ten dayes past here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall poore, whom the king sent thither at the first with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with golde. I saw the same come into the Alcalaia with mine owne eyes: and these men themselves came not poore, but with such wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement: and for that cause the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue bene there. On the other side they dare not aske the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode saw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not stay in Gago with him, he thought good to send these thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king smelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cause of the kings displeasure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Isawdara, and Alcaide Buchare. And here are in a readinesse to depart in the end of this next September Alcaide Monsor, Ben Abraham an Allee, Monsor Rico with five thousand men, most of the feruile, that is to say, of fier-mach, & muskets. There is gone good store of reeds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the same commodities; but I trust the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth prosper wel in those parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely thye of the kings sonnes of Gago and the Justice; I saw them come in with the treasure. Now when Alcaide Monsor cometh to Gago, the which will be in January next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treasure, and Alcaide Monsor is to keepe Gago vntill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this present, I commend you to the mercifull cucion of the almighty. From *Marocco* the first of August 1594.

Commodities
in Gago.

Your assured friend Laurence Madoe.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gago, written from *Marocco* the 30 August 1594, to *M. Anthony Dassel* marchant of *London* aforesayd.

Tombuto taken

Gago taken.

Loving friend D. Dassel, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the Shippe called The Amiry, the other by The Concord: the chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore these are to let you vnderstand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for those parts twentie hundred men: who passing ouer the sands, for want of water perished one third part of them: and at their coming to the city of Tombuto, the Negroes made some resistance; but to small purpose, for that they had no defence but with their asagais or iauelings poisoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negroes were in number infinite, and meant to stand to the bittermost for their countrey: but the Spooyes slew them so fast, that they were faine to perish, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent

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of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere; the goodnesse whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you shall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the caselow of carouan, which is, as aboue is mentiohed, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed byingeth with him such an infinite treasure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue moze golde then any other part of the world beside. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe towards the sea coast. This king of Marocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account alioone as the king of Spaine hath quiettelle in Chz: Andome, he wil thrust him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the speech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance against an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in January of thereabout: for he stayeth but for the coming of the viceroy. Mulley Balafen the kings sonne of Marocco was slaine in Guinea by his owne men, and they were presently killed, because they should tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Yours to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of these two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his seventh booke of the description of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this second volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others, for traffique betwene the riuer of *Nonnia* and the riuers of *Madrabumba* and *Sierra Leona* on the coast of *Guinea*, in the yeere 1592.

IN May the 34 yeere of our gracious Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of speciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerset, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other merchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northernmost part of the riuer of *Nonnia* to the Southernmost parts of the riuers of *Madrabumba* and *Sierra Leona*, and to other parts as well to the South-east as to the North-west, for a certaine number of leagues therein specified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeeres: as appeareth at large in the said patent recorde in the Rolles in her Maiesties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quick-silver & the Popes bulles, bound for the *West Indies*, by M. Thomas White in the *Amity* of London, 1592.

THe 26 of July 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ship called the *Amity* of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had sight of two shippes, being distant from vs about three or foure leagues: by seuen of the clocke we fetched them up, and were within gun-shot: whose boldnesse, hauing the king of Spaines armes displayed, did make vs iudge them rather ships of warre, then laden with merchandise. And as it appeared by their owne speeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a question among them, whether it were best to carry vs to S. Lucar. or to Lisbon. We waied ech other a maine. They hauing placed themselves in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, so fast as we were able to charge and discharge, the space of fise houres, being neuer a cables length distant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers shot both in the hull of our ship, masts, and sailes, to the number of 32 great, besides 500 mulket shot and harquebuzes a crosse at the least, which we tolde after the fight. And because we perceiued them to be stout, we thought good to boord the *Biscaine*, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordnance and small shot; in the end we slawed all his men. As for the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roomes with vs, meaning to haue layed vs aboord, and so to haue incrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, fired our ordnance so for him, as we quitted our selues of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then presently we kept our loofe, boyled our top-sailes, and weathred them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordnance prepared,

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and gaue her our whole broad side, with the which we slew ouers of their men; so as we might see the blood run out at the scupper holes. After that we cast about, and new charged all our ordnance, and came vpon them againe, willing them to peece, or els we would linke them: wherupon the one would haue peeled, which was shot betwene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Vnto whom we made answere, that if he would not peece presently also, we would linke him first. And thereupon he vnderstanding our determination, presently put out a white flag, and peeled, and yet refused to strike their owne sailes, for that they were sworne neuer to strike to any Englishman. We then commanded their captaines and masters to come aboard vs; which they did. And after examination & showing them, we sent certaine of our owne men aboard them, and strook their sailes, and manned their ships: finding in them both 126 persons liuing, & 8 dead, besides those which they themselves had cast ouerboard. So it pleased God to giue vs the victorie being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good successe we giue God the only praise. These two rich prizes laden with 1400 chests of quicksilver with the armes of Castile and Leon fastened vpon them, and with a great quantitie of bulles of indulgences, and guilded spittals of seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought shortly after into the riuer of Thames vnto Blacke-wall.

By the taking of this quicksilver, about 1400 chests, the king of Spaine loseth for euery quintall of the same a quintall of silver, that should haue bene deliuered him by the masters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thousand for liuing and dead persons for the prouinces of Noua Hispania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Philipinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eightene thousand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt missals and beutaries sent for the kings account.

So the hinderance that the king receiueth by the losse of his bulles and quicksilver amounteth as is abovesaid: besides the lacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is disappointed of a great part of their pprovision.

A true report of the honourable seruice at Sea performed by Sir

John Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon. Wherin chiefly the *Santa Clara of Biscay*, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the *Santa Cruz* and the *Madre de Dios* were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into *Dartmouth* the seuenth of September, 1592.



So Sir Walter Raleigh vpon commission receiued from her Maiestie for an expedition to be made to the West Indies, slackt not his diligent diligence to make full pprovision of all things necessary, as both in his choise of good ships, and sufficient men to performe the action evidently appeared. For his shippes which were in number 14 or 15, those two of her Maiesties, the *Garland* & the *Fore sight* were the chiefe; the rest either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his consoles and officers, to giue them their right, they were so well qualified in courage, experience, & discretion, as the greatest prince might repute himselfe happy to be serued with their like. The hono^r of Lieutenant generall was imposed vpon Sir John Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after Sir W.R. returned was ioynd in commission Sir Martin Frobisher, who for his speciall skill & knowledge in marine causes had formerly caried imployments of like or greater place. The rest of the captaines, souldiers, and sailers were men of notable resolution, and for the most part such as heretofore had giuen to the world sufficient prooffe of their valour in diuers seruices of the like nature. With these ships thus manned Sir Walter Raleigh departed towards the West countrey, there to stoze himselfe with such further necessities as the state of his voyage did needfully require: where the Westerly winde blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keepe harborough so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals consumed; and withall, her Maiestie vnderstanding how costly all this sort, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question: inasmuch that, whereas the first of May was first come before Sir Walter could put to sea, the very next day Sir Martin Frobisher in a pinnesse of my lord Admiralls called *The Disdaine*, met him, and brought to him from her Maiestie letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue the

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the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of sir John Burrough and sir Martin Frobisher. But sir Walter finding his honor so farre engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he saw no remedy either to salve his reputation, or to content those his friends which had put in adventures of great summes with him; and making construction of the Quenes let- ters in such sort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to ad- vance forward or to retire, at his owne discretion; would in no case yeeld to leave his fleet now under saile. Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met within a day or two, with cer- taine sailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur Gour- don gouvernor of Caleis, and found aboard her one M. Neuell Davies an Englishman, who having indured a long and miserable captivity for the space of twelve yeeres, partly in the inquisition in Spaine, was now by good fortune escaped, and upon returne to his countrry. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; considering that the king of Spaine had sent expresse order to all the ports both of the Islands and of Terra firma, that no ship should stirre that yeere, nor any treasure be layed a- board for Spaine. But neither this unpleasant relation nor ought els could stay his proceedings, untill a tempest of strange and uncouth violence arising upon Thursday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finisler, had so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunke his boats and pinnaces, that as the rest were driven and seuered, some this way and some that, sir Walter himselfe being in the Garland of her Name was in danger to be swallowed up of the Sea. Whereupon sir W. Raleigh finding that the season of the yeere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterprise which he had upon Panama, having bene held on the English coast from Februa- ry till May, and thereby spent three months victuals; and consoling withall, that to lie upon the Spanish coast or at the Islands to attend the returne of the East or West Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gave directions to sir John Burgh and sir M. Fro- bisher to divide the fleet in two parts; sir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenville and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet, and to holde them on their owne coast; while sir J. Burgh, capt. Robert Crosse, capt. Tomson, & others should attend at the Islands for the caraks of any other Spanish ships comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiving intelligence that the English fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himselfe as nere sir Mart. Frobisher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might undertake; and thereby neglected the safeconduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter shall appeare. Before the fleet seuered themselves they mette with a great Biscain shippe on the Spanish coast called Santa Clara a ship of 600 tunnes.

The Santa Clara
a Biscain ship
of 600 tunnes
taken.

The noise of the shippen on both sides being heard, immediately they drew to their fleet; where after a reasonable way, the ship was entered and mastered, which they found freighted with all sorts of small yron-works, as horse-shoes, nailes, plough-shares, yron barres, spikes, hoults, locks, gimboles, & such like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li, but woorth to them treble the value. This Biscain was sailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in some further provision for the West India. This ship being first roomaged, and after sent for England, our fleet coasted along towards the Southcape of S. Vincent, and by the way about the Roche nere Lisbon, sir John Burrough in the Robucke spying a saile scarce off, gaue her present chase; which being a flieboat and of good saile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at last he came under his lee and strooke saile. The master of which flieboat comming aboard him, confessed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was current) for the West Indies. But in deed the Spanish king had provided this fleet upon this counsell. He receiued intelligence, that sir Walter Raleigh was to put out strong for the West India: to impeach him, and to rancouer his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arrival of his East Indian caraks, he first ordained those ships to wait them from the Açores. But perswading himselfe, that if the fleet of sir Walter Raleigh did go for the West India, then the Islands should haue none to infect them but some small men of warre, which the caraks of themselves would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonso de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and General of his armada, to pursue sir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what course sooner he held. And that this was true, our men in short time by proofe understood: for sir John Burrough, not long after the taking of his last prize the flieboat, as he sailed backe againe towards the rest of his company, discovered the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him: which hauing like wise espied him betwixt them and the shore, made full account to bring him safe into Spanish harbour; and therefore spied themselves in such sort betwixt him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight, and the shore being enemy could

196 English Voyages, Navigations, The Madre de Dios taken.

Mr John Burrough in great danger of the Spanish fleet.

The Tle of S. Michael.

Winers small ships taken.

Santa Cruz a bill in the Tle of Flores.

News of the East Indian carrack.

11 carak called the Santa Cruz set on fire.

500 hundred of our men laid.

give him no comfort of reliefe : so that trusting to Gods helpe onely and his good saile, he thrust out from among them in spight of all their force, and to the notable illusion of all: heir cunning, which they shewed to the veremoost, in laying the way for his apprehension. But now Sir John Burrough hearing happily escaped their clutches, finding the coast guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with Sir Martin Frobisher (who understanding of this armada as well as himselfe, would be sure not to come that way) beganne to hope his course to the Agores according to Sir W. Raleighs direction, and came in sight of S. Michael, running so neere by Villa Franca, that he might easily discerne the shippe lying there at anker. Divers small caravels both here and betwene S. Georges and the Pike in his course toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be understood. Arriving before Flores upon Thursday the 21 of June, towards evening, accompanied onely with captain Caufield and the Master of his shippe, the rest not being yet arrived, he made towards the shoze with his boat, finding all the people of Santa Cruz, a village of that Island, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their towne from spoile. Sir John contrariwise made signes of amity unto them by advancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was answered againe of them with the like: whereupon ensued intercourses of good friendship; and pledges were taken on both sides, the captain of the towne for them, and captain Caufield for ours: so that whatsoever our men wanted, which that place could supply either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitantes: and good leave had they to refresh themselves on shoze as much and as oft as they would without restraint. At this Santa Cruz Sir John Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the West, but from the East, that no longer since then thre dayes before his arrivall a carak was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks moze behinde, of one consort. Sir John being very glad of this news, stayed no longer on shoze, but presently imbarqued himselfe, having onely in company a small barke of theescope runnes belonging to one Sp. Hopkins of Brittol. In the meane while that these things thus passed at Flores, part of the rest of the English fleet, which Sir John Burrough had left upon the coast of Spaine, dyed also towards the Agores: and whereas he quickly at sea had discovered one of the caraks, the same evening he might perceive two or thre of the Earle of Cumberlandships (whereof one Sp. Norton was captain) which having in like sort kenned the carak, pursued her by that course which they saw her to take towards the Islands. But on no side was there any way made by reason of a great calme which perced no breath to spread a saile. Informing that first to discover her what she was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, Sir John Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the space of thier miles, to make her exactly: and being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the company then present, upon the booyding her in the morning. But a very mighty storme arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather not to lose the carak, that in the morning, the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the shoze, they might perceive the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shoze such things as they could any manner of way convey out of her; and seeing the haste our men made to come upon them, forsooke her: but first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, set fire to that which they could not carry with them, intending by that meanes wholly to consume her: that neither glory of victory nor benefit of shippe might remaine to ours. And least the approach and industry of the English should bring meanes to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserve the residue of that which the fire had not destroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themselves on land so neere to the carak, that she being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole. This being noted by Sir John Burrough he soone provided a present remedy for this mischief. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did swim and wade moze then dyest high to shoze, and easily scattering those that presented themselves to guard the coast, he no sooner dyed toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leaving as much as the fire had spared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Formeca a Portugall, purser of the carak, with two others, one an Almane and the second a Low-dutchman, canonicers: who refusing to make any voluntary report of those things which were demanded of them, had the torture thereunto, the feare whereof at the last wiled from them this intelligence, that within thre dayes thre or thre greater caraks then that lately fired would arrive at the same Island: and that being five caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Jesus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Christophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whose fortime you have already heard) they had received speciall commandement from the king not to touch in any case at the Island

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of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the East India were alwayes till now woone to arrive to refresh themselves with water and victuals. And the kings reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should drive them to seek the supply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to stop onely the taking in of water to avoid the inconvenience of infections, whereunto that hot latitude is dangerously subiect. The last rendezvous for them all was the Island of Flores, where the king assured them not to misse of his armada thither sent of purpose for their waisting to Lisbon. Upon this information Sir John drew to counsell, meeting there Captaine Norton, Captaine Dounton, Captaine Abraham Cocke, Captaines of three ships of the Earle of Cumberland, *pp.* Tomson of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of Sir John Hawkins, one of Sir W. Raleighs fleet, and *pp.* Christopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the West India, and others. These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had understood of the foresaid examinations, and what great presumptions of truth their relation did carry: wishing that soasmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in so good a season, they would shew the bettermost of their endeavors to bring these Castellings under the lee of the English obedience. Whereupon a present accord on all sides followed not to part company or leave of those seas till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution. The next day her *pp.* Paides good ship the Foresight commanded by Sir Rob. Crosbie came in to the rest: and he likewise informed of the matter was soone drawn into this service. Thus Sir John with all these ships departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the West of Flores, they spread themselves abroad from the North to the South, each ship two leagues at the least distant from another. By which order of extension they were able to discover the space of two whole degrees at sea. In this sort they lay from the 29 of June to the third of August, what time Cap. Thomson in the Dainty had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent saile got the start of the rest of our fleet, and began the conflict some what to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of sixers of her men. Within a while after, Sir John Burrough in the Robucke of Sir W. Raleighs, was at hand to second her, who saluted her with shot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within musket shot assisted by Cap. Tomson and Cap. Newport till Sir R. Crosbie vice-amirall of the fleet came by being to leeward, at whose arrival Sir J. Burgh demanded of him what was best to be done, who answered, that if the carak were not booyed she would recover the shore and fire herselfe as the other had done. Whereupon Sir J. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and Sir R. Crosbie promised also to fasten himselfe to her together at the instant; which was performed: but after a while Sir John Burgh receiving a shot with a canon perier under water, and ready to sinke, desired Sir R. C. to fall off, that he might also cleere himselfe, and save his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Robucke and the Foresight were so intangled, as with much ado could they cleere themselves.

Angola a new
watering place
for the caraks.

The same evening Sir R. Crosbie finding the carak then sure & drawing nere the Island persuaded his company to booyd her againe, or els there was no hope to recover her: who after many excuses & feares, were by him encouraged, and so fell athrow her forthships all alone; and so hindered her sailing that the rest had time to come by to his succour, & to recover the carak per the recovered the land: and so to ward the evening after he had fought with her alone three houres single, my lord of Cumberland two ships came by, & with very little losse entered with Sir R. Crosbie, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the assault easie for the rest.

The Madre de
Dios taken.

The generall having disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them for better security on all sides, first had presented to his eyes the true proportion of the vast body of this carak, which did then any may still fully provoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first apparance of the bugenselle thereof peebled sights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pittifull object of so many bootles saine and dismembered could not but draw each mans eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe those miserable people, whose limmes were so toyne with the violence of shot, and paine made grievous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almost steppe but upon a dead carcasse of a bloody flooze, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell suddenly from sitting to dying. For the greatness of the damage requiring the labour of twelve or fourtreene men at once, and some of our shippes beating her in at the sterne with their ordinance often times with one shot slew foure or five labouring on either side of the helme; whose roomes being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing upon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much blood should be shed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moved with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that

Exceeding busi-
manly letters
to the em-
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he or any of his company could affoord them. Among the rest of those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendocá Grand capitaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was descended of the house of Mendocá in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, lived there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of comely personage, of good nature, but of hard fortune. In his severall services against the Moores he was twice taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the East India he was taken upon the Bayes of sands of Iuda nere the coast of Cephal, being then also capitaine of a caracke which was there lost, and himselfe, though escaping the sea-danger, yet fell into the hands of Infidels on land; who kept him under long and grievous servitude. Once more the king carrying a loving respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly navigation, and committed unto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon General of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Jesus had not, by reason of his late office, bene preferred. Sir John intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, moved with pity and compassion of humane misery, in the end resolved freely to dismiss this capitaine & the most part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary provision. This businesse thus dispatched, good leisure had he to take such view of the goods as convenient might affoord. And having very prudently (to cut off the unpardonable spoyle & pillage wherunto he saw the minds of many inclined) seized upon the whole to her Majesties use, after a shoyt & slender romaging & searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceived that his wealth would arise nothing distant from expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then sufficient to content both the adventures desire & the soulis travell. And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgement of Gods great fauour towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discovered those secret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from us; whereof there was among some few of us some small and imperfect glimpse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to have us communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to advance true religion and his holy service. The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those slowd and the grosse bulke of marchandise, the rest of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordynance which were 32 pieces of brylle of all sorts, partly to the passengers and the victuals, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the navigation. To give you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliver you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden Hall the 15 of September 1592. Where upon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they neuer came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, cinnamon, Greene ginger: the drugges were beniamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes, zocotrina, camphire: the silks, damasks, caffaras, sarcenets, alcoballos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, brought China silke, leaved silke, white twisted silke, curled cyresse. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-laines, broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, coarse white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne coarse calicos. There were also canopies, and coarse diaper-towels, quilts of coarse sarcenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turkey; wherunto are to be added the pearle, muske, civet, and amber-greece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellain vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as jet, belemnites of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificiall in workmanship. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reasonable sort amounted to no lesse then 150000 li. sterling, which being diuided among the adventurers (whereof her Majestie was the chiefe) was sufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods freighted in terme of our ships sent for London, to the end that the bignesse, height, length, breadth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessel might by the exact rules of Geometrical observations be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and derivation also of the same unto posterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description, which either his arte could demonstrate, or any mans iudgement thinke worthy the memory. After an exquisite survey of the whole frimse found the length from the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lantern) to containe 165 foot

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foote. The breadth in the second close decke whereof she had three, this being the place where there was most extension of breadth, was 46 foot and 10 inches. She dyew in water 32 foot at her departure from Cochín in India, but not above 26 at her arrivall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by divers meanes, some 5 foote. She caried in height 7 severall stories, one maine Dylop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-decke of two flooyes a peece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-mast 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeared the hugeness of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among vs either for warre or reereit.

Don Alonso de Baçan having a great Fleet and suffering these two caracks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called

Las Cinque Llaguas, or, *The five Wounds*, by three tall Ships set forth at the charges of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland and his friends: Written by the discreet and valiant capitaine M. Nicholas Downton.



In the latter ende of the yeere 1593. the right honourable Earle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ships all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ships 420 men of all sorts. The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein Sp. George Caue was capitaine. The May-flower Viceadmirall under the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampson, the charge whereof it pleased his honour to commit unto me Nicholas Downton. Our directions were sent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at sea.

The first of Aprill 1594 we set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, directing our course toward the coast of Spaine.

The 24 of the sayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our selues East and West from ech other, being then in the height of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we desiered the May-flower and the little Pinasse with a Prize that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, hauing some 17 perions in the same. There were in her some 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof weooke into euery shippe a like part, with some Ruske in chests and barrels, with 5 butts of blew course cloth, and certaine course linnen-cloth for Negros shirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

The 4 of May we had sight of our Pinasse, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Caracels, whereof they had sent two away and kept the third.

The second of June we had sight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee sent our small pinasse, which was of some 24 tunnes, with the small Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Islands, to see if they could get any thing in the same: appointing them to meet vs W.S.W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from vs was to no purpose. They missed coming to vs whē we appointed, as also we missed them, when we had great cause to haue used them.

The 13 of June we met with a mightie Carack of the East Indies, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or *The five wounds*. The May-flower was in sight with her before night. I, in the Sampson, fetched her vp in the evening, and as I commanded to giue her the broad side, as we terme it, while I stood very heedfully pyying to discouer her strength: and where I might giue counsel to booyd her in the night when the Admirall came vp to vs, and as I remember at the very first shot she discharged at vs, I was shot in a litle about the belly, whereby I was made vnseruicable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honest true-hearted man which I had with me, one capitaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came vp, the May-flower, and the Sampson neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordnance: but then capitaine Caue withed vs to stay till morning, at what time each one of vs should giue her three bouts with our great ordnance, & so should clapy her a booyd: but in deed it was long lingered in the morning vntill 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to booyd her. The Admirall had her a booyd in the mid ship: the May-flower coming vp in the quarter, as it should seeme, to lie at the sterne of the Admirall on the larbooyd side. The capitaine of the sayd May-flower was slain at the first coming vp: whereby the ship fell to the sterne of the

Besides these 3 ships there was a pinasse called the Violier of the Why not 1.

Commodities fit for Angola.

the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) so wounded her fore-saile, that they sayd they could come no more to fight, I am sure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampson went aboard on the bow, but hauing not room enough, our quarter lay on the Exchange bow, and our bow on the Caracks bow. The Exchange also at the first comming had her captaine Sp. Cause shot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recovered, so he for that present was not able to doe his office, and in his absence he had not any that would undertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemy. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks side, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being smal, made the enemy boldier then he would haue bene, whereby I had five men presently slaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained unhurt to returne aboard, and would neuer more giue the assault. I say not but some of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into corners themselves. But I must needs say, that their ship was as well provided for defence, as any that I haue seene. And the Portugals per- adventure encouraged by our slacke working, plaid the men and had Barricados made, where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied vs also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with small shot or darts. This vnusuall casting of fire did much dismay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we yiled our great ordnance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for otherwile we did them little harme, and by shooting a piece out of our fore-castle being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bow-sprit, and from the mat vp to the wood of the bow-sprit, and thence to the top-saile yard, which fire made the Portugals abast in the ship to stagger, and to make shew of panic. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making shew, that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they stood fast to their defence. None the fire grew so strong, that I saw it beyond all helpe, although she had bene already peeled to vs. Then we desired to be off from her, but had little hope to obtaine our desire; neuerthelesse we plied water very much to keep our ship well. In deed I made little other reckoning for the ship, my selfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carack, but most of our people might haue saued themselves in boats. And when my care was most, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning asunder of our spitsaile-yard with ropes and saile, and the ropes about the spitsaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were fast intangled, we fell apart, with burning of some of our sailes which we had then on board. The Exchange also being farther from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared, and fell off from abast. And as soone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-castle, where, I thinke, was store of Benjamin, and such other like combustible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack as an instant in a manner. The Portugals lepe ouer-board in great numbers. Then sent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leaue to vse his owne discretion in sauing of them. So he brought me aboard two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the first booke of the woorthie history of Huighen de Linschoten) was gouernour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582, and since that time had bene likewise a gouernour in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the shippe wherein he was comming home was cast away a litle to the East of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he trauelled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a passenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captain of a Carack which was cast away neere Moçambique, and came likewise in this ship for a passenger. Also three men of the inferior sort we saued in our boat, onely these two we clothed and brought into England. The rest which were taken vp by the other ship boats, we set all on shore in the Ile of Flores, except some two or three Negroes, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the East Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we saued told vs that the cause why they would not peele, was, because this Carack was for the king, and that she had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captain of her was in fauour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies should haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ship was nothing at all perished neither within board nor without, and was more like a ship of warre then otherwile: moreover, she had the ordnance of a Carack that was cast away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was cast away a litle to the Eastwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet throught sicknesse which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they say, they had not now above 130 white men, but Negroes a great many. They likewise affirmed that they

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The Toby cast away. Traffiques, and Discoueries.

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had three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in most of their talke. All this day and all the night she burned, but the next morning her powder which was lowest being 60 barrels blew her aboard, so that most of the ship did swim in partes about the water. Some of them say, that she was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and some, that she was lesse: but the shot which wee made at her in great Ordinance befoze we layde her aboard might be at seuen bouts which we had, and fire of 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shot: the time we lay aboard might be two houres. The shot which we discharged aboard the Carack might be some twentie Shells. And thus much may suffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that unfortunate Carack.

The last of June after long trauesling of the seas we had sight of another mightie Carack, which diuerse of our company at the first tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admirall of Spaine, but the next day being the first of July fetching her up we perceiued her indeede to be a Carack, which after some few shot bestowed upon her we summoned to yeeld; but they standing stoutly to their defence vterly refused the same. Wherefore seeing no good could be done without boarding her I consulted what course we should take in the boarding. But by reason that wee which were the chiefe Captaines were partly slaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed: and to conclude a long discorde in few wordes, the Carack escaped our hands. After this attending about Corco & Flores for some West Indian purchase, and being disappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing short, we returned for England, where I arrived at Portelmouth the 28 of August.

The casting away of the Tobie neere Cape Espartel corruptly called Cape Sprat without the Straight of Gibraltar on the coast of Barbarie. 1593.

The Tobie of London a ship of 150 tunnes manned with sixtie men, the owner whereof was the woithipfull M. Richard Staper, being bound for Liorno, Zante and Parais in Morea, being laden with marchandise to the value of 120000 12 thousand pounds sterling, set saile from Black-wall the 16 day of August 1593. and we went thence to Portelmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and set saile forth of Stokers bay in the Isle of Wight, the 6 day of October, the wind being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the height of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we descried a saile which lay in cry right a head off vs, to which we gaue chase with very much winde, the saile being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of saile that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had sight of mount Chiego, which is the first high-land which we descrie on the Spanishe coast at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar, where we had very foule weather and the winde scant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the sea. The Master, whose name was George Goodlay, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge befoze for those parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company, but did as he thought best himselfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather call about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the straights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land then he was, bare saile all that night, & an houre and an halfe befoze day had ranne our shippe vpon the ground on the coast of Barbarie without the straight foure leagues to the South of Cape Espartel. Whereupon being all not a litle astonished, the Master said vnto vs, I pray you forgive me: for this is my fault and no mans else. The company asked him whether they should cut off the maine mast: no sayd the Master we will hope out our boate. But one of our men comming speedily vp, sayd, Sirs, the ship is full of water, well sayd the Master, then cut the mayne-mast ouer boord: which thing we did with all speede. But the after part suddenly split a funder in such sort that no man was able to stand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremast vp into the shrouds thereof, and hung there for a time: but seeing nothing but present death approach (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a cast which we had determined) we committed our selues vnto the Lord and begaune with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to sing the 12 Psalm. Pelpy Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit befoze we had finished foure verses the waves of the sea had stopped the heathes of most of our men. For the foremast with the weight of our men & the force of the sea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by swimming and other meanes of theis gotte on shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wycke

of the ship. The master called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both perished. Sp. Caesar also being captaine and owner was likewise drowned: none of the officers were saved but the carpenter.

The twelue which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, as our comming a shoze fell in a manner into as great distresse. At our first comming on shoze we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his mercifull goodnesse. Our prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, & we trauelled all that day vntill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene houses, which after we perceived to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and late in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill thre of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had sight of Cape Elparcel; whereby we knew somewhat better which way to trauell, and then we went forthward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we spied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men as well boyled as footmen, to the number of some five thousand in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld our selues vnto them, being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising vp we marched toward them, who espying vs, scowth with some hundred of them with their sauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs thow: howbeit they onely strooke vs slacking with their weapons, and said that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Englishmen; which they would not beleue yet, By and by the conflict being ended, and night appoaching, the captaine of the Spoore, a man of some 56 yeres olde, came himselfe vnto vs, and by his interpreter which spake Italian, asked what we were, and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could speake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, marchandise, & the greatest part of our company were pitifully cast away vpon their coast. But he void of humanity & all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip vs out of our apparell euen to our shirts to see what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of some 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs some of our apparell againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the shoze where our shippe was cast abye, which was some threene miles from that place. In which iourney they vsed vs like their slaues, making vs (being extreame weak) to carry their Ruffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not so fast as they. We asked them why they vsed vs so: and they replied, that we were their captiues: we sayd we were their friends, and that there was neuer Englishman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ship, and lay there with them seuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seuen dayes the captaine appointed twenety of his men wel armed, to bring vs vp into y countrey: and the first night we came to the floe of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the grasse all that night: so the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a floe, the riuer being in that place aboute a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirtie houses, called Torreon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then we went to a towne called Casluri, and there we were deliuered by those twenety souldiers vnto the Alcaide, which examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good answer, and sent vs to the Jewes house, where we lay seuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenety Spaniards and twenety Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather cast on land within the Straights about Cape de Gare, and so made captiues. Thus at the seuen dayes end we twelue Englishmen, the twelue French, and the twenety Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred souldiers boyled men and footmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being provided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almost an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometime raine water. So we came at last within thre miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauell in the countrey for the English marchants: and by him we sent word vnto them of our estate: and they returned the next day vnto vs a Spoore, which brought vs victuals, being at that instant very feeble and hungry; and withall sent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ship it was that was

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cast away, and how many and what men there were alive. For said they we would knowe with speed, for to morrow is the kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you should come into the cite like captives. But for all that we were carried in as captives and with ropes about our neckes as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried before the king: and when we came before him he did commit vs all to ward, where we lay 15 dayes in close prison: and in the end we were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges: for our deliuerance cost them 700 ounces, euery owner in that countrey contayning two shillings. And when we came out of prison we went to the Albandica, where we continued eight weekes with the English marchants. At the end of which time being well apparellled by the bountie of our marchants we were conveyed downe by the space of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz, where the English ships roade: where we tooke shipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis a Flemish flie-boate, and one in the Mary Edward also of London, and two more in the country of the bloodie-flure: the one at our first imprisonment at Marocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by eating of rootes and other unnaturall things to slake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie persons throught the rashnesse of an unskillfull pastor ten onely suruiued of vs, and after a thousand miseries returned home poore, sicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnson.

William Williams Carpenter.

Iohn Durham.

Abraham Rouse.

Iohn Matthewes.

Thomas Henmore,

Iohn Siluester,

Thomas Whiting,

William Church.

Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent by one
Lawrence Aldersey vnto the Emperour of Aethiopia, 1597.

Inuictissimo potentissimôq; Abassenorum regi, magnôq;
vtriusq; Aethiopiae imperatori &c.



Lizabeta dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor
&c. summo ac potentissimo Aethiopiæ imperatori salutem. Quod ab omni-
bus qui vbiuis terrarum ac gentium sunt regibus principibusq; præstari par
& æquum est, vt quancumq; maximo locorum intervallo distiti, & moribus ac
legibus discrepantes, communem tamen generis humani societatem tueti &
conseruare, mutuâq; vt occasio ferret, charitatis & beneuolentiæ officia ve-
lint exercere: in eo nos de vestra fide atque humanitate spem certissimam concipientes, huic
subito nostro Laurentio Alderseio in regnũ vestrum proficiscenti, hasce literas nostras, qui-
bus & nostra erga vos beneuolentia testata sit, & illum hinc profectũ esse constet, potissimum
vobis indicandas dedimus. Qui cum orbis terrarum perscrutandi cognoscendiq; studio per-
motus, multis antehac regionibus peragrans, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ vestræ ditionis
sunt, longum, periculosumq; iter instituat: cum ipse existimauit, tum nos etiam: sumus in ea-
dem opinione, ad incoluitatem suam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi pro-
ficurum, si diplomate nostro munitus, beneuolentiæ nostræ & protectionis hinc suæ testimo-
nium ad vos deferret. Nam cum summus ille mundi conditor rectorq; præpotens deus, regi-
bus principibusq; qui suam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, suis cuique finibus per rata por-
tione designatis, regendum atque administrandum dederit: eoq; munere ius quoddam inter
eos fraternæ necessitudinis, æternumq; fœdus ab illis colendum sanxerit: non erit (vt arbitra-
mur) ingratum vobis, cum beneuolentiæ nostræ significationem, tam immensa maris ac ter-
rarum spatia transgressam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiã perferri intellexeritis.
Nobisq; rursus erit iucundum, cum subditorum nostrorum prædicatione, ab ipsis Nili fontibus,
& ab ipsarum regionibus quæ solis cursum desinunt, fama vestri nominis ad nos recurret. Erat igitur
fidio ac tutela vestri nominis intrare, ibique saluus & incolomis manere possit: quod ipsum
etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi transeundum erit, magnopere petimus, no-
bisq; ipsis illud honoris causa tributum existimabimus: neq; tamen maiorem hac in re gratiam
postulamus, quam vicissim omnium principum subditis, omniumq; gentium hominibus ad nos
commenatibus liberimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Nouembris: anno regni
nostri tricesimo nono: annoq; Dom. 1597.

The same in English.

To the most inuincible and puissant king of the *Abassens*, the
mightie Emperour of *Aethiopia* the higher and the lower.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the
faith &c. To the most high and mightie Emperour of *Aethiopia* greeting. Wherreas it is
a matter requisite and well becoming all kings and princes of what lands or nations soever, be
they neuer so much distanced in place or differing in customes and lawes, to maintaine and pre-
serue the common societie of mankinde, and, as occasion shall be offered, to performe mutual du-
ties of charitie and beneuolence: we for that cause conceiuing most vnboughten hope of your
princely sweetie and courtesie, haue giuen vnto this our subiect Laurence Aldersey intending to
travell into your dominions, these our letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your highnesse,
to the end they may be a testimony of our good will towards you and of our saide subiect his de-
parture from England. Also, after his travels in many foreign countreys, being as yet enflamed
with a desire moze thoroughly to suruilligh and contemplate the world, and now at length to under-
take a long and dangerous journey into your territories and regions: both the saide Laurence
thought, and our selues also deemed, that it would very much enaile him, as well for his owne
safetie as for the attaining of your fauour, if, being protected with our broad seale, he might
transporte vnto your highnesse a testimony of our louing affection & of his departure from hence.
For since almightie God the highest creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto
kings and princes his vicegerents ouer the face of the whole earth, their designed portions and
limites to be ruled and administered by them; and by this his gift hath established among them a
certaine law of brotherly kindnesse, and an eternall league by them to be obserued: it will not
(we hope) seeme unpleasant vnto your highnesse, when you shall haue intelligence of our louing
letters sent forth by a distance ouer sea and land, euen from the farthest realme of England vnto
you in *Aethiopia*. On the other side our selues shall take great solace and delight, when as by
the relation of our owne subiects, the renowne of your name shall be brought vnto vs from the
fountain of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southerne Tropike.
May it please you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchsafe so much fauour on this our
subiect, that he may, vnder the safeguard and protection of your name, enter into your highnesse
dominions, and there remaine safe and free from danger. Which fauour and courtesie wee doe
with all most earnest request at the hands of other princes, through whose Seigniorities our
saide subiect is to passe; and we shall esteeme it as done vnto our selfe and for our honours sake.
Therefore we require any greater fauour in this behalf, then we are vpon the like occasion
most ready to graunt vnto the subiects of all princes and the people of all Nations,
travelling into our dominions. Given at London the first day of No-
ember, in the thirtieth and ninth yere of our reigne; and in
the yere of our Loyde 1597.

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